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The relationship between drug use, drug sales and non-drug related criminal behavior in a national sample of youth

Kaplan, Mitchell Alan, Ph.D.

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U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DRUG USE, DRUG SALES AND NON-DRUG RELATED CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR IN A NATIONAL SAMPLE OF YOUTH

by

MITCHELL ALAN KAPLAN

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6/11/87
Date

Prof. Charles Winick
Chair of Examining Committee

6/8/87
Date

Prof. William Kornblum
Executive Officer

Prof. Michael Brown

Prof. William Kornblum

Prof. Bruce Johnson

Prof. Charles Winick
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DRUG USE, DRUG SALES AND NON-DRUG RELATED CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR IN A NATIONAL SAMPLE OF YOUTH

by

Mitchell Alan Kaplan

Advisor: Professor Charles Winick

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationships between drug use, drug sales, and nondrug crime in a national sample of 1542 subjects ages 14-20. The data, collected in 1979, constituted an exhaustive set of questions covering participation and frequency rates in delinquent behavior. Questions of the extent of participation of the sample in drug and nondrug forms of delinquency needed to be explored: (1) What was the magnitude of the problem? (2) How many were involved in drugs and delinquency? (3) What was the relationship between drug use and drug sales? (4) What was the relationship between drug involvement as a user or seller and nondrug crime? (5) How can we specify the relationships among drug user, drug sellers, and nondrug criminality?

With these questions as the basis of an inquiry, indicators of drug use and drug sales were constructed, differentiating between marijuana and hard drugs. Indices of nondrug crime were compiled using three levels of generality: (1) specific crimes, including the following

misdemeanors: theft, assault, property damage, and disorderly conduct; and the following felonies: robbery, grand larceny, and aggravated assault; (2) first-level composite indices, including index (or felony) crimes, misdemeanors, and key offenses, the latter including all of the specific crimes listed above; and (3) second-level composite indices of general delinquency.

The major findings of the study were: (1) there was a positive relationship between drug use participation rates and drug sales participation rates. (2) There were positive relationships between drug use and drug sales and nondrug criminal behavior. (3) Frequency of drug use and drug sales interacted synergistically in predicting nondrug delinquency. Higher frequency rates in both predicted more variance in nondrug crime than either separately. (4) Drug sales were more strongly predictive of felony crimes than drug use. (5) Drug use was more strongly predictive of minor and general nondrug crime than drug sales. (6) Drug and delinquent subcultures fuse around a core of dealers of hard drugs who have committed felonies, and a separate group of delinquent drug users. Each group constitutes approximately five percent of the total sample. (7) Drug subcultures are about twice as large as delinquent subcultures. On the basis of the findings, it was recommended that drug education be expanded.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

One of the major findings of recent research in the drug abuse field has been the documentation of a substantial relationship between the use of illegal drugs and nondrug related criminal activity (cf. Elliott, Huizinga, & Ageton, 1985; Huizinga, 1986; Inciardi, 1981; Johnson, Wish, Huizinga, & Schmeidler, 1986). Although this relationship has been found by some researchers to be statistically reduced when other social factors such as socioeconomic status, sex, age, class, and ethnicity are controlled for, most criminologists and law enforcement personnel agree that some connection between these two factors does exist, especially among adult criminals seen by the criminal justice system. Additionally, a number of studies (Adler & Adler, 1982; Adler, 1985; Elliott and Huizinga, 1983; Huizinga, 1984; and Wood, et al., 1984) have demonstrated that the sellers of drugs are themselves heavy users of drugs. Moreover, Huizinga and Elliott (1984) also show a relationship between the sale of illegal drugs by juveniles and their nondrug-related criminal activity.

According to Huizinga and Elliott (1981), a certain amount of theoretical confusion surrounds the nature of the relationship between drug use and crime and the reasons for

its existence. The hypotheses are "(1) drug use leads to crime, (2) crime leads to drug use, and (3) drug use and crime are both manifestations of a more general orientation towards deviance and delinquency. . ." (p. 3). None of these hypotheses have been conclusively supported. This thesis suggests that these hypotheses leave out a critical factor, drug selling, which may be an intervening or conditional factor linking drug use to nondrug crime.

Each of the above hypotheses is not mutually exclusive and each may be applied to different sectors of the drug using or drug selling population. The relationship between drug use, drug sales, and nondrug criminal activity is complex, involving two major concepts -- "drugs" and "crime." In some cases, "drugs" cause "crime" as demonstrated by the research of McBride (1981) on violence related to drug deals gone bad. In other cases, "crime" may lead to "drugs" in Albert Cohen's (1955) notion that involvement in a delinquent gang reinforces a mentality of "short-run hedonism" (p. 30), which then can lead to drug use. In still other cases, "drugs" and "crime" coexist as part of a larger complex of behaviors (Inciardi, 1980). Confusion arises because criminologists treat drug sales as a relatively unimportant crime, and ignore its relationship to nondrug crime.

This attitude toward drug sales is apparently a holdover from the 1960s, when the stereotype of the "drug pusher" was supplanted by a more benign view of the counter-

cultural "dealer." Langer (1977) characterized the situation as follows:

> Anyone who sold drugs of any kind was defined as a "dope pusher": a strange looking man, employed by a complex criminal apparatus, who seduced innocent youngsters into a life of dissipation by giving away drugs under false pretences. His victims would unwittingly "get hooked" and have to pay vast sums to support their uncontrollable habit (sic). (p. 377)

The research of Carey (1968) and Goode (1970) did much to portray nonnarcotic drug sales as relatively harmless and an integral part of the counterculture. Goode's and Langer's research were primarily concerned with the sale of marijuana, and secondarily with psychedelics. Langer presented evidence marijuana could be grown in nearly any temparate region. Since marijuana needs no processing, it does not require a complex division of labor, resulting in highly localized markets. Thus, dealers were almost celebrated as countercultural heroes, devoid of any contamination of involvement with organized crime, even in the sociological literature.

Ironically, the research of Speckart and Anglin (1986) found that among a sample of heroin addicts in Southern California, there was an inverse relationship between drug dealing and nondrug crime. They posited, based on the testimony of their subjects, that involvement in crime was for the purely instrumental reason of acquiring money to purchase drugs. They found that those addicts who sold drugs to support their habit had less need to engage in

nondrug crime. Although this generalization may be true for an adult addict population, there is no basis for generalizing it to a nonadult nonaddict population.

Statement of the Problem

This study analyzes the relationship between drug use, drug sales, and prevalence and incidence of nondrug crime rates within a population of youth, aged 14-20. This study seeks to determine the effects of drug use and drug sales upon nondrug criminal behavior. Specifically, the following questions are to be explored:

1. What are the relationships of drug use and drug sales to nondrug crime?
2. How do subjects who are classified as nonusers/-nonsellers, marijuana only users, hard drug users, marijuana only sellers, and hard drug sellers differ in their involvement in nondrug crime?

Drug use is defined as the self-reports of respondents on the frequency of which they use the following drugs: 1) alcohol, 2) marijuana, 3) hallucinogens, 4) amphetamintes, 5) barbiturates, 6) tranquilizers, 7) angel dust, 8) inhalants, 9) heroin, and 10) cocaine.

Drug sales is defined as the self-reports of sales of marijuana or hard drugs.

Nondrug crime is defined as the self-reports of participation in illegal activities other than drug use or sales. Such crimes will include misdemeanors and felony or index crimes.

Index or felony crimes include homicide, rape, aggravated assault, robbery, burglary, grand larceny, and theft. Homicide was not included in this study because it occurs rarely.

Rape is legally defined as "unlawful sexual intercourse with a female, by force or without legal or factual consent" (U.S. Department of Justice, 1983, p. 2).

Robbery is legally defined as "unlawful taking or attempted taking of property that is in the immediate possession of another, by force or threat of force" (U.S. Department of Justice, 1983, p. 2).

Aggravated assault is legally defined as "the unlawful intentional inflicting of serious bodily injury or unlawful threat or attempt to inflict bodily injury or death by means of a deadly or dangerous weapon with or without actual infliction of injury" (U.S. Department of Justice, 1983, p. 2).

Burglary is legally defined as "unlawful entry of any fixed structure, vehicle, or vessel used for regular residence, industry, or business, with or without force, with the intent to commit a felony or larceny" (U.S. Department of Justice, 1983, p. 3).

Larceny or theft is legally defined as "unlawful taking or attempted taking of property other than a motor vehicle from the possession of another, by stealth, without force and without deceit, with intent to permanently deprive the owner of the property" (U.S. Department of Justice,

1983, p. 3).

Motor vehicle theft is legally defined as "unlawful taking or attempted taking of a self-propelled road vehicle owned by another, with the intent of depriving the owner of it permanently or temporarily" (U.S. Department of Justice, 1983, p. 3).

Misdemeanors, according to the U.S. Department of Justice (1983) and Blumenstein, Cohen, and Nagin (1986), are usually defined as punishable by a sentence of one year or less in prison, although there are jurisdictional differences between misdemeanors and felonies. In all juridictions, the most serious crimes are felonies.

Significance of the Problem

The relationships among drug use, drug sales, and nondrug criminal activity have not been adequately clarified, nor have they been addressed in the literature on youthful behavior. This study will examine the literature on drug use and delinquency to delineate dimensions and major concepts, as well as develop new hypotheses about the relationships among drug use, drug sales, and nondrug crime.

If the relative effects of drug use and drug sales on nondrug criminal behavior can be demonstrated, then policy can be directed toward the successful reduction of delinquency by identifying subpopulations that are especially prone to nondrug criminal behavior, based upon their use and selling patterns. Once such subpopulations have been identified, they can be targeted for intervention.

Four topics will be considered here: 1) drug use among youth, 2) drug sales, 3) the relationship between drug sales and drug use, and 4) previous findings on the relationship about drug selling and non-drug crime. Prevalence and incidence of drug use among youth will be considered first.

Major Dependent Variables

Prevalence and Incidence

Blumenstein, et al. (1986) and Johnson, et al. (1985) have developed four measures of involvement in the three behaviors (use, sale, and nondrug crime) which will become the major variables in this study: 1) participation rates -- the proportion of the respondents reporting any involvement during a given year in each behavior of drug use, sales, or criminal activities; 2) incidence rates -- mean number of acts per respondent per year; 3) frequency rate or the individual offending rate, lambda, the mean number of acts per year among persons who commit one or more acts of that type within that year. Days incarcerated or institutionalized are not included in the computation of lambda (cf. Blumstein, et al., 1986; and Johnson, et al., 1985); and 4) volume -- the total annual involvements in criminal or drug activities summed across all respondents.

Drug Use. Johnston, O'Malley, and Bachman (1984) have conducted research on the participation rates of drug use in national samples of high school seniors between 1975-1983. A summary of their findings is presented in Table 1-1.

Table 1-1

Trends in Annual Participation Rates of Eight Types of Drugs*

Drug Class Approx. N	Percent who used in last twelve months 1975 (9400)	1979 (15500)	1983 (16300)	Change 75-79	79-83
Marijuana/Hashish	40.0	50.8	42.3	+10.8	-8.5
Hallucinogens	11.2	9.9	7.3	-1.3	-2.6
Cocaine	5.6	12.0	11.4	+6.4	-0.6
Heroin	1.0	0.5	0.6	-0.5	+0.1
Other Opiates	5.7	6.2	5.1	+0.5	-1.1
Stimulants	16.2	18.3	24.6	+2.1	+6.3
Sedatives	11.7	9.9	7.9	-1.8	-2.0
Tranquilizers	10.6	9.6	6.9	-1.0	-2.7

*Abridged from Johnston, O'Malley, & Bachman (1984), p. 32.

The annual participation rate of marijuana use increased from 1975 to 1979. From its peak in 1979, marijuana use steadily declined to 42.3 in 1983. Hallucinogen usage declined steadily from 1975 to 1983. Similarly, use of sedatives, tranquilizers, and heroin declined from 1975 to 1983. Over the same period, cocaine usage skyrocketed, more than doubling between 1975 and 1979. Between 1979 and 1983, it stabilized. Prevalence of use of stimulants rose continually throughout the period assessed.

Elliott, et al. (1983), using the data on which this study is based, includes 1543 subjects in 1979 between the ages of 14-20, reported participation rates of respondents

reporting use of drugs once or more during the year as follows: alcohol, 75 percent; marijuana, 41 percent; hallucinogens, six percent; amphetamines, 12 percent; heroin, one percent; and cocaine, eight percent.

Huizinga (1986), using data from the 1980 National Youth Survey, reported the annual participation rate of marijuana use was 44 percent; the incidence rate (i.e., annual number of uses) was 31 per year per youth. For other illicit drugs, he reported a participation rate of 17 percent, with an incidence rate of six per year per youth.

According to a survey of 27,414 students in grades 7-12 in New York State, the Division of Substance Abuse Services (1986) reported drug use participation rates in 1985 among New York State youth between the ages of 12-17 as 63.4 percent ever using drugs, 47.3 percent recent users, and 14.1 percent heavy abusers. It also reported that 25 percent of the residents age 12 and older used marijuana more than 10 days during the month prior to the sampling. Within the six months prior to the survey, 35 percent had used marijuana 17 percent had used stimulants, and 10 percent had used cocaine (Martinez, 1985). Although marijuana use had declined from 54 percent in a similar survey in 1978, and PCP has declined from 10 to five percent; use of stimulants, cocaine and inhalants (e.g., glue), cough solvents and sprays, has increased. Stimulants increased from 15 to 25 percent. These statistics indicate that illicit drug use among youth has generally declined since 1978, almost entirely because of the declining use of marijuana. About

half of the decline in marijuana use is compensated for by an increase in stimulant use. Nevertheless, drug users among youth outnumber non-users by nearly two-to-one (63.4 versus 36.6 percent). Fully one-quarter (25.3 percent) were classified as "regular users," and 14.1 percent, or one in seven, were classified as heavy abusers (Martinez, 1985). Regular users must minimally have used two or more substances in the six months prior to sampling or one substance other than marijuana at least twice weekly. There was no data presented on frequency rates or crime rates.

The statistics on incidence and prevalence suggest that, although drug use, with the exception of cocaine, peaked in 1979 and has generally declined in recent years, it is still a significant problem among youth.

Drug Sales. Several studies of prevalence of drug sales within the youth population have been conducted. In a regional sample of 3,491 college students sampled in 1970, Johnson (1973) found that 24 percent of his sample had engaged in selling illicit drugs, with 11 percent stating that they had sold marijuana only and 13 percent stating that they sold "hard drugs." Most of the latter category also sold marijuana. Of the 783 students who admitted to selling marijuana, 52 percent (404) stated that they also sold hard drugs. Single and Kandel (1978), in a study of 1617 New York State adolescents found that 26 percent of their sample had sold illicit drugs, with 14 percent having sold marijuana only and 12 percent admitting to dealing

"hard" drugs.

Clayton and Voss (1981) collected data from a national sample of 2,510 men ages 19-30 and found that 17 percent of them admitted to selling illicit drugs. Within the sample of drug sellers, 90 percent stated that they sold marijuana, and 46 percent only marijuana; three percent only other drugs; and 51 percent sold marijuana in conjunction with other drugs. Fifty-four percent sold only one drug, 22 percent two drugs, 12 percent three drugs, five percent four drugs and seven percent more than four drugs. Among the sellers, 26 percent sold psychedelics, 33 percent stimulants, 12 percent sedatives, 10 percent heroin, seven percent opiates and eight percent cocaine.

The five-year panel study conducted by Elliott, et al. (1983) demonstrated that as the sample aged, respondents were increasingly likely to engage in the sale of drugs. In 1976, when the sample ranged was ages 11-17 years, four percent stated they had sold marijuana and one percent stated they had sold hard drugs. The incidence rates for selling were .84 per respondent for marijuana, and .21 for hard drugs. In the 1980 wave, when the sample ranged from 15-21, 10 percent admitted to selling marijuana, and two percent admitted to selling hard drugs. Noteworthy is the fact that 16 percent of the males admitted to sales of drugs, an amount almost identical to that of Clayton and Voss. Incidence rates had increased to 3.35 for marijuana sales and 1.22 for hard drugs.

Subculture Theory

The history of criminology has been one of attempting to identify the social processes and agents of criminal behavior. From the work of Sutherland (1927) on differential association, through studies of gang behavior (e.g., Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Cohen, 1955; Thrasher, 1936; Whyte, 1943), analysis of deviant careers (Becker, 1963), to Willis' (1979) analysis of working class boys' rejection of middle class values, the analysis of delinquency has focused on the influence of the peer group subcultures within a subcultural context. Thus, within sociology, there is a tradition of examining subcultures for clues as to why particular deviant behaviors occur. This section will examine the various subcultures that have potential to influence the relationship between drug use, drug sales, and the incidence of nondrug crime.

Most deviant behavior occurs within subcultures (Becker, 1963; Cohen, 1955; Johnson, 1973; Wolfgang and Ferricuti, 1967). Cohen (1955) noted that subcultures are solutions to problems a collectivity of individuals shares. Murdock (1974) gives the following definition:

> Subcultures are the meaning system and modes of expression developed by groups in particular parts of the social structure in the course of their collective attempts to come to terms with the contradictions of their shared social situation. More particularly, subcultures represent the accumulated meanings and means of expression through which groups in subordinate structural positions have attempted to negotiate or oppose the dominant meaning system. They therefore provide a pool of available symbolic resources which particular individuals or groups can draw on in

> their attempt to make sense of their own specific situation and construct a viable identity. (p. 213)

That is, subcultures are groupings of persons who occupy similar positions in the social structure, have similar problems, and routinely interact within a social network to help them acquire the needed resources to solve those problems. They share a common value system and more-or-less agree upon norms.

What assumes salience for this study is that subcultures are organized around common activities and actors perform specific roles within those activities. Johnson (1980) has noted that drug subcultures -- which are the focal point of this research -- have three fundamental roles: buyer, seller, and user. These three roles form a unity within the subculture, which is organized around the problems of procuring, using, and experiencing the effects of illicit drugs. Of course, many problems complicate drug procurement and use, including their illegality, quality in an unregulated market, and pharmachological and psychological effects. All these problems are part of the lore of the subculture and provide the basis of a common symbolic system through which the world is viewed.

In order to understand the relationships among the constructs of youth, drug sales and criminality, we posit the existence of four overlapping sets of subcultures: (1) youth subcultures, (2) drug use subcultures; (3) drug sales subcultures; and (4) criminal subcultures. To complicate

matters. each set of these subcultures are fragmented: Youth subcultures are themselves fragmented along social class, racial and ethnic lines, orientation toward school and achievement, and musical tastes. Drug subcultures are also fragmented along social class and racial/ethnic lines, types of drugs used, and level of selling. An additional differentiation can be made between drug users and drug sellers. Similarly, criminal subcultures are divided by types of crime, and status differentiations within organized roles.

Youth Subcultures

Waller's (1932/1965) study of schooling acknowledged the existence of an autonomous youth culture and noted its potentiality for disruption of the school. Although there is some confusion as to when adolescence emerged as a distinctive status -- Musgrove (1964) half-jokingly stated that adolescence was invented by Rousseau in 1762; both Gillis (1974) and Kett (1977) claim that the adolescent was created at the turn of the Twentieth Century. All stated that the adolescent was fabricated in the same way as any other creation of industrial society. A "youth culture" emerged when large numbers of the young began attending high schools and delayed their entrance into the labor force. This culture, termed by Coleman (1961) as "adolescent society," came to center around school, fun, sports, and in postwar America, cars (cf. Coleman, 1961; Gordon, 1957; Henry 1964; Musgrove, 1964). Larkin (1979) noted that rock-

'n-roll music was a distinctive invention of youth culture.

By 1965, it was clear that youth culture was in rebellion, led by what Foss (1969) has called "indicative minorities," that is groups of people living out the myth of the culture, and having greater influence over the cultural mass than their numbers. With the advent of the indicative minorities of "hippies" and "New Left radicals," youth culture had developed cultural and political wings, symbolized, perhaps, by the emergence of the Haight-Ashbury hippie district in San Francisco simultaneously with the Berkeley Free Speech Movement on the campus of the University of California. Marijuana had become a staple of the youth culture pharmacopoeia (Flacks, 1971). Inciardi (1980) referred to the 1960s as the "new chemical age" (p.179).

In the post-1960s period, youth culture fragmented into several subgroupings as overt conflict with mainstream cultures declined. Some adopted a cultural estrangement to conventional society while disavowing direct conflict, a few fleeing to what Foss and Larkin (1976) called "postmovement groups," such as the Divine Light Mission of the Teenage Perfect Master, Guru Maharaj Ji; Jesus Freak sects, such as the Children of God; and Marxist sects, such as the U.S. Labor Party of Lyndon Larouche. Others engaged in drug and/or sexual hedonism, divested of political elements; still others recanted their sins of the past and went back into the straight world, often carrying their drug use with them. A few moved to cocaine or heroin, and some to addiction (Scarpitti and Datesman, 1980).

Ramos (1980) and Foss and Larkin (1976) have noted that there was a watershed in drug usage among youth that occurred in the early 1970s. Psychedelic use declined dramatically, while use of opiates, sopors, and the mixing of "downers" with marijuana became vogue. Acid and country rock were replaced by heavy metal rock, which was popularly known as "downer" music. It was to be listened to under the influence of quaaludes. Parenthetically, heavy metal bands such as Led Zepplin and The Greatful Dead have remained popular throughout the post-1960s period.

There is a large overlapping between youth subcultures and drug subcultures. That is, the various sectors of youth culture can be differentiated on their drug use and attitudes. Larkin (1979) noted that, in addition to other factors, such as appearance, territory, and sexual behaviors, the four subcultures in high school could be distinguished by the drugs they used. The "freaks" used marijuana and psychedelics; greasers used marijuana and alcohol; the jock-rah-rah crowd used alcohol, with a few using marijuana; and the intellectuals used some marijuana and psychedelics, but with much less frequency and much more circumspection than the freaks. Thus, youth subcultures we distinguished by their attitudes toward drugs and their use of drugs.

Drug Use Subcultures

"Drug subculture" has been defined by Johnson (1973) as "those conduct norms, social situations, role definitions and performances, and values that govern the use of illegal

drugs and the intentional nonmedical use of prescription drugs" (p. 9).

Becker (1963), in his classical study of a drug subculture of musicians, analyzed only the users. Johnson (1973) noted that in the United States, there were most likely two major drug subcultures among college students divided by race. More recently, he identified several other subcultures: alcohol abuse, cannabis, multiple-drug, and heroin-injection subcultures (Johnson, 1980). Since then, at least one other identifiable subculture has emerged around cocaine use, and perhaps a second around the smoking of freebase cocaine, and in 1985 in a form known on the street as "crack."

In his study of drug subcultures, Johnson (1973) found that progressive involvement in hard drugs was linked through drug sales, not directly to frequency of marijuana use. He noted also that it was drug selling that linked his Black and white subcultures more than marijuana use. Clayton and Voss (1981) noted that drug subcultures are peer dominated. These findings suggest that drug sellers may constitute a separate subculture within drug subcultures that also overlaps with criminal subcultures. That is, they occupy a distinct social space, interact with each other, there is a role structure, they have developed an argot which specifically relates to the activities of drug dealing, and they differentiate themselves from nonsellers. The boundaries of this subculture are permeable and membership

overlaps with other deviant subcultures.

Given Johnson's findings, dealers and suppliers are left out of the analysis of subcultures, and an incomplete picture is given. Take, for instance, the violence associated with the supplying and dealing of heroin and cocaine in comparison with the relative lack thereof in marijuana distribution rings (McBride, 1981).

Johnson (1973) suggested that buyers frequently seek interactions with sellers, the sellers are the carriers and trainers into the values and lifestyles of the drug subculture. Buyers learn the drug subcultural beliefs from their contacts with the sellers. Thus, in the analysis of drug subcultures, sellers must be included. Suppliers are more remote from the actual subculture and cannot be studied here.

The literature on the existence and maintenance of drug subcultures is sparse. There have been a number of ethnographies of heroin use subcultures (Feldman, 1968; Finestone, 1957; Gould, Lidz, and Walker, 1974; McBride, 1981; and Sutter, 1966, 1969). Additionally, there were several studies of "hippies," a social category known for its drug indulgences (Cavan, 1969; Yablonski, 1968; Davis and Munoz, 1968); however, the studies dealt primarily with young adults who were at the bottom of society and were frequently of minority background, and the latter studies were concerned with a social type that had disappeared by the 1970s.

Nevertheless, the studies indicated that within these

subcultures, there was an ideology that had developed that viewed the use of their particular drugs as positive. Goldstein (1981) noted that when word of a lethal overdose spread on the street, heroin users would try to find the dealer, assuming that what he was selling was "good shit." Yablonski (1968) noted that the hippies he studied convinced him to try a LSD trip, which he described in his book.

Second, there was a role structure that was visible by the researchers. The heroin subculture was divided into suppliers, coppers, holders, steerers, dealers, and users, all having separate and interrelated functions. Dealers were an integral part of the hippie "scene." Ramos and Gould (1968) noted that the drug scene they studied classified its members as mellow freaks, who used marijuana, hashish on occasion, and experimenting with other drugs on occasion; chemical freaks, who used barbiturates, amphetamines, psychedelics and sometimes cocaine; and junkies, who were on heroin. Yablonski, while noting that the social structure of hippies was extremely fluid and ideologically committed to equality, stratified them into "high priests," "novitiates," "teenyboppers," "Meth-freaks," and "part-time hippies," from top to bottom.

Drug Sales Subcultures

Most studies of drug subcultures have focused upon drug-use subcultures. Johnson (1973) and Clayton and Voss (1981) have demonstrated that drug dealers are almost always drug users as well. This has perhaps led to the confusion

of drug use and drug sales subcultures.

Johnson, et al. (1985), have demonstrated the existence of a drug sales subculture that exists independently of drug use subcultures and is concerned with the marketing and distribution of drugs. It has a complicated role structure and argot of its own. Johnson, et al. note that "standard drug-distribution roles included steering, touting, copping, holding, testing, lending works, picking-up, and running a shooting gallery" (1985, p. 62). Through a series of vignettes, Johnson, et al. illustrate the varieties of roles in the distribution of heroin and cocaine.

Johnson, et al. (1985) describe the drug sales subculture in terms of its business and the roles necessitated in getting business done. They note that street huslers are the "day laborers" of the drug trade. They must seek employment from dealers who require that at least part of their payment for hustling drugs be "in kind." The drug sales subculture in heroin and cocaine is highly predatory, since on the one hand, low-level sellers are exploited labor, who are attempting to get more for their services. Additionally, dealers' apartments are ripe for burglary, since they contain easily transported goods that are highly valuable. It can be inferred from Johnson, et al., that the "glue" that holds the drug sales subculture together are the dealers' desire for profits and the street hustlers' need to use drugs. The underlying tension within the subculture is the desire on everyone's part to get something for nothing.

Characterizations of the drug sales subculture by Goldstein (1981), Johnson, et al. (1985), and McBride (1981) have indicated that the subculture is prone to crime. Goldstein and Johnson have indicated that lower level street hustlers switch from crime to crime, such as, dealing, burglary, robbery, and con artistry. It is not unusual for street hustlers to steal from their dealers. Similarly, street sellers may employ lookouts for purposes of detecting police, preventing robberies, and assaults from the rear. McBride demonstrated how drug deals "gone sour" could result in violence and death. The collective evidence suggests that the sales of heroin and cocaine are dangerous activities, that many who engage in such sales can be violent or dishonest, and that despite the attempts to thwart them, "rip-offs," "burns," persons "going over the roof" or other forms of drug theft commonly occur.

A much more benign view of a drug sales subculture is presented by Langer (1977), who studied marijuana dealers in Australia. He found that the drug dealers he studied had developed a subculture around the sale of drugs. The central "rite of passage" among the dealers was "getting busted." Once a dealer was "busted" by the police, he was accepted into the subculture as a full participant. He noted a distinct ideology within the subculture that attributed getting busted to one's own negligence, and denigrated the police as stupid. Busts were common topics of discourse in the subculture, which stimulated members to share stories about drug busts, instruct themselves on police methods,

legal issues, and solutions to the practical problems of drug dealing. Langer noted that his subjects were cynical about the police and criminal justice, and that a common topic was how police would pocket money from a bust and resell the confiscated drugs. He also found that his subjects considered themselves as sellers for profits, yet found that they made very little money selling drugs, concluding that the policy of increasing punishment for dealers because they make profits off of unsuspecting buyers needs to be re-examined.

On the basis of the evidence, it is clear that drug sales subcultures are the locus of a substantial amount of nondrug crime. Although the above research is concerned with adults, it would be expected that among young persons, involvement in drug sales would be related to a proclivity toward nondrug crime.

Criminal Subcultures

Just as it is conceptually problematic to assume all drug users are members of a single subculture, it is equally problematic to claim the existence of a single criminal subculture. Criminal activity is as varied as non-criminal activity. The number and diversity within criminal subcultures often mirror the larger society in racial, social class (e.g., "blue collar" and "white collar" crime), and ethnic makeup. As many sociologists have noted since the classic observations of Howard Becker (1963), criminal activity form careers. Montanino and Sagarin (1977) have

noted that most deviance, especially as repeated behavior is voluntary; that is, a product of conscious choice.

The delinquent subculture is defined as a deviant form of youth culture that has conduct norms and behavior that is "non-utilitarian, malicious, and negativistic" (Cohen, 1955, p. 25, emphasis in original). The notion of a delinquent subculture is problematic, as pointed out by Chambliss (1973) in his ethnography of "The Saints and the Roughnecks." This subculture cannot be identified objectively by arrest and conviction records, since the appelation of delinquency has many subjective elements (cf. Pilavin & Briar, 1964), including authorities' assessment of demeanor and class.

For the purposes here, a delinquent subculture will be defined as those persons under the age of 21 who repeatedly involve themselves in "nondrug" criminal activities, i.e., assault, robbery, theft, vandalism, staus offenses, and public disorder. The data analyzed in this study does not seek to define or delimit a delinquent subculture. Rather, it posits that one exists and that it can be differentiated from drug subcultures, although the two overlap to some extent.

In his analysis of delinquent subcultures, Cohen (1955) developed a theory of social strain. That is, delinquency is, in part, a result of the problems that boys have in relationship to the development of masculinity. In a society dominated by middle class values, working class boys

find themselves defined as inferior. The reaction to their inferiority is to develop their masculine image by engaging in behaviors that define masculinity in its extreme -- mainly crimes against persons and property. Consequently, for those boys denied access to the avenues of success, compensation exists in the denegration of conventional success and in the approbation of his peers for antisocial acts. Willis (1977) found similar behavior in his ethnography of British working class boys.

Elliott, Huizinga, and Ageton (1985) have integrated control and social learning theories. Control theory posits that social strain is universal throughout society. Weakened controls are resultants of early socialization experiences or some form of social disorganization. They noted that -- after Sutherland (1927) and Becker (1963) -- there is direct socialization to deviance. That is, among delinquents, there is an ideology that justifies delinquent behavior; that delinquent youth are more responsive to peer bonds than nondelinquent youth, and that delinquent youth have weaker bonds with conventional groups. The socialization to delinquent subcultures, then, has as its predisposing aspects, the structure of bonds with conventional and deviant socializing agencies. The socialization to delinquency is dependent on the nature and power of the bonds to conventional and deviant agencies and the consequent reward -- both social and nonsocial -- for participation in deviant acts.

Elliott, et al. (1985) found that conventional bonding

was a specifier variable. Those subjects who had low bonding to delinquent peers had lower than expected levels of delinquency regardless of conventional bonding. Those subjects who had high bonding to delinquent peers reported higher than expected levels of delinquency; however, the volume of delinquency among this group was dependent upon the level of conventional bonding, with those who had low conventional bonding reporting substantially higher levels of delinquency. This suggests that among those who have strong bonds with delinquent peers, attachments to conventional agents of socialization will constrain delinquency.

Elliott, et al. (1985), in a modification of Cohen, found no direct link between social strain and delinquent peer bonding. Instead, they conceptualize a direct relationship between social strain and weak conventional bonding. That is, the contradiction between the success ethic and the lack of opportunity to achieve success weakens youths' adhesion to conventional agencies of socialization. Social disorganization, defined as family instability, poor schools and social services, also directly influence weakened conventional bonding and strong bonding to delinquent peers, the latter of which is causally related to delinquent behavior.

The Relationship Between Drug Sales and Drug Use

In his analysis of the heroin industry, McBride (1983) has noted that characterizations of the organization of the

industry include two basic levels: an upper level in which dealers are never users, and a lower level in which dealing is done predominately by users. There is a large literature on drug sales by "junkies" (Agar, 1973; Biernacki, 1979; Finestone, 1966; Hughes, Crawford, Barker, Schumann & Jaffe, 1971; Milner & Milner, 1972; Preble & Casey, 1972; Sutter, 1969; and Waldorf, 1973; to name a few). Street sales of heroin have been characterized as dangerous and degraded work. Biernacki (1979) has reported that among many junkies, the cycle of copping and selling forms a lifestyle that is every bit as routine as a 9-to-5 job.

Johnson (1973) has linked drug use to drug sales among cannabis users. He noted that "buying and selling of drugs is predominately a function of the use of cannabis" (p. 81). He concluded that the use of a "hard drug" was almost a necesary prerequisite for the sale of that drug.

Elliott and Huizinga (1983), in a national youth survey, found that 60 percent of all cocaine users sold illicit drugs. Huizinga (1984) found that less than three percent of a national sample of youth used cocaine and sold drugs, but that this sample accounted for 81 percent of all drug sales in the sample. Adler and Adler (1982) found that among cocaine dealers, there was a high level of drug use, even among upper echelon dealers.

Wood, Loughlin, Glassner, and Johnson (1984) in their ethnographic study found that nearly all drug sellers in their sample used drugs. Among their sample of adolsecent

sellers and dealers, only two had actually accumulated money from their transactions. Sellers sold primarily to cover the costs of their own consumption. Even among dealers, most ended up smoking their profits. Nearly all dealers ended up with little if any profits from their drug sales.

Wood, et al. (1984) noted that virtually all sellers and dealers were drug users. Still, they could differentiate two kinds of usage among dealers. The most prevalent type of usage was for one's own pleasure or habit. The second type of usage was to sample the goods, in much the same way wine merchants routinely open a bottle from a shipment to test the wine, so they can communicate its quality to prospective customers.

Wood, et al. (1984) found that among themselves, adolescents distinguish between "selling" and "dealing." Those adolescents who admit to "selling" drugs often pointed out that they did not "deal" drugs. Drug selling was carried on within the primary group -- friends and relatives -- in small amounts. Drug dealing was conducted by persons identified (and who identified themselves) as "dealers" who had access to large amounts of drugs and whose sales went beyond the primary group, and who were likely to sell in public places where users hung out. For sellers, the buying and selling of drugs was an occasional event; for dealers, sales was an ongoing vocation or avocation, often tied in with the dealer's own drug use.

Seller Typologies

Seller typologies have been based on two criteria: 1) the nature and volume of the drugs sold and 2) the motivation of the sellers. Johnson (1973), without developing a typology, suggested criteria which could be used for developing a typology. On the basis of his findings concerning college drug sellers, he noted

> . . .[T]he data suggest some basic guidelines about certain patterns of events in . . .[the] sequence of drug involvement: (1) The use of marihuana is almost essential for the nonmedical use of hard drugs. . .and involvement in the buying or selling of cannabis and other dangerous drugs. (2) The use of a hard drug is almost a prerequisite for the illicit purchase or sale of that drug. (3) Involvement in the buying or selling of cannabis is almost a prerequisite for the illicit purchase and especially the sale of other dangerous drugs. (4) The illicit buying of a drug probably preceeds the selling of that drug. (5) Only among cannabis sellers are increasingly regular users of a hard drug likely to sell that drug. (p. 87)

Johnson points out that even though such relations exist, marijuana use or sales do not necessarily lead to hard drug usage or sales. It is important for this study, however, to note that for those who sell hard drugs or are regular sellers of drugs, a career has been entered into, beginning with use of the drug prior to sales. This is not very startling, since the same could be said of used car dealers.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the research of Carey (1969) and Goode (1970) identified several drug seller types. At the lowest end of the continuum were the "traders," who sold to close friends, essentially pricing goods

in a manner so that his profits from sales were "in kind"; that is, they covered the costs of his own drug indulgences. The "dealer" was a counter-cultural social type, selling a variety of psychedelic drugs, shying away from the so-called hard drugs of heroin, cocaine and methadrene. The third type was the "pusher," which had class and racial overtones. The pusher dealt with hard drugs, was often a junkie himself and was not ideologically committed to countercultureal ideals. He was conceived of as a low-life and potentially dangerous. The pusher was subdivided into street hustlers and "big pushers," who were low-level crime syndicate dealers who sold to the street hustlers.

Thus, in both Carey's and Goode's conceptualizations there was a notion of two kinds of careers -- one middle level and the other lower level. The middle level career was that of traders, who might become dealers. The lower level was junkies who became street hustlers and incorporated into organized crime. By the 1980s, the boundaries between these two career ladders has blurred.

Clayton and Voss (1981) divided their sellers on the basis of motivation for sales. They noted three motivational bases: 1) as a favor to a friend, 2) for their own supplies, and 3) for profit. In a sample of 294 men living in Manhattan, they found that 33 percent (94 subjects) had sold drugs. Among the drug sellers, they found that 68 percent sold drugs as a favor to a friend, 53 percent sold for the purpose of supplying themselves and 55 percent sold for profit. Fifteen percent sold drugs for profit alone, an

additional seven percent sold for profit and to supply themselves. Among the total sample of sellers, 43 percent sold for reasons other than profit, while 57 percent sold for profit among other reasons.

Thus, Clayton and Voss provide an empirical basis for typologizing sellers of illicit drugs on the basis of intention. There are some ideological pitfalls, exemplified by one of their subjects in the Manhattan study who stated that he sold marijuana, stimulants, sedatives, heroin and other opiates as a favor to friends (1981, p. 105). That is, the actual profit motive may be understated in the data in favor of more socially acceptable responses.

On the basis of the previous studies, it can be concluded that all drug sellers are not the same and can be typed in terms of amount of drugs sold and motivation for sales. The research is not clear, however, on how the types of drug sellers differ in terms of other types of behaviors, including their involvement in non-drug related illegal activities.

The Relations Among Subcultures

This research is concerned with four distinct sets of subcultures: youth subcultures, drug use subcultures, drug sales subcultures, and delinquent subcultures. Youth subcultures have been defined in terms of their contradictory relations to dominant culture. That is, the various youth cultures maintain certain aspects of parent cultures, yet also have elements that are contradictory to parent cul-

tures. Clearly, drugs of choice sometimes embody the choice of the parent cultures, such as alcohol use; while other drugs, such as marijuana and psychedelic use are closely associated with younger age groups. Stephens and McBride (1976) have gone so far as to claim they can predict drug use on the basis of knowning the integration of a youth into conventional culture and the youth's perception of attitudes of his peers toward drug use.

As the research by the State of New York has shown (Martinez, 1985), the use of illegal drugs is a generational phenomenon, with the majority (approximately 65 percent) of those under 35 having used drugs, while only 22.4 percent of those over 35 have ever used illegal drugs. One conclusion to be drawn from this is that those who participated in youth culture prior to the 1960s have a different orientation to illicit drugs than those who participated after the 1960s. To the extent that middle class youth culture was infused with illegal drugs in the late 1960s and 1970s, youth subcultures have often been confused with drug subcultures especially by the older generation.

As noted by Larkin (1979), youth subcultures exhibit "normal" and "deviant" patterns of drug use. Normal drug use is associated with the recreational use of marijuana and alcohol primarily on weekends. Deviant use patterns are recognized as "pathological," in that they interfere with schooling, family, and peer relationships (e.g., the "amotivational syndrome"); the user becomes addicted; or some

other alteration in normal living becomes attributed to drug use.

The use of illegal drugs does not, a priori, mean that the user is a committed member of a drug subculture any more than taking a drink of an alcoholic beverage means that the drinker is a member of an alcohol-oriented subculture. As Becker (1963) and interactionists have demonstrated, involvement in a subculture may involve a career. It does mean, however, that because many youths routinely use illegal drugs, intimate contact among drug users and sellers within subcultures will occur. It is posited here that among various drug subcultures, a subculture of dealers exists, with these two categories overlapping considerably (cf. Inciardi, 1980 for data). It is also posited here that because drug use and sales are illegal activities, that drug subcultures are closely linked to criminal subcultures.

Drug Selling and Illegal Activities

There is a well established relationship between drug use and non-drug related crime (cf. Sells, et al., 1976; McGlothlin, Anglin, & Wilson, 1977; Inciardi, 1979, 1980, 1981; Peterson, Braiker, and Polich, 1980; Ball et al., 1981 1983; Ball 1982; Chaiken & Chaiken, 1982a, 1982b; Collins et al., 1982a, 1982b; Collins, Rachal and Hubbard, 1982). This is especially true in the sale of narcotics (cf. Johnson, et al., 1985). A number the studies reported were of persons who had been arrested and incarcerated for non-drug related crimes. Others included samples of persons involved in drug

treatment programs. Still others were recruited because they were serious offenders. They were then assessed as to whether they dealt drugs. Drug sale incidence was high among the criminals sampled. It is clear that in Johnson's et al. research, drug sales was incorporated into a larger repetoire of illegal activities, including burglaries, robberies, shoplifting, forgery, pimping and prostitution. Additionally, the business of selling drugs involved drug thefts and "steering, touting, and copping" (1985, p. 62). Sales among Johnson, et al.'s sample, was a complex process that involved directing buyers to a dealer ("steering"), locating customers ("touting") and transportation of the drugs ("copping"), all of which contain dangers and possibilities for "rip-offs" and violence.

There are several problems with Johnson et al.'s data in relation to this study. First, only 13 percent of his sample was under the age of 25. All subjects in this study are under 21. Second, Johnson's sample was of ghetto dwelling heroin abusers in Harlem. The sample here is a national sample of adolescents. Third, Johnson, et al., had tapped into persons fully involved in criminal and drug abusing careers. The sample here is too young for many dealers to have become fully involved in criminal subcultures. Fourth, Johnson, et al., had a sample that was overwhelmingly Black and Hispanic. Our sample is a representative national sample of youth.

The research evidence reviewed above, however, strongly suggests that the drug sales subculture lay at the intersec-

tion of drug use subcultures and criminal subcultures. The relationship between drug sales subcultures and delinquent subcultures is an empirical question that will be examined in this study. The underlying theoretical issue of this study concerns the untangling of the relationships among youth cultures, drug use subcultures, drug sales subcultures, and delinquent subcultures.

The question that this research asks is among a sample of youth age 14-20 that includes sellers and nonsellers, neither of whom may have a criminal record, is there a relationship between drug using, drug selling and non-drug crime?

Hypotheses

It has been posited here that behavior -- especially deviant behavior -- is a consequence of participation in deviant subcultures. That is, most deviance, as pointed out by such theorists as Sykes and Matza (1957), Cloward and Ohlin (1960), and Becker (1963) is learned within a subcultural context, in which norms, statuses, folkways, and mores are transmitted from veteran to neophyte.

What is missing from subcultural theory is an awareness of influences across overlapping subcultures, although British theorists such as Mungham and Pearson (1976) and Willis (1977), in their ethnographic work on working class subcultures, have described the influences of parent subcultures on youth subcultures. The hypotheses below are informed by subcultural theory in the following way: the

closer two given subcultures are in social space, the more likely they are to exhibit similar behaviors. By social space is meant the identity of the members of a given group in terms of major social categories, e.g., gender, race, age, social status, ethnicity, and urbanism. This study has as its central focus the deviant behaviors of four overlapping subcultures: youth, drug users, drug sellers, and (nondrug) criminals. Youth subculture itself is subdivided into several tendencies. Age is a delimitation of the study, in that all respondents are in the social category called "youth." Thus, this study is concerned with youthful nondrug users, drug users, drug sellers, and delinquents. What is posited here is that several linkages exist among these behaviors. As individuals engage in greater amounts of one form of deviant behavior, the likelihood of their participation and higher frequencies of involvement in other types of deviant behavior increases. The respondents have been divided along a continuum of drug involvement indicative of the extent of particpation in a drug use subculture and, for some, introduction and involvement in a drug sales subculture. Hypotheses have been developed based on the theoretical inference that involvement in drug subcultures brings one closer to criminal subcultures, and increases the liklihood of one's participation in nondrug criminal behavior; that the extent of an individual's participation in drug use and sales subcultures will be related to the extent of nondrug criminal behaviors in which that individual has

participated.

On the basis of the foregoing analysis, the following hypotheses will be tested:

Participation Rates

Hypothesis 1A: The greater the frequency of marijuana use, the greater the participation rates for drug sale and nondrug crimes.

Hypothesis 1B: The greater the use of hard drugs, the greater the participation rates for drug sales and nondrug crimes.

Hypothesis 1C: The greater the frequency of marijuana sales, the greater the participation rates for nondrug crimes.

Hypothesis 1D: The greater the frequency of hard drugs sales, the greater the participation rates for nondrug crimes.

Hypothesis 2: Among drug users and sellers, drug selling is the intervening variable between drug use and nondrug crime participation rates.

Frequency Rates or Lambdas

Hypothesis 3A: Among marijuana users, the more frequent the marijuana use, the higher the drug sale frequency rate (i.e., the greater the marijuana use lambda, the greater the lambda for drug use) and the higher the lambda for nondrug crimes.

Hypothesis 3B: Among hard drug users, the more frequent the hard drug use, the higher the drug sale frequency rate

and the higher the nondrug crime frequency rate.

Hypothesis 3C: Among marijuana sellers, the greater the marijuana sales, the higher the nondrug crime frequency rates.

Hypothesis 3D: Among hard drug sellers, the greater the hard drug sales, the higher the nondrug crime frequency rates.

Hypothesis 4: Among drug users and sellers, drug selling is the intervening variable between drug use and nondrug crime frequency rates.

Chapter 2

METHODS

This study is a secondary analysis of data from the National Youth Survey (NYS, Delbert Elliott, Principal Investigator), which was funded by the Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency of the National Institute of Mental Health. One of the major benefits of a secondary analysis such as this is economy of time, labor, and money. In a definitive work on secondary analysis, Hyman (1972) noted that large-scale data sets such as the NYS allow the researcher with minimal resources to explore important sources of information that would otherwise be neglected.

More importantly, the NYS contains information on heretofore unexplored areas on drug use, drug sales, and non-drug crime. To the author's knowledge, this is the first time these three variables have been asked of all subjects within a generalizable sample of the young adult population. The data will allow for the computation of a variety of indices of drug use, drug sales, and nondrug crime, including volume, incidence, prevalence, and lambda.

Sample

The National Youth Survey is a longitudinal study of 1,725 youths between the ages of 11-17 when they were first

sampled in 1977. This sample was based upon a multistage cluster sample that originally contained 2,360 randomly selected subjects. The sample contains the 73 percent who agreed to participate in the study (Elliott, et al., 1983). A comparison of those not consenting to those who gave consent revealed no systematic differences. This youth panel was interviewed annually over a five-year period. Mortality rates were very low in the first three years. A cumulative (deaths plus refusals) loss in the fourth survey (from which this data comes) was 10.4 percent (Elliott, et al., 1983, p. 8). Analysis of the demographics of those who dropped out of the study indicated some loss by ethnicity, class and place of residence. Those lost were somewhat less delinquent than those who continued to participate. There were 1542 subjects who provided usable data in the fourth wave. Table 2-1 contains the frequency and percentage distributions of the sample for sex, race, age, and place of residence. For purposes of comparison, population statistics from the U.S. 1980 census for persons age 15-24 are included.

Table 2-1

Demographic Background: National Youth Survey, 1979, and Population of the U.S.A., 1980

Variable	National Youth Survey N	National Youth Survey %	USA[1] N	USA[1] %
Sex[2]				
Male	805	52.2	10.7	50.7
Female	738	47.8	10.4	49.3
Missing	182			
Race[3]				
White	1222	79.2	31.2	73.4
Black	232	15.0	5.7	13.4
Hispanic	64	4.1	3.2	7.5
Other	25	1.6	2.4	5.6
Age in 1979				
14	230	14.9	3.7	12.9
15	237	15.4	4.1	13.8
16	249	16.1	4.2	14.3
17	222	14.4	4.2	14.4
18	219	14.2	4.3	14.5
19	210	13.6	4.5	15.2
20	176	11.4	4.4	15.0
Missing	182			
Place of Residence[4]				
Urban	407	26.4	67.9	30.0
Suburban	682	44.3	101.5	44.8
Rural	453	29.3	57.1	25.2
Missing	183			

Notes:

1. Data compiled from U.S. Department of Commerce, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1981. Washington, DC: U.S. Printing Office. Frequencies in millions.

2. Census age data grouped in 5-year intervals, with 15-19 the age group covering this sample. Statistics were computed on 15-19 year-old population.

3. Census age data grouped in 10-year intervals, with 15-24 the age group covering this sample. Statistics were computed on 15-24 year-old population.

4. Census data available for total population only. Statistics computed on the basis of total population.

The data from the fourth wave of the NYS was chosen for this analysis because of its size, representativeness of the general population ages 14-20, and the sophistication of the sampling and interviewing. The data in Table 2-1 indicate that the sample is fairly closely representative of the total population of the United States. The NYS sample is composed of 52.2 percent males and 47.8 percent females, while the general population between the ages of 15-19 consists of 50.7 percent males and 49.3 percent females. Comparing the NYS with the Census figures, respectively, whites (79.2 percent versus 73.4 percent) and black (15.0 percent versus 13.4 percent) were overrepresente, while Hispanics (4 percent versus 7.5 percent) and other ethnicities (1.6 versus 5.6 percent) were underrepresented.

The age gradient of the sample is inversely related to the age gradient of the total population. Younger members of the sample are overrepresented relative to the the total population, which has higher percentages in the age levels between 18-20. Apparently in the sampling frame, the authors failed to take into consideration the fact that age cohorts born between 1960-62 were larger than those born after 1962. Urbanites were underrepresented and rural persons are overrepresented in comparison to the total census data. The NYS sample compared to the Census was 26.4 percent versus 30.0 percent urban, 44.3 percent to 44.8 percent suburban, and 29.3 percent to 25.2 percent rural.

Instrumentation and Variables

Subjects were interviewed using schedules that contained questions on demographics, schooling, work, and a series of self-report items designed to measure all forms of deviant and illegal behaviors by youths (see sample Codebook in the Appendix). The data were carefully coded and edited for electronic data processing. The section covering self-reported delinquency began as follows:

> This section deals with your own behavior. I'd like to remind you that all your answers are confidential. I'll read a series of behaviors to you. Please give me your best estimate of the exact number of times you've done each thing during the last year from Christmas a gear ago to the Christmas just past. [N.B.: Data were collected between January and March, 1979 (Elliott, et al., 1983, p. 117)] (Elliott, et al., 1983, p. 534)

For each item (crimes, drugs, and sales) the frequency of involvement was obtained by asking subjects the following stem, "How many times in the Last Year have you:" followed by the specific item.

The major independent variables in this study are drug use and drug sales. Drug use includes the following substances: (1) marijuana, (2) hallucinogens, (3) cocaine, (4) heroin, (5) amphetamines, (6) barbiturates, (7) codeine, (8) inhalents, (9) "angel dust," and (10) alcohol. Drug sales are measured by only two items: the frequency of marijuana sales and frequency of hard drug sales (specific substances were not specified in the schedule).

The dependent variables consist of scales of non-drug

crimes: namely, misdemeanor crimes of minor assault, minor theft, property damage, and public disorder; and the index crimes of felony assault, robbery, and felony theft. All indices are composed of three or more items via elicited self-reported frequency of involvement for each item. Subscale scores were obtained by summing across component items. Nondrug crimes subscales, their component items, and item wordings are reported in Table 2-2. Composite nondrug crime scales and their constituent items are reported in Table 2-3.

Table 2-2

Nondrug Criminal Behavior Subscales, Items, and Wording

Subscale Items	Item Wording
	HOW MANY TIMES IN THE LAST YEAR HAVE YOU:
1. Robbery	
of students	used force or strongarm methods to get money or things from other students?
of teachers	used force or strongarm methods to get money or things from a teacher or other adult at school?
of others	used force or strongarm methods to get money or things from other people, not students or teachers?
2. Felony Theft	
stole > $50	stolen or tried to steal something worth more than $50?
auto theft	stolen or tried to steal a motor vehicle, such as a car or motorcycle?
burglary	broken or tried to break into a building or vehicle to steal something or just to look around?

Table 2-2 (cont.)

Nondrug Criminal Behavior Subscales Items, and Wording

Subscale Items	Item Wording
	HOW MANY TIMES IN THE LAST YEAR HAVE YOU:
3. Felony Assault	
aggravated	attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or killing him or her?
sexual	physically hurt or threatened to hurt somewone to get them to have sex with you?
gang fight	been involved in gang fights?
4. Damaged property	
family	purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your parents or other family members?
school	purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to a school?
other	purposely damaged or destroyed other property that did not belong to you, not counting family or school property?
5. Minor Theft	
stole < $5	stolen or tried to steal something worth less than $5
stole bet. $5-50	stolen or tried to steal something worth between $5-50?
joyriding	taken a vehicle for a ride or drive without the owner's permission?
6. Minor Assault	
hit teacher	hit or threatened to hit a teacher or other adult at school?
hit parent	hit or threatened to hit one of your parents?
hit student	hit or threatened to hit other students?

Table 2-2 (cont.)

Nondrug Criminal Behavior Subscales Items, and Wording

Subscale Items	Item Wording
	HOW MANY TIMES IN THE LAST YEAR HAVE YOU:
7. Disorderly conduct	
hitchhiked	hitchhiked where it was illegal to do so?
disorderly conduct	been loud, rowdy, or unruly in a public place -- disorderly conduct?
public drunkenness	been drunk in a public place?
panhandling	begged for money or things from strangers?
obscene calls	made obscene telephone calls, such as calling someone and saying dirty things?

Table 2-3

Nondrug Criminal Behavior Composite Scales and Their Constituent Items

Composite Scale	Items
General Delinquency A (SRD - A)	1) Damaged family property* 2) Damaged school property* 3) Damaged other property* 4) Stole motor vehicle 5) Stole something > $50 6) Bought stolen goods 7) Runaway 8) Lied about age* 9) Carried hidden weapon 10) Stole something < $5 11) Aggravated assault 12) Prostitution 13) Sexual intercourse 14) Gang fights 15) Hitchhiked* 16) Hit teacher 17) Hit parent 18) Hit student 19) Disorderly conduct 20) Joyriding 21) Buying liquor for a minor* 22) Sexual assault 23) Strongarmed students 24) Strongarmed teachers 25) Strongarmed others 26) Evaded payment* 27) Public drunkenness* 28) Stole something $5-50 29) Broke into building or vehicle 30) Panhandeled 31) Skipped classes* 32) Didn't return change* 33) Obscene calls*
General Delinquency B (SRD - B)	Excludes all starred (*) items in SRD - A

Table 2-3 (cont.)

Nondrug Criminal Behavior Composite Scales and Their Constituent Items

Composite Scale	Items
Index Offenses	
Felony Assault	
	1) aggravated assault
	2) sexual assault
	3) gang fights
Felony Theft	
	4) stolen auto
	5) stolen > than $50
	6) Broke into building or vehicle
Assault	
	7) strongarmed students
	8) strongarmed teachers
	9) strongarmed others
Misdemeanor	
Vandalism	
	1) Damaged family property
	2) Damaged school property
	3) Damaged other property
Minor Theft	
	4) Stole something < $5
	5) Stole something $5-50
	6) Joyriding
Minor Assault	
	7) Hit teacher
	8) Hit parent
	9) Hit student
"Key" Offenses	Misdemeanor + Index Offenses

The self-reported frequencies on the delinquency and drug use items varied wildly. For example, the item on frequency of carrying a hidden weapon had a range of from 0-365, with a mean of 14.54. The vast majority of subjects stated nonparticipation on most items. The median and mode were zero or near zero because of the tremendously skewed

distribution on these items. Thus, all scales were linearly transformed using a factor of log10 + 1. The raw means will be reported, but log-transformed data will be used for statistical tests between means.

The participation rates, incidence rates, lambdas, and volume for drug use, drug sales and nondrug crimes for the total sample are reported in Table 2-4. The participation rate is defined as the percentage of subjects reporting one or more involvements in the given behavior during 1979. Volume is the sum of self-reported occurrences of the behavior reported by the respondents during the focal year. The incidence rate is the average (mean) number of times the offense was reported during the past year. It is calculated by dividing the volume by the number of respondents, including subjects who deny involvement (i.e., report zero) for a given behavior. Lambda is the mean frequency rate; it is obtained by dividing the total number (volume) of behaviors for a specific offense by the number of persons who reported at least one such behavioral incident in the year prior to the interview.

Table 2-4

Participation Rates, Incidence Rates, Lambdas, and Volume for All Measures of Drug Use, Drug Sales and Nondrug Crimes for the Total Sample

Behavior	Participation Rates %	Incidence Rates per/yr.	Lambda per/yr.	Volume
Illicit Drug Use				
Alcohol	81.5	47.2	65.2	82,014
Marijuana	40.7	26.9	66.2	41,526
Hallucinogens	6.4	1.1	16.5	1,623
Tranquilizers	7.1	2.3	31.6	3,497
Amphetamines	11.6	2.4	20.3	3,636
Barbiturates	4.0	1.3	32.6	2,023
Codeine	6.3	0.7	11.0	1,091
Heroin	0.8	0.4	55.4	665
Cocaine	7.6	0.7	9.1	1,063
Inhalents	1.7	0.1	2.9	79
Angel Dust	4.0	0.5	12.1	748
Total Hard Drugs	21.9	9.3	42.6	14,407
Drug Sales				
Marijuana	10.4	2.5	23.8	3,809
Hard Drugs	2.0	0.6	30.4	941
Total Drug Sales	10.4	3.1	29.3	4,720
Nondrug Delinquency				
Robbery	2.7	0.1	6.3	257
Felony Theft	8.9	0.7	7.7	1,065
Felony Assault	11.1	0.5	4.7	806
Property Damage	18.0	0.8	4.5	1,236
Minor Theft	14.8	1.3	8.6	1,969
Minor Assault	28.2	2.8	9.8	4,273
Disorderly Conduct	48.1	9.3	19.4	14,368
"Key" Offenses	38.4	13.6	15.2	9,026
Index Offenses	14.4	1.0	7.2	1,609
Misdemeanor	38.4	12.6	12.6	7,478
SRD 'A'	80.6	49.5	61.4	75,807
SRD 'B'	65.6	29.3	44.7	44,913

The data in Table 2-4 indicate that during the previous year, 81.5 percent of the sample used alcohol, with an average of 47.2 drinks per subject. For those who drank,

the average was 65.2 drinks per year. A total of 40.7 percent of the sample have used marijuana; the marijuana incidence rate is 26.9 times per subject and 66.2 times per user (lambda); and that the sample used marijuana more than 41,500 times (volume). It is apparent from the statistics that marijuana is the illegal drug of choice in this sample. Participation rates of other drugs were, in order of usage: amphetamines, 11.6 percent; cocaine, 7.6 percent; tranquilizers, 7.1 percent; hallucinogens, 6.4 percent; codeine, 6.3 percent; angel dust and barbiturates, 4.0 percent; inhalents, 1.7 percent; and heroin, 0.8 percent. The total hard drug participation rate was 21.9 percent of the sample.

Incidence levels are: alcohol, 47.2; marijuana, 26.9; amphetamines, 2.4; tranquilizers, 2.3; barbiturates, 1.31; and hallucinogens, 1.05. The remainder of the drugs had incidence levels of less than once per subject per year. The total hard drug incidence rate was 3.1.

Lambdas indicate mean usage of a given drug per user. As can be seen from Table 2-4, marijuana users used the drug an average of 66.2 times in the previous year. Heroin users used the drug an average of 55.4 times during the past year. Upon inspection of reported frequencies, it was found that of the 12 subjects reporting heroin use, five reported use once, another three reported between three and six times, and one each reported use of 15, 30, and 600 times. Thus, within the sample, there seems to have been one true addict. Barbiturate users had a mean usage of 32.6 times a year; tranquilizer users, 31.6 times per year. Amphetamine users

had a mean usage of 20.3 times per year. Hallucinogen and angel dust users had mean usages of 16.6 and 12.1 per year. Cocaine users had a mean usage of 9.1 times per year. Inhalent users had a mean usage of 2.9 times per year. Total lambda for hard drug usage was 42.6 per user.

It is apparent that among the illegal drugs, alcohol and marijuana account for 87.3 percent of the total volume; "pills" (i.e., tranquilizers, amphetamines, and barbiturates) account for 8.0 percent; hallucinogens and cocaine account for an additional 2.3 percent, and the remainder account for an additional 2.4 percent.

On the drug sales measures, 10.4 percent of the sample stated that they had sold marijuana, while 2.0 percent admitted to selling hard drugs. Incidence of sales were 2.5 and 0.6 percent, respectively. Sellers of hard drugs conducted more sales per year than did sellers of marijuana, 30.4 to 23.8, indicating that hard drug sellers were less likely than marijuana dealers to be occasional sellers. Total volume of marijuana sales was 3,809, while the volume of hard drugs was 941, indicating a ratio of approximately 4:1 of marijuana to hard drug sales.

On the nondrug delinquency measures, 80.6 percent of the sample reported engaging in some form of delinquent behavior; 65.6 percent reported engaging in one or more severe delinquent acts; 38.4 percent reported committing a key offense, 38.4 percent reported committing a misdemeanor, and 14.4 percent reporting having committed a felony. Inci-

dence levels were: minor assault, 28.2 percent; property damage, 18.0 percent; minor theft, 14.8 percent; felony assault 11.1 percent, and robbery 2.7 percent. On the subscales, only minor assault (2.77) and minor theft (1.04) had incidence levels of more than one per year. On the composite indicators, SRD-A showed an incidence level of 49.5, SRD-B was 29.3, key offenses was 5.9, misdemeanors was 4.8, and index offenses was 1.0.

On the subscales, among those reporting involvement in these behaviors, lambdas ranged from a low of 4.5 for property damage, to a high of 9.8 for minor assault. On the composite indices, lambdas for SRD-A was 61.4, SRD-B, 44.7; key offenses, 15.2; misdemeanors, 12.6; and index crimes, 7.24. On index crimes, the incidence rate of 1.0, compared to the lambda of 7.2 suggests that relatively few subjects committed felonies; however, those that did, engaged in them intermittently. There was a total of 75,807 incidences of delinquency reported; 44,913 of a serious nature; 9,026 key offenses, 7,478 misdemeanors, and 1,609 felonies.

Data Analysis

As mentioned above, all indicators of nondrug crime will be scales summed over items; composite indicators will be sums of subscales. Drug use will be similarly scaled. For the purposes of statistical analysis each scale will be linearly transformed by a factor of log10 + 1. The drug sales variables will be responses to single items. All indicators of participation rates will be summed across the

entire sample. For frequency rates, items will be summed across only those subjects who reported one or more incidences of the specific behavior (i.e., lambda).

Because most variables have modal and median participation rates of zero, Hypotheses 1A-1D concerning participation rates will be tested using contingency tables. Since the variables developed in Chapter will be ordinal, the appropriate statistic of contingency will be gamma, which according to Goodman and Kruskal (1954) is a proportional reduction of error statistic. Separate analyses will be conducted for the total sample, marijuana users, and hard drug users. For the testing of Hypothesis 2, the sample will be divided into nine types on the basis of drug use and drug sales (i.e., user types = nonusers, marijuana only users, hard drug users; seller types = nonsellers, marijuana only sellers, and hard drug sellers). Multivariate and univariate two-way analyses of variance will be conducted on the factors of drug use and drug sales on nondrug criminal behavior (or dependent variables) in Chapter 4.

Since the lambdas are at the interval level of measurement, correlational analyses will be conducted using Pearson Product-Moment correlations for the testing of Hypotheses 3A-3D. Pearson correlations will be run using frequency of marijuana use and sales, and hard drug use and sales with the following frequencies of nondrug behavior: robbery, felony theft, felony assault, damaged property, minor theft, minor assault, disorderly conduct, index offenses, misdemeanors, key offenses, and general delinquency indices.

Hypothesis 4 will be tested using stepwise multiple regression analyses, with drug use and drug sales as independent variables, and nondrug crime lambdas as the dependent variables. It would be hypothesized that drug sales would be entered into the equation prior to drug use, since it is expected that drug sales will be more predictive of nondrug crime than drug use. Standardized betas can be read as equivalent to partial correlations with the covariance of all other independent variables entered into the equation removed and would give the independent contributions of each variable to nondrug crime. Pearson correlations would indicate the covariance of drug use and drug sales. Stepwise multiple regresssion analyses will be selected for testing Hypotheses 2 and 4 because all variables are at the ratio level, and a stepwise analysis would automatically enter the variable accounting for the greatest amount of variance in the dependent variable into the equation first, then recompute using the remaining variance on the dependent variable minus the covariance of the remaining variables with the already-entered variable and then enter the next variable and so on. Therefore, it would allow for the testing of the hypothesis of the relationship of drug use and drug sales to indices of nondrug crime.

Chapter 3

VARIABLES AND TYPOLOGIES

This study uses several typologies. First is a typology of drug users. Drug users are of three types: (1) nonusers, (2) marijuana users, and (3) hard drug users. Second is a typology of drug sellers, also in three categories: (1) nonsellers, (2) marijuana only sellers, and (3) hard drug sellers. Frequencies and percentage distributions of drug seller types are contained in Table 3-2. Drug use and drug sales have been combined into a third typology of drug involvement: (1) nonusers/nonsellers, (2) nonselling users, and (3) sellers. Frequencies and percentage distributions of drug user types are contained in Table 3-1.

Table 3-1

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Drug User Types

	Frequency	%
Type		
Nonuser	861	55.9
Marijuana only	341	22.1
Hard drug	338	21.9
Total	1540	100.0

When the sample is classified in terms of drug usage during the sampling year, 55.9 percent were nonusers, 22.1 percent used marijuana only, and 21.9 percent used hard drugs either by themselves or in combination with marijuana.

Table 3-2

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Drug Seller Types

	Frequency	%
Type		
Nonseller	1378	89.5
Marijuana only sellers	131	8.5
Hard drug sellers	31	2.0
Total	1540	100.0

When the sample was broken down by drug selling participation rates, 89.5 percent stated they were not involved in drug sales in the previous year; 8.5 percent sold marijuana only; and 2.0 percent sold hard drugs.

Table 3-3

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Drug Involvement Types

	Frequency	%
Type		
Nonuser/Nonseller	860	55.8
Nonselling Drug User	521	33.8
Seller	161	10.4
Total	1542	100.0

When classified on drug involvement, 55.8 percent of the sample stated they had neither used or sold drugs; 33.8 percent stated that they had used drugs but not sold them; and 10.4 percent stated that they had sold drugs. Table 3-4 contains the crosstabulation of drug user types by drug seller types.

Table 3-4

Frequencies and Percentage Distribution of Drug User Types Crosstabulated by Drug Seller Types

	Sellers			
	Nonseller	Marijuana Only	Hard Drugs	Total
User Types				
Nondrug	857	3	0	860
Percent	55.7	0.2	0.0	55.9
Marijuana Only	304	37	0	341
Percent	19.8	2.4	0.0	22.2
Hard Drug	217	90	31	338
Percent	14.1	5.8	2.0	21.9
Total	1378	130	31	1539
Percent	89.5	8.4	2.0	100.0

When drug user types were crosstabulated with drug seller types, it was found that all 31 hard drug sellers were also hard drug users. There were no nondrug users or marijuana only users who also sold hard drugs. A total of 857 subjects, or 55.7 percent of the sample were nonusers/-nonsellers; 1378 (89.5 percent) subjects were nonsellers, 130 (8.4 percent) sold marijuana only, and 31 (2.0 percent) sold hard drugs; and 860 (55.9 percent) used no drugs, 341 used marijuana only (22.2 percent), and 338 (21.9 percent) used marijuana in combination with hard drugs.

Incidence on the nondrug crime indicators have been the basis for a typology of respondents into three categories: (1) nondelinquents, (2) misdemeanor only offenders, and (3) index offenders. Frequencies and percentage distributions

are contained in Table 3-5.

Table 3-5

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Self-Reported Delinquency Types

	Frequency	%
Type		
Nondelinquent	950	61.6
Misdemeanor offender	368	23.9
Index Offender	222	14.4
Total	1540	100.0

When the sample was classed into levels of self-reported delinquency during the previous year, 61.6 percent were nondelinquents, 23.9 percent reported misdemeanor violations only, and 14.4 percent indicated involvement in index felony offenses.

The purpose of typologizing the sample was to create meaningful categories of person for subsequent analyses. In addition, subjects were categorized along dimensions of increasing serious involvement on drug use and drug sales indicators. Table 3-6 contains the distributions of the sample on marijuana and hard drug use and sales frequencies.

Table 3-6

Frequency Distribution of Drug Use and Drug Sale Variables

	Use		Sales	
(N)	Marijuana (1542)	Hard Drgs. (1542)	Marijuana (1543)	Hard Drgs. (1542)
Frequency of Involvement				
0	59.3	78.1	89.6	98.0
1-5	15.0	9.9	5.8	1.2
6-10	4.4	2.1	1.7	0.2
11-50	10.1	6.9	1.8	0.3
51+	10.2	3.0	1.1	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The data in Table 3-6 indicate that marijuana use is the most common form of the four behaviors, with 40.7 percent of the sample reporting having used marijuana during the previous year, 20.3 percent of whom could be termed routine users. Approximately 22 percent of the sample reported using hard drugs. Frequency of hard drug use was much lower than for marijuana use, with approximately 10 percent stating they had used hard drugs more than 10 times. Approximately 10 percent of the sample engaged in marijuana sales, and two percent reported selling hard drugs. In both forms of drug sales, the majority of those subjects stating that they had sold drugs five times or less.

Drug Use and Drug Sales

Hypotheses 1A-1B posit relationships between

frequency of marijuana and hard drug use and participation in drug sales. For the purposes of establishing the influence of drug use on drug sales, separate analyses were conducted for marijuana and hard drug users. For each of the subsequent analyses in this chapter, drug users were classed by frequency of use, including two nonuser categories. The first is nonuser/nonsellers, who neither use nor sell drugs; and the second is the category of nonusers the specific type of drug under consideration, but who may use or sell other drugs under not under consideration at that time.

Frequency categories were developed to provide empirically sound groupings based upon frequencies of use. Each category was devised to represent a similar grouping of subjects. For marijuana users, there were four categories: 0 users, 1-10 reported uses, in which there were 232 subjects; 11-50 reported uses, in which there were 160 subjects; and 51 or more uses, which had 235 subjects. For hard drugs, users were divided in to two approximately equal-sized categories of users 1-5 times, which included 152 subjects, and those using hard drugs six or more times, which included 186 subjects. Table 3-7 contains the results of the comparisons of frequency of marijuana use and drug sales.

Table 3-7

Percent Selling Marijuana and Hard Drugs by Frequency of Marijuana Use

		Marijuana Use					
(N)	NU/NS* (860)	0 (55)	1-10 (232)	11-50 (160)	51+ (235)	F Sig.	r
Percent Selling							
Marijuana	*	0.3	5.6	19.4	47.7	<.01	.21
Hard Drugs	*	0.0	1.3	1.9	10.6	<.01	.11
Any Sales	*	0.3	5.6	20.0	48.1	<.01	.53

Notes:
* - Nonusers/Nonsellers: Zero by definition.

In Tables 3-7 and 3-8, the nonuser/nonseller category by definition will have use frequencies of 0. The data in Table 3-7 indicate that of those subjects reporting marijuana use of more than 50 times in the previous year, 47.7 percent stated that they sold marijuana, where as only 0.3 percent of nonusers of marijuana reported selling it. Similarly, hard drug sales increase with marijuana use, increasing from zero among marijuana nonusers to 10.6 percent of those who are regular smokers. The correlations of drug use with drug sales indicate that marijuana use correlates rather modestly with marijuana sales ($r = .21$) and weakly with hard drug sales ($r = .11$). Yet when marijuana and hard drug sales are combined into an indicator of drug sales, the correlation becomes quite strong ($r = .53$). These findings suggest that as marijuana use increases (Table 3-8), the

proportion making marijuana sales increases moderately and hard drug sales increases somewhat. Hypothesis 1A in which frequency of marijuana use is stated to be positively related to drug sales is strongly confirmed for marijuana sales, but weakly confirmed for hard drug sales. When the two sales measures are combined, as marijuana use increases, the sale of drugs increases quite strongly. The implication of this finding is that elevated marijuana use and increased volume of drug sales are closely associated, suggesting that they may be aspects of a similar subcultural syndrome.

Table 3-8

Crosstabulation of Marijuana Use Frequency with Marijuana Sales Frequency

		Marijuana Use				
	NS/NU*	0	1-10	11-50	51+	Total
(N)	(860)	(56)	(300)	(155)	(172)	(1543)
Marijuana Sales						
0	100.0	92.9	91.3	79.4	43.0	89.6
1-5	*	3.6	7.0	14.8	25.0	5.8
6+	*	3.6	1.7	5.8	32.0	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* - Zero by definition

The data in Table 3-8 demonstrate that as the use of marijuana increases, the probability of participating in marijuana sales increases dramatically. Among nonusers, sales are practically nil, while among heavy users (51+ per

year), 57 percent sell drugs. These findings suggest that as marijuana use increases, the greater the likelihood that marijuana use will be supported by marijuana sales.

Although hard drug sales are participated in by a smaller proportion of the population than marijuana sales, it is likely that a relationship between hard drug use and drug sales exists similar to that of marijuana use and sales.

Table 3-9

Percent Selling Drugs by Frequency of Hard Drug Use

		Hard Drug Use				
(N)	NU/NS* (860)	0 (344)	1-5 (152)	6+ (186)	F Sig.	r
% Selling						
Marijuana	*	3.3	21.1	46.8	<.01	.22
Hard Drugs	*	*	4.0	13.4	<.01	.12
Any Sales	*	3.3	21.1	47.8	<.01	.50

Notes:
* - Nonusers/Nonsellers

The data in Table 3-9 are similar to those in Table 3-7. The greater the frequency of hard drug use, the greater the probability that the user will engage in selling. Among heavy (6+) hard drug users, 46.8 percent engaged in marijuana sales. Hypothesis 1B in which frequency of hard drug use is stated to be positively related to drug sales is strongly confirmed for marijuana sales, but weakly confirmed for hard drug sales. The pattern of correlations among hard

drug use and drug sales parallels that of marijuana use. This finding also lends credence to subcultural theory, suggesting that drug use and drug sales are part of a pattern of a drug subculture by suggesting that drug use and drug sales are steps in a subcultural career in which greater involvement in use seems to lead to greater probability of involvement in sales. Table 3-10 contains the crosstabulation of hard drug use and marijuana and hard drug sales.

Table 3-10

Crosstabulation of Hard Drug Use Frequency with Marijuana Sales Frequency and Hard Drug Sales Frequency

		Hard Drug Use			
	NS/NU*	0	1-5	6+	Total
(N)	(860)	(56)	(300)	(155)	(1543)
Marijuana Sales					
0	100.0	88.1	78.9	53.2	89.6
1-5	*	9.3	15.1	18.3	5.8
6+	*	2.6	5.9	28.5	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* - Zero by definition

The data in Table 3-10 indicate that as hard drug use increases, the probability of selling marijuana and/or hard drugs increases. Among the heavy hard drug users (6+), 46.8 percent sell marijuana, and 13.4 percent sell hard drugs.

Of the 31 hard drug sellers, 25 are heavy hard drug users. Thus, hard drug users parallel marijuana users in their proclivity to sell the kinds of drugs they themselves are using as their own level of usage increases. It is interesting to note that among heavy marijuana users, more will sell marijuana than among heavy hard drug users. A total of 57.0 percent of all heavy marijuana users sell marijuana, while only 46.8 percent of the heavy hard drug users sell marijuana.

Summary

The material in this chapter is divided into two sections. The first set of analyses provide typologies of drug sellers or drug users, and nondrug offenders into which the sample is categorized. These typologies will be employed as major independent and control variables in subsequent chapters. There are several generalizations that can be made from these statistics. First, of the 567 drug users in the sample, 40.4 percent used marijuana only and 59.6 used hard drugs, mostly in combination with marijuana. Second, a total of 10.5 percent of the sample sold drugs. Of the 31 respondents who stated that they sold hard drugs (2.0 percent of the sample), only one did not also sell marijuana. Third, for every 3.5 users, there was one seller, himself also a user. This suggests that most sales occur among small groups of youth who sell within the immediate peer group. Very few of the sellers were volume sellers. Of the 161 sellers in this study, only 50 sold on more than 10

occasions during the previous year.

The second section of this chapter was concerned with the relationship between drug use and drug sales. Although is was quite apparent that drug use and drug sales are related, the data indicated that the strongest relationships occurred when drug use was correlated with all drug sales, as compared to the sales of marijuana or hard drugs specifically. In addition, heavy marijuana users are more likely to be sellers of marijuana than heavy hard drug users were to be hard drug sellers. These findings lend credence to the subcultural theory in that they suggest that the heavier the drug use, the greater the likelihood of selling any drugs, frequency of use of specific drugs was modestly related to marijuana selling, but only weakly with hard drug selling.

CHAPTER 4

PARTICIPATION AND FREQUENCY RATES

Participation Rates

Participation rates are defined as the percentage of a given population reporting involvement in a given behavior; that is, what proportion of a given group has indicated that they have participated in the behavior during a year. Participation rates of self-reported delinquency, therefore, are indicators of the prevalence of illegal behavior within subgroups.

Marijuana Use and Nondrug Crime

Hypothesis 1A states that the greater the frequency of marijuana use, the greater the participation rates for drug sale and nondrug crimes. The question to be answered in this section is the extent to which increasing marijuana use is related to participation in nondrug crime. Table 4-1 presents the participation rates for five categories of marijuana users: (1) nonusers/nonsellers of any drug, (2) nonusers of marijuana (but who used hard drugs), (3) self-reported users of marijuana between 1-10 times during the previous year, (4) users of marijuana between 11-50 times, and (5) users of marijuana more than 50 times. Analyses of

variance were conducted on the differences among the five groups and a correlation was computed to indicate the strength of relationship between level of usage and nondrug crime for each of the indicators.

Table 4-1

Percent Participating in Nondrug Crime by Frequency of Marijuana Use

	Marijuana Drug Use						
(N)	NU/NS* (857)	0 (56)	1-10 (300)	11-50 (155)	51+ (172)	F Sig.	r
Index Offenses	7	13	16	23	39	<.01	.29
Robbery	1	4	3	3	10	<.01	.18
Felony Theft	3	5	10	14	32	<.01	.31
Felony Assault	5	9	13	19	30	<.01	.25
Misdemeanors	29	48	44	51	60	<.01	.23
Property Damage	13	18	20	24	35	<.01	.19
Minor Theft	6	16	22	25	40	<.01	.33
Minor Assault	23	36	31	33	41	<.01	.14
Disorderly Conduct	28	53	67	79	85	<.01	.47
Key Offenses	30	50	46	55	66	<.01	.26
SRD 'A'	68	89	95	99	100	<.01	.37
SRD 'B'	49	82	80	91	96	<.01	.41

Notes:
* - Nonusers/Nonsellers

The data in Table 4-1 indicates that as marijuana use increases, the greater the likelihood of participation in nondrug crime. All F-ratios were significant at the .01 level. All the correlations are positive and significant.

Of those who reported use of marijuana more than 50 times during the previous year, 39 percent reported committing felonies, 60 percent reported committing misdemeanors, and 100 percent reported participation in some form of delinquency. Only seven percent of the nonusers/nonsellers reported involvement in a felony, 29 percent reported involvement in misdemeanors, and 68 percent were involved in some sort of delinquency (SRD 'A').

There is a jump in participation rates between nonusers/nonsellers, and those who did not use marijuana, but used hard drugs. The non-marijuana drug users were slightly less than twice as likely as whom to commit index offenses (13 to 7 percent), misdemeanors (48 to 29 percent), disorderly conduct (53 to 28 percent), key offenses (50 to 30 percent), and serious offenses (SRD 'B'; 82 to 49 percent). Similar relationships can be found between nonusers/nonsellers and users of marijuana between 1-10 times. These findings suggest that drug use is associated with a greater proneness to commit nondrug offenses. Additionally, the participation rates between marijuana users between 1-10 times and those who used marijuana between 11-50 times are quite similar, suggesting that nondrug criminal participation rates jump twice: between nonusers/nonsellers and light drug users, and between moderate drug users and heavy drug users. The jump between moderate and heavy users is greatest in index or felony offenses.

Heavy marijuana users (51+) uses during the previous

year) were more than five times as likely to commit a felony than nonusers/nonsellers; 10 times more likely to commit felony theft or robbery, and six times as likely to commit felony assault. They were twice as likely to commit misdemeanors.

The strongest correlations in Table 4-1 are felony theft (r = .31), felony assault (r = .25), minor theft (r =

is associated primarily with theft and rowdiness, and secondarily with felony assault. It is more strongly associated with felonies (r = .29) than misdemeanors (r = .23), and with more serious crime (r [SRD 'B'] = .41) than less serious crime (r [SRD 'A' = .37). The elevated levels of participation in minor theft and felony theft are probably associated with the need to defray the expenses of a drug use. Young people generally have low and inelastic incomes. Therefore, as drug use increases, the pressure to increase income through illegal means increases. The relationship with disorderly conduct may indicate that heavy marijuana smoking may be associated with an estrangement with conventional society. In general, the heavier the self-reported marijuana smoking, the greater the likelihood of participation in delinquent behavior. The data support Hypothesis 1A in reference to nondrug crimes.

Hard Drug Use and Nondrug Crime

Hypothesis 1B states that the greater the use of hard drugs, the greater the participation rates for drug sales and nondrug crimes. Table 4-2 contains the participation

rates of four hard drug use categories: (1) nonusers/nonsellers of any drug, (2) nonusers of hard drugs who have used marijuana, (3) self-reported users of hard drugs from 1-5 times during the previous year, and (4) those who used hard drugs more than 5 times in the previous year. Participation rates on nondrug crime were computed for each hard drug use category, analyses of variance were used to compare the rates of use between categories, and correlations were computed to analyze the strength of relationship between use category and proportion reporting participation in nondrug crime.

Table 4-2

Percent Participating in Nondrug Crime by Frequency of Hard Drug Use

	Hard Drug Use					
(N)	NU/NS* (857)	0 (345)	1-5 (152)	6+ (186)	F Sig.	r
Index Offenses	7	15	23	38	<.01	.29
Robbery	1	3	3	11	<.01	.19
Felony Theft	3	8	16	30	<.01	.31
Felony Assault	5	11	19	31	<.01	.27
Misdemeanors	29	44	49	62	<.01	.24
Property Damage	13	17	25	38	<.01	.21
Minor Theft	6	21	26	37	<.01	.32
Minor Assault	23	32	32	41	<.01	.14
Disorderly Conduct	28	68	72	83	<.01	.46
Key Offenses	30	46	55	67	<.01	.26
SRD 'A'	68	96	97	97	<.01	.36
SRD 'B'	49	82	88	95	<.01	.40

Notes:
* - Nonusers/Nonsellers

The data in Table 4-2 is quite similar to that in Table 4-1, with the correlations differing no more than two points from each other. Therefore, the observations that were made for marijuana usage apply to hard drug usage, and can be generalized to illicit drug usage in general. Therefore, it can be concluded that illicit drug use is part of a larger set of delinquent behaviors and is a part of the behavioral repertoire of delinquent subcultures. Hypothesis 1B is

supported by the data.

The 345 non-hard drug users who were not included in the nonuser/ nonseller category consisted of 341 users of marijuana only and four hard drug sellers who did not use hard drugs, but did use marijuana. This category provides added insight into the relationship between marijuana usage and nondrug crime. The marijuana user only category occupies a midpoint between the nonusers/nonsellers and the hard drug users, with participation rates closer to the nonuser/-nonseller group on felony assault, and closer to the hard drug users on all other indicators. Thus, the marijuana only category sheds additional light on the relationship between drug use and nondrug crime, by indicating that use of marijuana only is more closely linked with minor forms of delinquency, while marijuana use in combination with hard drugs is associated with more serious criminal behaviors.

Marijuana Sales and Nondrug Crime

Hypothesis 1C states that the greater the frequency of marijuana sales, the greater the participation rates for nondrug crimes. Table 4-3 contains the participation rates in nondrug crime for for categories of marijuana sellers: (1) nonsellers/nonusers, (2) non-marijuana sellers who use drugs or sell hard drugs, (3) self-reported sellers of marijuana between 1-5 times during the previous year, and (4) self-reported sellers of marijuana more than 5 times per year.

Table 4-3

Percent Participating in Nondrug Crime by Frequency of Marijuana Sales

		Marijuana Sales				
(N)	NU/NS* (857)	0 (523)	1-5 (89)	6+ (71)	F Sig.	r
Index Offenses	7	16	42	57	<.01	.35
Robbery	1	2	8	21	<.01	.27
Felony Theft	1	9	29	51	<.01	.39
Felony Assault	5	12	35	44	<.01	.32
Misdemeanors	29	43	71	75	<.01	.27
Property Damage	13	18	45	48	<.01	.27
Minor Theft	6	21	42	49	<.01	.35
Minor Assault	23	28	53	59	<.01	.21
Disorderly Conduct	28	69	90	83	<.01	.46
Key Offenses	30	46	75	79	<.01	.29
SRD 'A'	68	96	100	100	<.01	.36
SRD 'B'	49	83	100	100	<.01	.41

Notes:
* - Nonusers/Nonsellers

The data in Table 4-3 indicate that marijuana sales are correlated with nondrug crime similarly to marijuana use, only the relationships are generally stronger. It is clear that those who have reported selling marijuana six or more times are much more likely to be delinquent than nonselling drug users and nonusers/nonsellers. For example, the 71 heavy marijuana sellers (six or more times) were more than

eight times as likely to have reported committing a felony than nonsellers/nonusers, and 3.5 times more likely than nonselling drug users. They are 50 times as likely to commit felony theft than nonusers/nonsellers, and 10 times as likely than nonusing sellers; eight times as likely to report participation in minor theft than nonsellers/non-users, and slightly more than twice as likely than nonselling users.

The relationships among misdemeanors and marijuana selling are generally weaker than felonies (r [index offenses] = .35; r [misdemeanors] = .27). Heavy sellers (6 or more) are likely to commit misdemeanors 2.5 times more than nonsellers/nonusers, and have a participation rate of 70, consistently greater than nonselling drug users (43 percent).

The indicators of general delinquency have validity problems in indicating the relationship between marijuana sales and delinquency, because of the tremendous skew to the distributions. Those values at the high end of the distributions may be flights of fancy or guesses by the respondents. It is entirely reasonable that a respondent reporting one incident of a given delinquent behavior will be more precise in his estimate than one who reports, say 365 incidences of the same behavior. The distributions on the indicators bear this out, with responses clustering around numbers that could be conceived of as estimations (e.g., 25, 50, 100, 200, 365). The data seem to indicate, however, that increased sales of marijuana are associated with

greater participation in general delinquency, especially theft, disorderly conduct, and felony assault.

Occasional marijuana sellers (selling between one and five times during the previous year) have a similar profile on nondrug crime as the heavy sellers, with the exceptions of robbery, in which the heavy sellers are nearly three times as likely to engage in robbery than occasional sellers, and felony theft, in which heavy sellers are nearly twice as likely to participate than occasional sellers. It might be noted that occasional sellers are more likely to participate in disorderly conduct than heavy sellers. The differential on index offenses between occasional and heavy sellers is 15 percentage points, while on misdemeanors, the differential is only four points. These findings suggest that there may be a qualitative difference between occasional sellers and heavy sellers on nondrug crime, with the occasional sellers significantly less likely to engage in felonious crimes than heavy sellers, but only marginally less likely to participate in misdemeanor crimes. Hypothesis 1C is supported by the data.

In terms of subcultural theory, the findings suggest that heavy marijuana sellers are likely to be involved deeply in a variety of delinquent subcultures. Those who sell drugs occasionally are likely to engage in delinquent activities, but are less likely than heavy sellers to be involved in delinquent subcultures. The same can be said of nonselling drug users, who are not likely to be involved in

delinquent subcultures.

Hard Drug Sales and Nondrug Crime

Hypothesis 1D stated that the greater the frequency of hard drug sales, the greater the participation rates for nondrug crimes. In the sample of 1531 subjects, there were only 31 who admitted to selling hard drugs. Table 4-4 contains the participation rates comparing hard drug sellers to nonusers/nonsellers and nonselling drug users.

Table 4-4

Percent Participating in Nondrug Crime by Frequency of Hard Drug Sales

	Hard Drug Sales				
(N)	NU/NS* (857)	0 (652)	1+ (31)	F Sig.	r
Index Offenses	7	21	80	<.01	.33
Robbery	1	4	23	<.01	.20
Felony Theft	3	14	68	<.01	.34
Felony Assault	5	16	65	<.01	.30
Misdemeanors	29	48	84	<.01	.23
Property Damage	13	22	73	<.01	.24
Minor Theft	6	26	45	<.01	.30
Minor Assault	23	33	65	<.01	.16
Disorderly Conduct	28	72	97	<.01	.45
Key Offenses	30	52	87	<.01	.26
SRD 'A'	68	96	100	<.01	.36
SRD 'B'	49	86	100	<.01	.40

The pattern of correlations in Table 4-4 are similar to those in Table 4-3. The attenuation of the correlation coefficients in comparison to Table 4-3 is due to the fact that there are so few subjects who have admitted to the sale of hard drugs. It is clear from Table 4-4 that a very high percentage of those who have sold hard drugs have also admitted to having committed a felony (80 percent). A total of 84 percent admitted to committing a misdemeanor, and 87 percent had committed a key offense. These 31 subjects are a select group, with participation rates in felonies nearly four times as high as nonselling users, and more than 10 times as high as nonusers/nonsellers. They are nearly five times as likely to have committed a misdemeanor than non-selling users, and more than 20 as likely than nonusers/non-sellers. Hypothesis 1D is supported by the data.

The data in Table 4-4 indicate that young people who sell hard drugs represent about two percent of the total population, and that most of them are likely to be heavily involved in a variety of delinquent subcultures. Hard drug sellers are much more likely to participate in nondrug felonious behavior, including theft and assault, and to a lesser extent, robbery.

Table 4-5 was compiled by categorizing self-reported nondrug-related delinquency into three categories: (1) no crime, (2) misdemeanor, and (3) felony crimes. Drug use was categorized into: (1) nonusers, (2) marijuana-only users, and (3) hard drug users. Drug sales was categorized into

(1) nonsellers, (2) marijuana-only sellers, and (3) hard drug sellers. Crosstabulations of drug use and nondrug SRD were computed controlling for drug sales. Column percentages are reported in the cells of Table 4-5.

Table 4-5

Crosstabulation of Self-Reported Delinquency by Drug Use Among Nonsellers, Marijuana-only Sellers, and Hard Drug Sellers

Seller Category	Drug Use: Nonuser	MJ Only User	HD User	Total (N)
Nonseller[1]				
SRD				
No crime	69.8	57.6	48.4	(878)
Misdemeanor	23.0	30.3	31.8	(358)
Index	7.2	12.2	19.8	(142)
Total (N)	(857)	(304)	(217)	(1378)
MJ Only Seller[2]				
SRD				
No crime	*	29.7	24.4	(33)
Misdemeanor	*	32.4	32.2	(43)
Index	*	37.8	43.3	(54)
Total (N)	(3)	(37)	(90)	(130)
HD Seller[3]				
SRD				
No crime	*	*	12.9	(4)
Misdemeanor	*	*	6.5	(2)
Index	*	*	80.6	(25)
Total (N)	(0)	(0)	(31)	(31)

Notes:
1 - $X2 = 50.59$, 4 df, $p < .01$, $G = .30$
2 - $X2 = 0.46$, 2 df, n.s.
3 - No statistics computed
* - N too small for meaningful statistics

The data in Table 4-5 indicate that only for nonsellers is there a relationship between drug use and participation rates in delinquency. Among the 857 nonusers/nonsellers, 69.8 percent engaged in no crime, 23.0 engaged in misdemeanor crimes, and 7.2 percent reported involvement in felony or index crimes. Among the 304 marijuana only users, 57.6 percent reported involvement in no crime, 30.3 percent reported committing a misdemeanor, and 12.2 percent reported participation in an index crime. Among the 217 hard drug users, 48.4 percent reported no crime involvement, 31.8 percent reported misdemeanors, and 19.8 percent reported index crimes. The resultant X^2 was 50.59, significant at the .01 level. The gamma statistic was .30, indicating that among nonsellers, about nine percent of the variance of participation in delinquency could be accounted for by drug use severity.

Among the two categories of drug sellers, increased severity of drug use was not related to increased severity of criminal behavior. Among marijuana only sellers, relationships were attenuated. The X^2 on the marijuana only user and hard drug user categories was 0.46, which was nonsignificant. Among hard drug sellers, there were no nondrug users, nor were there any marijuana-only users, making comparison impossible.

Summary

Increased involvement in drug use and drug sales are related to higher participation rates in all measures of

nondrug crime. Marijuana and hard drug use are related to nondrug crime quite similarly, with increased drug use associated with increased participation in nondrug crime at very similar magnitudes. Marijuana users who are not also hard drug users occupied an intermediate position between nonusers/nonsellers and hard drug users on participation in nondrug crime. If felony participation rates are examined across categories, nonusers/nonsellers had a seven percent participation rate, marijuana users had a 15 percent rate, hard drug users had a 31 percent rate, marijuana sellers had a 49 percent rate, and hard drug sellers had an 80 percent rate. These data suggest that as use increases and then as sales increase, the likelihood of serious delinquency increases dramatically. On misdemeanors, nonusers/nonsellers had a participation rate of 29 percent; marijuana only users, 44 percent; hard drug users, 56 percent; marijuana sellers, 73 percent; and hard drug sellers, 84 percent. Thus, although participation rates in misdemeanor crimes increase relative to the severity of drug involvement, the level of increase is much less strong than among felonies.

When drug sales are controlled, the relationship between drug use and severity of nondrug delinquency exists only among nonsellers. Among sellers, the relationships between drug use and severity of delinquency are weak or nonexistent, especially among hard drug sellers, all of whom reported hard drug usage during the previous year. Therefore, Hypothesis 2, which posits that drug selling is the

intervening variable between drug use and nondrug crime participation rates is supported by the data for index crimes. Among marijuana only users, the participation rate for index crimes are 12.2 percent for nonsellers, and 37.8 for marijuana sellers. This represents a trebling of participation. Findings are even more dramatic among hard drug users: nonsellers had an indext crime participation rate of 19.8 percent, marijuana only sellers had a participation rate of 43.3 percent, and hard drug sellers had a participation rate of 80.6 percent. At each step, from nonsellers, to marijuana only sellers, to hard drug sellers, participation multiplies by a factor of two.

These findings suggest that as drug involvement increases, the likelihood of participation in delinquent subcultures, and participation in serious crime increases dramatically. Thus, 56 percent of the total sample are nonusers/nonsellers, 23 percent use marijuana exclusively, 22 percent use marijuana and hard drugs, eight percent sell marijuana exclusively, and two percent sell hard drugs. It must also be noted, however, that the more serious the involvement in drugs, the smaller the percentage of young people who are participants. The data also indicate that marijuana use seems to be related to minor delinquency, while hard drug use is more strongly related to serious delinquency when drug sales are controlled.

In order to provide a fuller view of the relationship of drug involvement to nondrug crime, analyses of the frequency rates of those who have admitted participation in

drug use and sales will be analyzed below.

Frequency Rates

Frequency rates are defined as the level of self-reported participation in an activity by those who report at least one incidence of participation in the given activity. Thus, in this section, the focus is the relationship between frequency of participation in drug use and drug sales and frequency of nondrug crime.

Drug Use and Drug Sales

Before proceeding to nondrug crime, relationships between marijuana use and hard drug use and drug sales will be explored. There are four hypotheses relating frequency of drug use, drug sales, and nondrug crime. Hypothesis 3A states that among marijuana users, the more frequent the marijuana use, the higher the drug sale frequency rate and the higher the nondrug crime frequency rate. Hypothesis 3B states that among hard drug users, the more frequent the hard drug use, the higher the drug sale frequency rate and the higher the nondrug crime frequency rate. Hypothesis 3C states that among marijuana sellers, the greater the marijuana sales, the higher the nondrug crime frequency rates. Hypothesis 3D states that among hard drug sellers, the greater the hard drug sales, the higher the nondrug crime frequency rates. These hypotheses will be tested in the remainder of this chapter. Table 4-6 contains the correlations between frequency of drug use and drug sales among a

subsample of 627 marijuana users and a subsample of 338 hard drug users.

Table 4-6

Correlations between Frequency Rates of Drug Use and Sales for Marijuana and Hard Drug Users

	Users	
(N)	MJ Only (341)	Hard Drugs (338)
Sales		
Marijuana	.34	.60
Hard Drugs	--	.64

All five correlations in Table 4-6 are significant at the .01 level. It is immediately apparent that among hard drug users, the relationship between use and sales is strong for both marijuana and hard drug sales. Among hard drug users, as usage of hard drugs increases, the probability of an individual selling marijuana or hard drugs increases proportionately. This confirms previous research that indicates that as persons increase their hard drug usage, they tend to support such use through drug sales. This finding also supports the subcultural hypothesis by suggesting that there exists a drug culture core of hard drug users who also sell drugs. The confluence of hard drug usage and hard drug and marijuana sales suggest that at the core of the adolescent drug subculture exist persons who are heavy users of mild and hard drug and dealers.

The findings of moderate relations between marijuana use and marijuana sales among marijuana users suggest that there is a weaker relationship between frequency of drug use and sales. Although the relationship is significant, frequency of marijuana use and sales correlates at $r = .35$, accounting for 12 percent of the variance in marijuana sales, the relationship is much weaker than among hard drug users ($r = .60$, $r^2 = .36$). As would be expected the relationship between marijuana use and hard drug sales is weaker than for marijuana sales ($r = .25$, $r^2 = .06$), thus indicating that although there is a significant relationship, such a relationship is relatively weak.

Since most hard drug users also use marijuana, a separate analysis was conducted with those marijuana users who did not use hard drugs. There was essentially no difference between marijuana users and marijuana only users in terms of the relationship between the frequency of marijuana use and frequency of marijuana sales. In both cases the correlation was $r = .34$. It is of note, however, that there were no marijuana only users who also sold hard drugs. Therefore, no correlation could be computed between marijuana use and hard drug sales. Although the data support Hypotheses 3A-3D in reference to drug sales, this finding suggests that there is an important distinction between marijuana only users and the drug subculture.

The fact that none of the marijuana users sold hard drugs and that there is a significant relationship between

frequency of marijuana smoking and marijuana sales, suggests that there is a relatively clear boundary between marijuana use and sales and hard drug use and sales. The image portrayed by the data is that there are young people who only use marijuana but avoid hard drug use or sales. This group, according to these data, constitute approximately half of all drug users. A second group consists of those who use marijuana plus hard drugs. This second group, the other half of the marijuana users tend to be more closely involved in the drug culture, and as they use more drugs, the greater the likelihood that they will become increasingly involved in sales.

The data indicate that hard drug users are much more likely to be involved in drug and criminal subcultures than marijuana users. The data suggest that marijuana use is not strongly linked to other drug activities, and that as marijuana use increases, the likelihood of drug sales increases only moderately, while among hard drug users, as drug use increases, the likelihood of drug sales increases strongly.

Drug Involvement and Nondrug Crime

In the previous chapter, it was found that as participation rates in drug use and drug sales increased, the greater the participation rates in nondrug crime. In this chapter, the concern is with the increased frequency of participation in nondrug crime among five subgroups: (1) marijuana only users, (2) hard drug users, (3) marijuana

only sellers, and (4) hard drug sellers. Table 4-7 contains the frequency rates on nondrug crime for each of the five groups:

Table 4-7

Incidence Rates Nondrug Crime for Drug Users and Drug Sellers

Behavior (N)	Nonuser/ NonSeller (859)	Drug Involvement: Nonselling Users MJ Only (304)	Nonselling Users HD (217)	Sellers MJ Only (130)	Sellers HD (31)
Index Offenses	0.24	0.24	1.00	4.79	15.52
Robbery	0.02	0.04	0.30	1.04	0.87
Felony Theft	0.21	0.15	0.47	2.17	14.61
Felony Assault	0.16	0.16	0.47	2.71	5.29
Misdemeanors	2.66	2.97	3.47	22.18	20.84
Property Damage	0.44	0.67	0.78	2.72	4.26
Minor Theft	0.22	0.75	1.25	7.37	10.45
Minor Assault	2.00	1.55	1.43	12.09	6.13
Disorderly Conduct	2.86	8.68	13.58	34.72	65.97
Key Offenses	2.90	3.21	4.47	26.98	36.35
SRD 'A'	1 7.53	46.18	69.44	164.29	353.87
SRD 'B'	1 1.09	25.01	35.43	99.00	247.27

The lambdas in Table 4-7 indicate that as drug involvement increases, the frequency of in nondrug crime also increases. However, the differences between nonselling users and nonuser-nonsellers are marginal when compared with

sellers. This is especially true with the marijuana-only user sample, who, with the exception of the SRD 'A' and 'B' general delinquency indexes are indestinguishable from the nonuser/nonseller sample. For example, the incidence rate for index offenses for marijuana only users was 0.24 per user, the same as the nonuser/nonsellers, while it was 15.52 per hard drug seller. That is, the average hard drug seller was 65 times more likely to commit a felony than a marijuana only user. Put slightly differently, approximately 30 percent or 483 of the 1,609 felonies, and 43 percent of all felony thefts reported by the respondents were committed by the 31 hard drug dealers! In addition the 161 drug dealers committed 64 percent of the 257 robberies reported, and were 25 times more likely to commit robberies than marijuana users. They also committed 30 percent of all minor theft and were 10 times more likely to commit minor theft than marijuana only users.

On the index of key offenses, hard drug dealers had a frequency rate of 36.29 and marijuana only users had a rate of 3.21, indicating that hard drug dealers were more than 10 times as likely to get into trouble as marijuana users. Similarly, as drug involvement increases, general indicators of delinquency increase: SRD 'A' increases more than seven-fold from marijuana only users to hard drug sellers, and is 20 times higher than for nonusers/nonsellers. SRD 'B,' the indicator of more serious crimes increases nearly ten-fold for hard drug dealers in comparison with marijuana users and

more than 20 times the nonuser/nonseller rate. Although those indicators of pecuniary delinquency seem to be the most dramatically effected, there are also substantial increases in felony assault. What stands out most is the steep increment in felony thefts as drug involvement increases, relative to the increment in misdemeanors. The data in Table 4-7 and prior data indicate that drug involvement, especially drug sales, leads to drug sales and other forms of nondrug crime, including theft. For the daring -- or perhaps desperate -- few, robbery occurs.

There are several comparisons between the marijuana only sellers and the hard drug sellers that need to be made. First, marijuana only sellers are more like marijuana and hard drug users than hard drug sellers in their frequency of involvement in index offenses. Their participation rate is 4.79, while hard drug users have a rate of 1.00 and marijuana only users have a rate of 0.24, while hard drug users have a rate of 15.52. Second, marijuana only sellers are more similar to hard drug sellers than the two user types in their participation rates in misdemeanonrs. Marijuana only users have a misdemeanor participation rate of 2.97, hard drug users have a rate of 3.47, marijuana only sellers have a participation rate 22.18, and hard drug sellers have a participation rate of 20.84. Third, although marijuana only sellers are twice as likely as hard drug sellers to engage in minor assault (12.09 to 6.13), they are half as likely to engage in felony assault (2.71 to 5.29). Thus, the profile of the marijuana only sellers is that they

are the most likely to engage in petty forms of delinquency, but are not nearly as likely as hard drug sellers to engage in felony crime.

To provide more information on the relationships between drug involvement and nondrug crime, for each category, correlations were computed for freqency of nondrug crime by frequency of drug use or drug sales. For the following analyses, log10 linear transformations were conducted on the dependent variables prior to correlation. Table 4-8 contains the correlations between frequency rates in drug use and drug sales and nondrug crime.

Table 4-8

Correlations between Frequency Rates of Drug Use and Drug Sales and Frequency of Nondrug Crime

	Drug Users			
	Nonsellers		Sellers	
Behavior (N)	MJ Only (304)	HD (217)	Mj Only (130)	HD (31)
Index Offenses	.07	-.03	.22**	.54**
Robbery	-.03	-.01	.20**	.25
Felony Theft	.03	-.03	.17*	.58**
Felony Assault	.09	-.03	.15*	.30*
Misdemeanors	.11*	-.03	.12	.26
Property Damage	.07	-.03	.11	.24
Minor Theft	.08	-.03	.05	.21
Minor Assault	.09	-.03	.10	.08
Disorderly Conduct	.08	-.01	.37**	.13
Key Offenses	.11*	-.04	.16*	.38*
SRD 'A'	.15**	.01	.53**	.52**
SRD 'B'	.03	.02	.58**	.55**

*p < .05, **p < .01

The data in Table 4-8 indicates that frequency rates in marijuana use are weakly related to frequency rates of misdemeanors, key offenses, and general delinquency (r = .11, .11, and .15, respectively). Frequency rates of hard drug use are unrelated to incidence of nonddrug crime. Frequency rates among marijuana only sellers correlate weakly with felony crime, nonsignificantly with misdemeanor

crime, with the exception of disorderly conduct (r = .37), and strongly with general delinquency (SRD 'A' r = .53; SRD 'B' r = .58). Frequency rates among hard drug dealers correlates strongly with index offenses (r = .54) , especially felony theft (r = .58), nosignificantly with misdemeanors, and strongly with general delinquency (SRD 'A' r = .52; SRD 'B' r = .55).

Thus, for those who use marijuana, the frequency of its use accounts for less than four percent of the variance in nondrug crime, and for many of the indicators, less than one percent. Among hard drug users, the frequency of hard drug use uncorrelated with nondrug crime. This suggests that those who use, but do not sell hard drugs are generally dabblers, and their frequency of use is generally insufficient to create dependency that would require large expenditures that might lead to nondrug crime. The data do not support Hypothesis 3B.

Hypothesis 3A is supported rather weakly for marijuana only users. This suggests that among those young people who use, but do not sell drugs, the relationship between volume of drug consumption and delinquency is weak or nonexistent. There is certainly no direct relationship between the level of drug consumption and the level of nondrug crime.

Drug sales incidence rates are more strongly related to nondrug crime than drug use incidence rates, and in some cases, quite dramatically. Hypotheses 3C and 3D are supported by the data, although because of subsample sizes, the

data are stronger for marijuana sellers. Among marijuana sellers, the frequency of sales is related to general delinquency quite strongly (r [SRD 'A'] = .53, r [SRD 'B'] = .58). In comparison with users, the relationships are stronger. As with hard drug users, the strongest relationship between hard drug sales and specific criminal behaviors is with theft. However, frequency of marijuana sales is correlated weakly with felony and misdemeanor theft (r = .17 and r = .05, respectively). These findings suggest that the frequency of marijuana sales is weakly related to theft. Among hard drug sellers, the frequency of hard drug sales is most strongly related to general delinquency (r [SRD 'A'] = .52, r [SRD 'B'] = .55). What is most interesting about the statistics on hard drug sellers is the rather weak relationship between frequency of hard drug sales and frequency of involvement in misdemeanors (r = .18) and disorderly conduct (r = .13), yet the correlation with frequency of index offenses is a strong r = .54, with felony theft frequency correlating r = .58.

It is clear from the data presented here, that frequency of drug sales is related to increased involvement in felonious criminal activity, especially felony theft. The picture that evolves of the dealer of hard drugs is one of higher rate drug use and criminality, including felony assault, which may be related to drug procuring and dealing activities.

To summarize the data presented in this chapter, what emerges is a view of drug users who are not drug sellers,

especially marijuana users, in which use is not strongly related to nondrug crime. Frequency of drug usage among drug users is also not strongly related to nondrug crime.

Among marijuana sellers, there are indications that increased sales are associated with increases in felony crime and general delinquency, but not in misdemeanor crimes. A similar pattern is present among hard drug sellers, with stronger relationships between frequency rates and felony crime than marijuana dealers. For example, among marijuana only sellers, the correlation between frequency rate and index offenses is r = .22, while among hard drug dealers it is r =.54. Similarly, hard drug dealers have stronger correlations between frequency rates and felony theft (r = .58 compared to r = .17) and felony assault (r = .30 compared to r = .15). These findings suggest that the relationships between frequency of sales among marijuana sellers and hard drug sellers are similar for general delinquency, but markedly different for felonies, in that among hard drug sellers, there is a strong relationship between frequency of sales and felonies, whereas the relationship is much weaker among marijuana sellers.

The data suggest that drug involvement and nondrug criminal behavior are overlap greatly at the center of delinquent subcultures, and that the more serious the drug involvement, the more serious the involvement in nondrug criminal behavior. Delinquent subcultures seem to be bifurcated into overlapping groups with a hard core of dealers

who are heavy drug users and who are also likely to be felons. The drug subculture is divided into sellers and nonselling users. The sellers are the second stratum of the drug subculture, with part of its constituency overlapping with persons who commit nondrug delinquency. The users constitute a third stratum that also overlaps with the delinquent subculture, but not very much. Likewise the delinquent subcultures are arranged into strata, with the stratum nearest the core consisting of participants in felonies, and a third stratum of misdemeanor violators.

Finally, the data suggest that, in general, frequency of drug use is a substantially weaker indicator of nondrug criminal behavior than drug sales. This topic will be explored in detail in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY ANALYSES

Prior analyses in Chapters 3 and 4 have suggested that both drug use and drug sales are correlated with nondrug self-reported delinquency. There have been indications that drug sales may be more powerful in explaining nondrug criminal behavior than drug use. In Chapter 4, for example, it was found that when drug sales were controlled, severity of drug use increased monotonically with increased severity of criminal behavior only among nonsellers. In this chapter, the findings will be further elaborated by use of multiple regression analyses of use and sales over each indicator of nondrug crime. Table 5-1 will include data relating to the verification of Hypothesis 4 which states that among drug users and drug sellers, drug selling is the intervening variable between drug use and drug sales. All multiple regression analyses employed linearly transformed variables using the log10+1 function.

Table 5-1

Summary Table of Regression Analyses for Frequency Rates of Drug Use and Drug Sales on Frequency of Nondrug Crime

	Drug Involvement					
	Use		Sales			
	Std. Beta[1]	Beta Sq.	Std. Beta	Beta Sq.	R	R Sq.
Index Offenses	.20	.04	.42	.18	.57	.32
Robbery	-.00*	.00	.35	.12	.35	.12
Felony Theft	.14	.02	.47	.22	.57	.32
Felony Assault	.18	.03	.32	.10	.46	.21
Misdemeanors	.36	.13	.32	.10	.62	.38
Property Damage	.14	.02	.29	.09	.39	.15
Minor Theft	.28	.08	.24	.06	.47	.22
Minor Assault	.12	.01	.32	.10	.40	.16
Disorderly Conduct	.42	.18	.22	.05	.58	.34
Key Offenses	.35	.12	.37	.14	.64	.41
SRD 'A'	.55	.30	.15	.04	.66	.44
SRD 'B'	.44	.19	.27	.07	.65	.42

Notes: 1 - All betas, except were noted, achieved significant t-values.
*n.s.

The data in Table 5-1 can be interpreted as follows: the standardized betas for use and sales are equivalent to partial correlations. The standardized betas for use can be read as partial correlations of use with nondrug crime, controlling for the effects of sales. Conversely, the standardized betas for drug sales are equivalent to correlations

of drug sales with nondrug crime controlling for drug use. The multiple correlations are the cumulative effects of the independent contributions of drug use and drug sales, plus the interactive effects of drug use and drug sales.

What is immediately apparent in Table 5-1 is the fact that drug sales accounts for greater proportions of nondrug felony crime, while drug use accounts for greater proportions of nondrug misdemeanor crime. Additionally, drug use is more closely related to the general indicators of nondrug delinquency. This suggests that the frequency of drug use is associated with misdemeanor delinquency; whereas, the frequency of drug sales is more strongly related to felony delinquency. The patterns of relationships between drug use and drug sale and nondrug crime are quite different.

Drug sales is most strongly related to felony theft (b = .47), followed by robbery (b = .35), felony and minor assault (both b = .32), property damage, and minor theft. On the composite indicators, drug sales is most strongly related to index offenses (b = .42), followed in order by key offenses (b = .37), misdemeanors (b = .32), SRD 'B' (b = .27), and SRD 'A' (b = .15). Thus, the greater the inclusion of minor offenses, the less the influence of drug sales on nondrug crime. Generally speaking, the converse is true of drug use.

In order for Hypothesis 4 to be confirmed, two conditions must be met: (1) the independent variance of drug sales must be higher than the independent variance of drug

use on nondrug delinquency indicators, and (2) when drug sales are entered into the equation, the effects of drug use are attenuated. The former indicator was found not to be true, since drug use is more strongly related to misdemeanor crime, while drug sales is more strongly related to felony crime. The latter indicator would be indicated by a multiple correlation smaller than the additive amount of variance accounted for by drug use and drug sales. Contrarily, the regression analyses indicate that the combined variance accounted for by drug use and drug sales accounts for greater amounts of variance than the independent contributions of each (as indicated by the squared betas). This suggests that in addition to the independent sources of variance accounted for by drug use and drug sales separately, their combined effect is synergistic. This is demonstrated in the fact that the squared multiple correlations are higher than the sum of the squared betas in each case. This finding confirms what has been demonstrated in previous analyses: the combined effects of drug use and drug sales change the probability of frequency of participation in nondrug crime dramatically. Thus, Hypothesis 4 is not supported by the data. Drug sales does not intervene between drug use and nondrug crime. Their combination accelerate nondrug crime additionally.

Delinquent and Drug Subcultures

The data here do not shed light on the existence of youth subcultures, since this study is concerned only with

delinquent behavior. It does, however, provide several insights into overlaps among drug and delinquent subcultures. The data presented here indicate that approximately 35 percent of the subjects are nondeviants who have not used drugs. There is an additional 10-15 percent who have not participated in drug taking who have committed misdemeanors. To this can be added 15-20 percent of those young people who have used marijuana and who have not committed felonies. There are also an additional 10-15 percent of polydrug users who have not committed felonies. The remaining 15 percent who have committed felonies can be classed as delinquents.

Approximately half of the sample is involved in neither drug nor delinquent subcultures. Between 30-35 percent of the sample was involved in a drug subculture that was relatively independent of the delinquency subcultures. This includes drug users and marijuana sellers who have not reported involvement in nondrug felonies. Those participating in delinquent subcultures constitute the remaining 15 percent of the sample who have reported participating in at least one felony, with approximately 27 percent of them reporting noninvolvement in drugs. Thus, the participants in both drug and delinquent subcultures constitute approximately five percent of the total sample and includes those who sell marijuana only or marijuana and hard drugs, and have committed a nondrug felony.

Thus, the picture presented by this study of drug use, drug sales, and nondrug crime is one in which five percent of the youth population can be characterized as heavily

involved in drugs and delinquency. They use drugs more heavily than others, they sell more marijuana and also sell hard drugs, are consistently involved in misdemeanor and felony nondrug crime. Around this delinquent core exists three groups: (1) drug using delinquents (four percent of the total sample), (2) nondrug using delinquents (five percent), and (3) polydrug users and marijuana sellers (17 percent), with category (1) overlapping drug and delinquent subcultures; category (2) being a delinquent subculture; and category (3) being a drug subculture. At a third level exist marijuana users and nonusers who have not committed a crime more serious than a misdemeanor (17 percent). Delinquent subcultures radiate out from the same core to nondrug selling delinquents, bifurcated between drug users (five percent) and nondrug users (four percent). Beyond that are the nondelinquents, divided between those who have used marijuana (17 percent) and those who have not (39 percent), and those nonusers who have committed misdemeanors (13 percent). Figure 1 shows the frequency distribution of the sample into categories by drug use, drug sales, and nondrug crime.

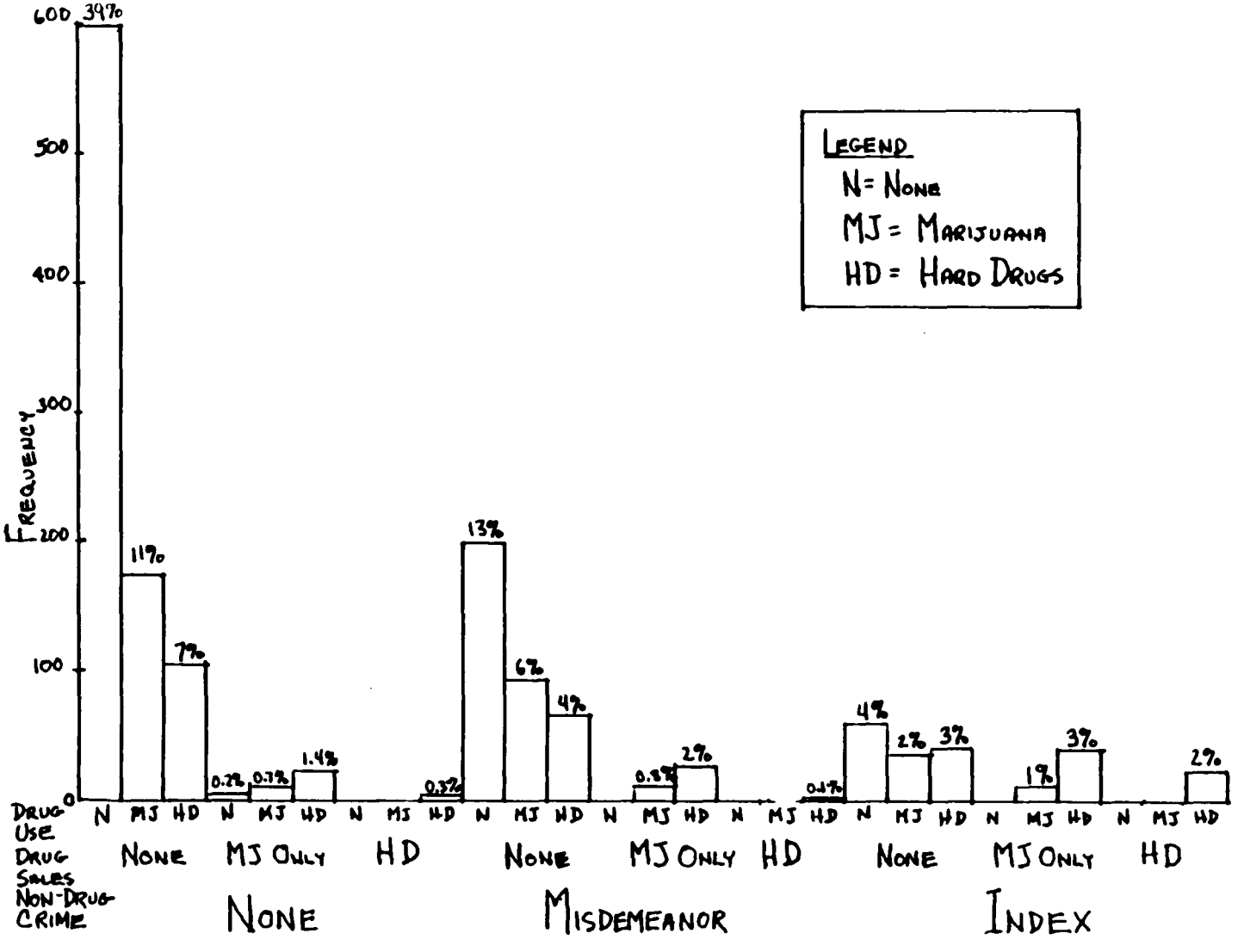

FIGURE 1: FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY DRUG USE, DRUG SALES, AND NON-DRUG CRIME

It is apparent from Figure 1 that drug involvement is much more widespread than felony involvement, with delinquency involving 27 percent of the total sample, and drug use involving 44 percent of the total sample. These figures include overlapping constituencies. As can be seen from Figure 1, only 39 percent of the sample has not engaged in some form of illegal deviance. It can be concluded from the data that a certain amount of deviance is normal for teenagers.

The data discussed here offer no definitive delineation of drug or delinquent subcultures. They do, however, indicate to some extent the widespread participation in proscribed drug use and delinquent activities by young people. Additionally, the data have indicated a confluence of drug use, drug sales, and nondrug crime. That is, those who use drugs are likely to sell drugs; those who sell drugs are almost invariably drug users; and both drug users and sellers are more likely to engage in nondrug crime. As the seriousness of drug involvement increases, the greater the likelihood that there will be involvement in felonious crime, but not necessarily minor delinquency.

This study began with the question, "What is the relationship between drug use, drug sales, and nondrug crime?" Several answers were found. First, it was found that qualitative and quantitative differences in drug use were related to crime differently, with marijuana only users only slightly more likely to engage in nondrug crime than their nonusing peers. Hard drug users, however, tended to

be more like drug sellers in their nondrug crime patterns. Frequency of drug use among drug users was also related to frequency of nondrug crime, especially felony theft, suggesting that as habits increase, young people turn to theft to support their habits. The severity of drug use, however, seemed to be most strongly related to theft, felony assault, and measures of general delinquency.

Drug sales, especially sales of hard drugs are more strongly related to nondrug crime than drug use. The pattern of the data suggest that drug involvement, in increasing severity from nonuse, to marijuana use, to hard drug use, to marijuana sales, to hard drug sales, and increased volume, signals increased involvement in nondrug crime. Also, at each level of severity, there are fewer persons involved.

Thus we return full circle to the issue of subcultures. Since there are fewer persons at each level of severity, the data suggest that there are overlapping delinquent and drug subcultures that radiate out from a core of persons who are highly involved in delinquent and drug selling behaviors. They are also heavily involved in drug use. From this core, which we can speculate is, at least to some extent, are most likely to be involved in adult criminal subcultures as low-level drug dealers, radiates out into the various youth subcultures. It can be also speculated that such connections are along primary group lines involving kinship groups and close friends.

Because virtually all drug sellers are also drug users, but a smaller proportions of drug users are also sellers, it can be said that drug sales is evidence of increased involvement in a career pattern in a drug subculture. The data do not indicate, however, any causal relationship between drug involvement and nondrug crime. The data seem to indicate a confluence of increased drug involvement and nondrug crime. Possible causal relationships exist with increased drug involvement and such behaviors as misdemeanor and felony theft. Thus, Figure 1 suggests that as one moves from the periphery to the center of the diagram, both drug involvement and nondrug crime increase, since both are illegal activities.

Subculture theory informs us that as careers are pursued in deviant subcultures, just as in nondeviant subcultures, opportunities open up as different subcultures overlap and persons within one subculture interact with others in subcultures similar to their own. New behavioral repertoires and skills are learned. Novices become more practiced at their professions or trades. This study is concerned with young people ages 14-20, five percent of whom may be on the lower rungs of careers in crime. Many more are dabblers in petty delinquency, experimenters in drugs, whose central concerns are not with delinquency or criminality, but with the norms and values of youth subcultures, which include positively valenced deviant behavior as well

as positively valenced nondeviant behavior, such as buying clothes, developing tastes for music, getting through school, and learning how to cope with sexual relationships.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter will include three sections: (1) a summary of the study, (2) the conclusions of the study, and (3) recommendations for drug policy and future research.

Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the empirical relationships between drug use, drug sales, and nondrug crime in a national sample of youth ages 14-20. The sample included 1542 subjects who constituted the fourth cohort of a five year panel survey conducted between 1976-1980. The data, collected in 1979, constituted an exhaustive set of questions covering participation and frequency rates in delinquent behavior. The advantage of this dataset for this study was that it was one of the rare instances in which drug use, drug sales, and nondrug crime self-reports were included in a single survey. Because of this, relationships among these variables could be studied directly.

The theoretical rationale for this study was based on subcultural theory. Since the subjects were between the ages of 14-20, their behavior was thought to be influenced

by norms and values of various youth subcultures. It was posited that these youth subcultures, because many positively sanctioned illegal behavior in the areas of drug indulgence and misdemeanor crime, would overlap drug and delinquent subcultures. Delinquent subcultures exist within youth subcultures. It was theorized that since drug and delinquent subcultures were both deviant subcultures, that they would overlap to some extent. The extent to which they overlapped was unknown. Questions of the extent of participation of the sample in drug and nondrug forms of delinquency needed to be explored: (1) What was the magnitude of the problem? (2) How many were involved in drugs and delinquency? (3) What was the relationship between drug use and drug sales? (4) What was the relationship between drug involvement as a user or seller and nondrug crime? (5) How can we specify the relationships among drug user, drug sellers, and nondrug criminality?

With these questions as the basis of an inquiry, indicators of drug use and drug sales were constructed, differentiating between marijuana and hard drugs. Indices of nondrug crime were compiled using three levels of generality: (1) specific crimes, including the following misdemeanors: theft, assault, property damage, and disorderly conduct; and the following felonies: robbery, grand larceny, and aggravated assault; (2) first-level composite indices, including index (or felony) crimes, misdemeanors, and key offenses, the latter including all of the specific crimes listed above; and (3) second-level composite indices. In-

dices at the second level included an 'A' list, which included all forms of delinquency including status offenses, and a 'B' list that was similar to the 'A' list, but without status offenses.

The major findings of the study were: (1) there was a positive relationship between drug use participation rates and drug sales participation rates. (2) There were positive relationships between drug use and drug sales and nondrug criminal behavior. (3) Frequency of drug use and drug sales interacted synergistically in predicting nondrug delinquency. Higher frequency rates in both predicted more variance in nondrug crime than either separately. (4) Drug sales were more strongly predictive of felony crimes than drug use. (5) Drug use was more strongly predictive of minor and general nondrug crime than drug sales. (6) Drug and delinquent subcultures fuse around a core of dealers of hard drugs who have committed felonies, and a separate group of delinquent drug users. Each group constitutes approximately five percent of the total sample. (7) Drug subcultures are about twice as large as delinquent subcultures.

Conclusions

On the basis of the findings, it can be concluded that drug use and sales and nondrug crime can be arranged hierarchically in terms of severity, and that subjects can be placed at various status levels in those hierarchies. The largest group of subjects in the sample are the nonusers/nonsellers who are nondelinquent. It must be noted, how-

ever, that even when including those who reported involvement in misdemeanors only, this group represents only 52 percent of the total sample. The other 48 percent either use drugs, or have participated in at least one felony, or both.

It would be easy to conclude that these young people were at various levels in drug and delinquency careers if it were not for the fact that the behaviors on which they have reported have important meanings within youth cultures. For example, the use of marijuana is an important artifact of youth culture, positively valued across social class lines. The fact that drug use, drug sales, and nondrug delinquent behaviors cross-cut various youth cultures complicates analysis. On the one hand, much of the behavior examined in this study might be dismissed as young people "sewing their wild oats." On the other hand, there are indications that for perhaps five to ten percent of the sample, participation in illegal behavior may be the first stage in the development of a criminal career.

The confluence of drug use, drug sales, and nondrug delinquency suggest that there is a very small minority that is accounting for a disproportionate amount of illegal behavior. This was evidenced by the fact that 221 subjects in the total sample, or 14 percent, accounted for the 1,609 felonies reported in this study.

This confluence suggests that marijuana use, while certainly related to nondrug crime, seems to be a recreation

engaged in by a significant minority (44 percent) of the sample. Half of the marijuana users reported also using other drugs. Although approximately one-quarter of those who smoke marijuana are delinquent, three-quarters are not. This is because marijuana smoking, as a norm, transcends the barriers between delinquent and nondelinquent youth subcultures. Thus, it cannot be concluded that there is any determinate or causal relationship between marijuana use and nondrug crime.

In sum, the results of this thesis suggest that there is a confluence of drug use, drug sales, and nondrug crime. As rates increase in one area, they increase in the two others. There are, however, qualitative differences between the influences of drug use and drug sales, with drug sales influencing the participation in felony crime more than drug use and drug use being more influential in the prediction of minor (and therefore general) delinquency. Subcultural theory clarifies this confluence by positing that drug and delinquent subcultures intersect with each other and overlay youth subcultures. Thus, some of the relationships between drug use, drug sales, and nondrug crime exist in the magnitude they do because of the relationships among subcultures. That is, marijuana use is related to nondrug crime because delinquents are more likely to smoke marijuana than nondelinquents; however, most marijuana smokers are nondelinquent.

Since marijuana smoking and the use of hard drugs requires suppliers, users must, at some point, engage in

business with suppliers. Suppliers, in turn, must have congress with illegal networks that supply them. Therefore, as noted by Johnson (1973), the illegal status of marijuana inevitably develops a trail from nondelinquents to those who are involved in crime. Those who are involved in illegal drug sales are also those who are most likely to be involved in nondrug crime as well.

Recommendations

Social Policy

In light of the present hysteria over "drugs," and the recent innovation in cocaine production leading to the highly volatile and addicting "crack," it is difficult to present social policy recommendations that represent a view that does not advocate repression. As Trebach (1982) has noted, repression only attempts to reduce supply in the hope that in light of reduced supply, demand will abate. Repression, however, creates a situation in which supply is outstripped by demand, resulting in increasing risk and profitability in supplying demand. Thus, organized criminal elements are more likely to engage in supplying illicit drugs, and the criminal activities derivative of the pursual of high stakes at high risk, such as assassination, drug adulteration, and official corruption increase apace.

Current attempts at coping with drug usage have tended to favor repression over other alternatives. Legalization of marijuana is not possible in the current political and

cultural climate. As Johnson (1973) has noted, decriminalization of less dangerous drugs has the advantage reducing fraternization of marijuana sellers with those involved in sales of hard drugs who also may engage in other felonious activities.

Of course, the most obvious policy alternative is education. By education is not meant indoctrination of the jingoistic "Say no to drugs" campaign of the Reagan Administration. American society must recognize what Andrew Weil (1972) has identified as the human species' desire and proclivity to enter into states of altered consciousness. The issue to be addressed in education is what are the properties of these altered states, what are the pharmacological properties of drugs that create these altered states, and what the trade-offs are for achieving these altered states.

Too often, drug education is anti-drug education that involves emotional appeals that involve elliptical reasoning and propaganda. The role of drug education should not be to create reaction formations against illegal drugs, but to inform students about their pharmacological and psychological properties, their appeal, their physical effects on the body, their production and distribution, the politics of drugs, and so forth, so that students know what they are, how they affect them as individuals and as members of social groups. Drug policies and their effects should be a part of drug education as well.

Research

The data base of which this study was part provides the potential for analyzing the development of delinquent and criminal careers for young people over a five year period. The panel data for subjects who become involved in illegal activities should be examined to see the relationship between delinquent behavior and age within the cohort. Additionally, the panel data provide the potential of analyzing whether relationships between drug use, drug sales, and nondrug crime increase as a young person moves from early to late adolescence.

This study has provided inferential data on the relationship between youth subcultures, drug subcultures, and delinquent subcultures, and their relationships to drug use, drug sales, and nondrug crime. It should be supplemented by field studies of drug and nondrug delinquent behaviors utilizing participation-observation methods in which the behavior of youth can be observed directly.

APPENDIX

Youth Interview Schedule

This study is about the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors of American youth. In order for our study to be of value, you must answer questions honestly. Your answers will be kept confidential (secret), and no one outside our research staff will ever see them. All right, let's begin

1. (CIRCLE THE SEX OF THE RESPONDENT) Male 1 Female 2

2. (ASK THIS QUESTION ONLY IF YOU CANNOT VISUALLY DETERMINE) Which one of these groups describes you? (READ CATEGORIES)

___ (1) Anglo or White
___ (2) Black
___ (3) Mexican-American
___ (4) Spanish-American
___ (5) Chicano
___ (6) American Indian
___ (7) Asian
___ (8) Puerto Rican
___ (9) Other (SPECIFY)

3. What is your date of birth? (WRITE OUT MONTH) _____
Month-Day-Year

4. That makes you how old now? (CIRCLE ONE) 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21

5. With whom are you now living? (READ CATEGORIES. CHECK ONLY ONE CATEGORY.)

___ (1) Mother and Father
___ (2) Mother only
___ (3) Father only
___ (4) Mother and Stepfather
___ (5) Father and Stepmother
___ (6) Spouse
___ (7) Roommate(s)
___ (8) Boyfriend/Girlfriend (OPPOSITE SEX)
___ (9) Alone
___ (10) Military
___ (11) Other (SPECIFY) _____

Between Christmas a year ago and the Christmas just past . . .

15. How many evenings in an average week, including weekends, have you gone on dates, to parties, or to other social activities? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16. How important has it been to you to have dates and go to parties and other social activities? (READ CATEGORIES)

Very Important	Pretty Important	Somewhat Important	Not too Important	Not Important at all
5	4	3	2	1

17. Now let's talk about school. Did you attend any school between Christmas a year ago and the Christmas just past?

Yes 1 No 2

(IF NO:) Have you graduated from high (DIPLOMA, CERTIFICATE OR GED)

Yes 2 No 1

(SKIP TO QUESTION 37, PAGE 8)

18. What grade were you in during the Fall of 1979? (CIRCLE ONE)

Grade School					High School				College				Graduate School
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17

(SKIP TO QUESTION 19, PAGE 5)

Not in School 18

Other (SPECIFY) 19 _____

(IF 18 OR 19:)
Were you in school during the Spring of 1979?

Yes 2 No 1

What grade were you in?

_____
WRITE IN GRADE

Have you graduated from high school? (DIPLOMA, CERTIFICATE OR GED)

Yes 2 No 1

19. Which of the following best describes the grades you are getting at school? (MOST RECENT GRADING PERIOD. READ CATEGORIES - CIRCLE ANSWER)

Mostly A's Mostly B's Mostly C's Mostly D's Mostly F's

(IF GRADES CANNOT BE TRANSLATED INTO THE ABOVE SCALE, DESCRIBE THE GRADING SYSTEM AND THE RESPONDENT'S SCORE WITHIN IT.)

_____

_____

20. On the average, how many weekday afternoons Monday through Friday, from the end of school or work to dinner, have you spent studying? 0 1 2 3 4 5

21. On the average, how many weekday evenings Monday through Friday, from dinnertime to bedtime, have you spend studying? 0 1 2 3 4 5

22. On the weekends, how much time have you generally spent studying? (READ CATEGORIES)

A Great Deal	Quite A Bit	Some	Not too Much	Very Little
5	4	3	2	1

23. How important has your school work been to you? (READ CATEGORIES)

Very Important	Pretty Important	Somewhat Important	Not too Important	Not Important at all
5	4	3	2	1

49. How important has your job, (NAME OF JOB), been to you? (READ CATEGORIES)

Very Important	Pretty Important	Somewhat Important	Not too Important	Not Important at all
5	4	3	2	1

50. Was there ever a time last year when you looked hard for a job but couldn't find one? No 1 Yes 2

51. Have any of the following events ever happened to you?

	No	Yes	(IF YES:) When?
a. Marriage?	1	2	_____ Month Year
b. Have you had any children?	1	2	_____ Month Year
			_____ Month Year

(IF NEVER MARRIED, GO TO QUESTION 52, PAGE 11)

c. Separated	1	2	_____ Month Year
d. Divorced?	1	2	_____ Month Year
e. Remarried?	1	2	_____ Month Year

This section deals with your own behavior. I'd like to remind you that all your answers are confidential. I'll read a series of behaviors to you. Please give me your best estimate of the exact number of times you've done each thing during the last year from Christmas a year ago to the Christmas just past. (RECORD A SINGLE NUMBER, NOT A RANGE, AND "0" IF RESPONDENT NEVER ENGAGED IN A BEHAVIOR. FOR ANY BEHAVIOR THAT THE RESPONDENT HAS ENGAGED IN 10 OR MORE TIMES IN THE LAST YEAR, ALSO RECORD RESPONSE IN THE SECOND COLUMN, SAYING:) Please look at the responses on card number 8, the second ivory card, and select the one which best describes how often you were involved in this behavior.

How many times in the Last Year have you:		Once a Month	Once Every 2-3 Weeks	Once a Week	2-3 Times A Week	Once a Day	2-3 Times A Day
257. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your parents or other family members?	____	1	2	3	4	5	6
258. purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to a school?	____	1	2	3	4	5	6

You have indicated that you have done some of these behaviors. Now I'd like to ask you some details about the last time you did each of these behaviors. I only want to know about the last or most recent time you did these. (READ EACH BEHAVIOR THAT THE RESPONDENT HAS PERFORMED AND THEN ASK THE CORRESPONDING DETAILED INFORMATION ITEMS. READ THE RESPONSE CATEGORIES TO THE RESPONDENT ONLY WHERE INDICATED.)

You said that you had (READ ITEM).

257. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What did you damage or destroy?
(SPECIFY) _____

b. About how much do you think it was worth? (SPECIFY) $_____

c. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?

No	Yes	(IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?
1	2	

____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

---

258. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What did you damage or destroy?
(SPECIFY) _____

b. About how much do you think it was worth? (SPECIFY) $_____

c. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?

No	Yes	(IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?
1	2	

____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

---

259. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What did you damage or destroy?
(SPECIFY) _____

b. About how much do you think it was worth? (SPECIFY) $_____

c. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?

No	Yes	(IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?
1	2	

____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

---

260. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What kind of vehicle was it?
____ (1) Car
____ (2) Truck
____ (3) Motorcycle
____ (4) Other (SPECIFY) _____

b. Did you actually steal it?

No	Yes
1	2

c. Who did the vehicle belong to?
____ (1) Family member
____ (2) Friend
____ (3) Other (SPECIFY) _____

d. How did you get the vehicle started?
____ (1) Had the keys
____ (2) Hot wired the vehicle
____ (3) Keys in ignition
____ (4) Other (SPECIFY) _____

e. What were you going to do with the vehicle?
____ (1) Go riding
____ (2) Keep it
____ (3) Keep parts from it
____ (4) Sell it
____ (5) Sell parts from it
____ (6) Other (SPECIFY) _____

f. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?

No	Yes	(IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?
1	2	

____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

261.

How many times in the Last Year have you:		Once a Month	Once Every 2-3 Weeks	Once a Week	2-3 Times A Week	Once a Day	2-3 Times A Day
262. stolen or tried to steal something worth more than $50?	____	1	2	3	4	5	6
263. knowingly bought, sold or held stolen goods or tried to do any of these things?	____	1	2	3	4	5	6
264. found something like a wallet or jewelry and returned it to the owner or the police?	____	1	2	3	4	5	6
265. thrown objects such as rocks, snowballs, or bottles at cars or people?	____	1	2	3	4	5	6

262. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What did you steal or try to steal? (SPECIFY) _____

b. About how much do you think it was worth? (SPECIFY) $_____

c. Did you actually steal it/them?

No	Yes
1	2

d. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?

No	Yes
1	2

(IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?

____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

---

263. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What did you do? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

____ (1) Try to buy stolen goods
____ (2) Try to sell stolen goods
____ (3) Try to hold stolen goods
____ (4) Buy stolen goods
____ (5) Sell stolen goods
____ (6) Hold stolen goods
____ (7) Other (SPECIFY) _____

b. What were the stolen goods? (SPECIFY)

_____
_____

c. About how much do you think the goods were worth? (SPECIFY)
$_____

264.

265.

---

266. Thinking of the last you did this . . .

a. How long were you gone from home? (READ RESPONSES)
____ (1) 24 hours or less
____ (2) 1 day to 7 days
____ (3) Longer than a week

Were you gone overnight?

No	Yes
1	2

b. Where did you go?
____ (1) Relative's house
____ (2) Friend's house
____ (3) Other (SPECIFY)_____

c. How far away from home was this? (READ RESPONSES)
____ (1) Less than a mile
____ (2) One mile to ten miles
____ (3) More than ten miles

267.

---

268. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What kind of weapon was it?
____ (1) Knife ____ (2) Gun ____ (3) Other (SPECIFY) _____

b. Why were you carrying it?
____ (1) For protection
____ (2) To try to hurt someone
____ (3) Just to have it
____ (4) Other (SPECIFY)_____

---

269. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What did you steal or try to steal? (SPECIFY) _____

b. About how much do you think it was worth? (SPECIFY) $_____

c. Did you actually steal it/them?

No	Yes
1	2

d. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?

No	Yes
1	2

(IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?

____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

		Once a Month	Once Every 2-3 Weeks	Once a Week	2-3 Times A Week	Once a Day	2-3 Times A Day
How many times in the Last Year have you:							
270. attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting or killing him or her?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
271. been paid for having sexual relations with someone?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
272. had sexual intercourse with a person of the opposite sex (IF MARRIED, ADD other than with your wife/husband)?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6

270. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. In which of the following ways did you attack the person? (READ LIST. CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)
____ (1) Hit, slapped, punched the person once or twice
____ (2) Physically beat and/or choked the person
____ (3) Attacked the person with a weapon such as a gun, knife, club, or bottle
____ (4) Other (SPECIFY)_____

b. Did you hurt the person?
No 1 Yes 2 (IF YES: ASK) How badly did you hurt the person? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)
____ (1) Knocked down
____ (2) Bruised
____ (3) Cut/bleeding
____ (4) Unconscious
____ (5) Hospitalized
____ (6) Other (SPECIFY) _____

c. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?
No 1 Yes 2 (IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?
____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

---

271. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What was the form of the payment?
____ (1) Money ____ (2) Drugs ____ (3) Other (SPECIFY) _____

b. Was the payment arranged beforehand?
No 1 Yes 2

---

272. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. Had you been drinking or taking drugs beforehand?
No 1 Yes 2 (IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?
____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

How many times in the Last Year have you:		Once a Month	Once Every 2-3 Weeks	Once a Week	2-3 Times A Week	Once a Day	2-3 Times A Day
273. been involved in gang fights?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
274. used checks illegally or used phony money to pay for something? (INCLUDES INTENTIONAL OVERDRAFTS)	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
275. sold marijuana or hashish? ("POT", "GRASS", "HASH")	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
276. cheated on school tests?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6

273. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. Counting yourself, how many were in your group?
____(1) 1 or 2 people ____ (2) 3 to 5 people ____ (3) More than 5 people

b. How many were in the other group?
____ (1) 1 or 2 people ____ (2) 3 to 5 people ____ (3) More than 5 people

c. Did either group use weapons?
No Yes (IF YES:) What weapons were used? (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLY)
1 2 ____ (1) Knives ____ (4) Hard knuckles
____ (2) Chains ____ (5) Other (SPECIFY)
____ (3) Guns _____

d. Was anyone hurt in the fight?
No Yes (IF YES: ASK) How badly hurt was the most injured person? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)
1 2
____ (1) Knocked down ____ (4) Unconscious
____ (2) Bruised ____ (5) Hospitalized
____ (3) Cut/bleeding ____ (6) Other (SPECIFY)
_____

e. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?
No Yes (IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?
1 2
____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

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274. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What did you do? (SPECIFY) _____

b. How much money was involved? (SPECIFY) $_____

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275. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. How much money was involved in the sale? (SPECIFY) $_____
(IF OTHER THAN MONEY, SPECIFY) _____

b. How much marijuana/hashish did you sell?
(QUANTITY OF MARIJUANA) _____

276.

How many times in the Last Year have you:		Once a Month	Once Every 2-3 Weeks	Once a Week	2-3 Times A Week	Once a Day	2-3 Times A Day
277. hitchhiked where it was illegal to do so?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
278. helped out someone who was badly hurt such as someone who was beaten up, in an accident or very sick?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
279. stolen money or other things from your parents or other members of your family?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
280. had or tried to have sexual relations with someone against their will?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6

277.

278.

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279. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What did you steal?
____ (1) Money ____ (2) Other (SPECIFY) _____

(IF 1, ASK:) How much money did you steal? (SPECIFY) $_____
(IF 2, ASK:) How much do you think it was worth? (SPECIFY) $_____

b. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?

No	Yes	(IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?
1	2	

____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

280.

How many times in the Last Year have you:		Once a Month	Once Every 2-3 Weeks	Once a Week	2-3 Times A Week	Once a Day	2-3 Times A Day
281. hit or threatened to hit a teacher or other adult at school?	____	1	2	3	4	5	6
282. hit or threatened to hit one of your parents?	____	1	2	3	4	5	6

281. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. Did you actually hit them or just threaten to hit them?

____ (1) Actually hit
____ (2) Tried but didn't succeed (SKIP TO QUESTION 281B)
____ (3) Only threatened to it

(IF ACTUALLY HIT, ASK:)
Did you hurt the person: Yes 2 No 1 (SKIP TO QUESTION 281b)

How badly did you hurt the person? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

____ (1) Pushed or slapped them
____ (2) Caused them to grab themselves in pain
____ (3) Knocked them down
____ (4) Bruised
____ (5) Cut/bleeding
____ (6) Unconscious
____ (7) Hospitalized
____ (8) Other (SPECIFY) _____

b. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?

No 1 Yes 2 (IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?

____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

---

282. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. Did you actually hit them or just threaten to hit them?

____ (1) Actually hit
____ (2) Tried but didn't succeed (SKIP TO QUESTION 282B)
____ (3) Only threatened to it

(IF ACTUALLY HIT, ASK:)
Did you hurt the person: Yes 2 No 1 (SKIP TO QUESTION 282b)

How badly did you hurt the person? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

____ (1) Pushed or slapped them
____ (2) Caused them to grab themselves in pain
____ (3) Knocked them down
____ (4) Bruised
____ (5) Cut/bleeding
____ (6) Unconscious
____ (7) Hospitalized
____ (8) Other (SPECIFY) _____

b. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?

No 1 Yes 2 (IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?

____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

		Once a Month	Once Every 2-3 Weeks	Once a Week	2-3 Times A Week	Once a Day	2-3 Times A Day
How many times in the Last Year have you:							
283. hit or threatened to hit other students?	____	1	2	3	4	5	6
284. been loud, rowdy, or unruly in a public place - disorderly conduct?	____	1	2	3	4	5	6
285. sold hard drugs such as heroin, cocaine, and LSD? (TOTAL FREQUENCY OF ALL HARD DRUG SALES, NOT LIMITED TO THESE THREE DRUGS)	____	1	2	3	4	5	6
286. tried to cheat someone by selling them something that was worthless or not what you said it was?	____	1	2	3	4	5	6

283. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. Did you actually hit them or just threaten to hit them?
____ (1) Actually hit ____ (2) Tried but didn't succeed (SKIP TO
____ (3) Only threatened to it QUESTION 283B)

(IF ACTUALLY HIT, ASK:)
Did you hurt the person: Yes 2 No 1 (SKIP TO QUESTION 283b)

How badly did you hurt the person? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)
____ (1) Pushed or slapped them
____ (2) Caused them to grab themselves in pain
____ (3) Knocked them down
____ (4) Bruised
____ (5) Cut/bleeding
____ (6) Unconscious
____ (7) Hospitalized
____ (8) Other (SPECIFY) _____

b. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?
No 1 Yes 2 (IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?

____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

284.

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285. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What drug or drugs were included in the sale? _____

b. How much money was involved in the sale? (SPECIFY) $_____
(IF OTHER THAN MONEY, SPECIFY) _____

---

286. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What were you claiming to sell? (SPECIFY) _____
_____

b. What were you actually selling? _____

c. Who were you trying to sell the _____ to? (SPECIFY)
____ (1) Stranger
____ (2) Family member
____ (3) Friend
____ (4) Other (SPECIFY) _____

d. How much was the _____ really worth? (SPECIFY) $_____

e. How much did you try to sell it for? (SPECIFY) $_____

		Once a Month	Once Every 2-3 Weeks	Once a Week	2-3 Times A Week	Once a Day	2-3 Times A Day
How many times in the Last Year have you:							
287. taken a vehicle for a ride or drive without the owner's permission?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
288. bought or provided liquor for a minor?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
289. given money, food, or clothing to someone or some group who needed them very much?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
290. pressured or pushed someone such as a date or friend to do more sexually than they wanted to do?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6

287. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What kind of vehicle was it?
____ (1) Car ____ (3) Motorcyle
____ (2) Truck ____ (4) Other (SPECIFY) _____

b. Who did the vehicle belong to?
____ (1) Family member ____ (3) Other (SPECIFY) _____
____ (2) Friend

c. How did you get the vehicle started?
____ (1) Had the keys _____ (3) Keys in ignition
____ (2) Hot wired the vehicle _____ (4) Other (SPECIFY) _____

d. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?

No	Yes	(IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?
1	2	

____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

288.

289.

290.

		Once a Month	Once Every 2-3 Weeks	Once a Week	2-3 Times A Week	Once a Day	2-3 Times A Day
How many times in the Last Year have you:							
291. used force or strong-arm methods to get money or things from other students?	____	1	2	3	4	5	6
292. used force or strong-arm methods to get money or things from a teacher or other adult at school?	____	1	2	3	4	5	6

291. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What kind of force did you use? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)
____ (1) Punched, slapped, mild roughness
____ (2) Physical beating and/or choking
____ (3) Other (SPECIFY) _____

b. What were you trying to get?
____ (1) Money ____ (2) Other (SPECIFY) _____

c. Did you hurt the person?
No Yes (IF YES: ASK) How badly did you hurt the person?
1 2 (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

____ (1) Knocked down
____ (2) Bruised
____ (3) Cut/bleeding
____ (4) Unconscious
____ (5) Hospitalized
____ (6) Other (SPECIFY) _____

d. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?
No Yes (IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using
1 2 drugs, or both?

____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

		Once a Month	Once Every 2-3 Weeks	Once a Week	2-3 Times A Week	Once a Day	2-3 Times A Day
How many times in the Last Year have you:							
293. refused to participate when another student asked you to help him or her cheat on an exam?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
294. used force or strong-arm methods to get money or things from other people, not students or teachers?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
295. avoided paying for such things as movies, bus or subway rides, and food?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
296. been drunk in a public place?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6

293.

---

294. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What kind of force did you use? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)
____ (1) Punched, slapped, mild roughness
____ (2) Physical beating and/or choking
____ (3) Other (SPECIFY) _____

b. What were you trying to get?
____ (1) Money ____ (2) Other (SPECIFY) _____

c. Did you hurt the person?
No Yes (IF YES: ASK) How badly did you hurt the person?
1 2 (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

____ (1) Knocked down
____ (2) Bruised
____ (3) Cut/bleeding
____ (4) Unconscious
____ (5) Hospitalized
____ (6) Other (SPECIFY)
_____

d. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?
No Yes (IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using
1 2 drugs, or both?

____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

295.

296.

		Once a Month	Once Every 2-3 Weeks	Once a Week	2-3 Times A Week	Once a Day	2-3 Times A Day
How many times in the Last Year have you:							
297. stolen or tried to steal things worth between $5 and $50?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
298. stolen or tried to steal something at school, such as someone's coat from a classroom, locker, or cafeteria, or a book from the library?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6

297. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What did you steal or try to steal? (SPECIFY) _____

b. Did you actually steal it (them)?

No	Yes
1	2

c. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?

No	Yes
1	2

(IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?

____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

---

298. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What did you steal or try to steal? (SPECIFY) _____

b. Did you actually steal it (them)?

No	Yes
1	2

c. How much would you say it was worth? (SPECIFY) $_____

d. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?

No	Yes
1	2

(IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?

____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

		Once a Month	Once Every 2-3 Weeks	Once a Week	2-3 Times A Week	Once a Day	2-3 Times A Day
How many times in the Last Year have you:							
299. broken or tried to break into a building or vehicle to steal something or just to look around?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
300. begged for money or things from strangers?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
301. skipped classes without an excuse?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
302. failed to return extra change that a cashier gave you by mistake?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
303. physically hurt or threatened to hurt someone to get them to have sex with you?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6

299. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. What did you break into, or try to break into?
____ (1) Building ____ (3) House
____ (2) Vehicle ____ (4) Other (SPECIFY) _____

b. Did you actually break in or did you only try to?
____ (1) Broke in ____ (2) Only tried ____ (3) Door open

c. Why were you breaking in?
____ (1) Just to look around ____ (3) Other (SPECIFY) _____
____ (2) To steal something

d. Had you been drinking or taking drugs before the incident?

No	Yes	(IF YES:) Had you been drinking, using drugs, or both?
1	2	

____ (1) Drinking only
____ (2) Using drugs only
____ (3) Both drinking and using drugs

300.

---

301. Thinking of the last time you did this . . .

a. Did that involve part of a school day or all of a school day?

____ (1) Park of a school day ____ (2) All of a school day

302.

303.

		Once a Month	Once Every 2-3 Weeks	Once a Week	2-3 Times A Week	Once a Day	2-3 Times A Day
How many times in the Last Year have you:							
304. used or tried to use credit cards without the owner's permission?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
305. tried to talk your friends out of doing something that was against the law?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
306. been suspended from school?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6
307. made obscene telephone calls, such as calling someone and saying dirty things?	_____	1	2	3	4	5	6

308. DID THE RESPONDENT REPORT ANY SEXUAL ASSAULTS IN MORE THAN ONE BOXED ITEM? (ITEM #s 280, 290 and 303)

Yes (2) No (1) (SKIP TO QUESTION 309,

(IF YES, ASK:) Previously you mentioned that you had (READ FIRST BLOCKED ITEM) ____ time(s) and had (READ SECOND BLOCKED ITEM) ____ time(s). How many total events were there?

(RECORD NUMBER OF EVENTS) ____ (IF 1, SKIP TO QUESTION 309)

(IF MORE THAN 1, ASK:)
Which was the most recent event? _____
(RECORD ITEM #)

309. IF THE RESPONDENT INDICATED THAT HE OR SHE HAD PERFORMED ANY OF THE ABOVE BEHAVIORS DURING THE PAST YEAR, RETURN TO PAGES 36-37 AND ASK THE APPROPRIATE DETAILED INFORMATION ITEMS. READ THE INSTRUCTIONS AT THE TOP OF PAGE 37 TO THE RESPONDENT BEFORE BEGINNING.

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Autobiographical Statement

Mitchell A. Kaplan was born in Brooklyn, New York on January 26, 1954. He graduated Cum Laude from Long Island University Brooklyn Center with a B.A. degree in Sociology in 1976. He received his M.A. degree in Sociology from the Graduate Faculty of New School for Social Research in 1979, and his Ph.D. degree in Sociology at the City University of New York Graduate School and University Center. Kaplan is a member of the American Sociological Association, The New York State Sociological Association, The American Public Health Association, and The New York Academy of Sciences. He is presently employed as a research fellow with Narcotic and Drug Research Incorporated in New York City. Kaplan's future plans are for a career doing health related social research for either local or federal government agencies. His scholarly interests include the sociology and epidemiology of chemical dependence, social stress and mental health, the sociology of the family, and the sociology of aging.