U.S. Department of Justice
Drug Enforcement Administration

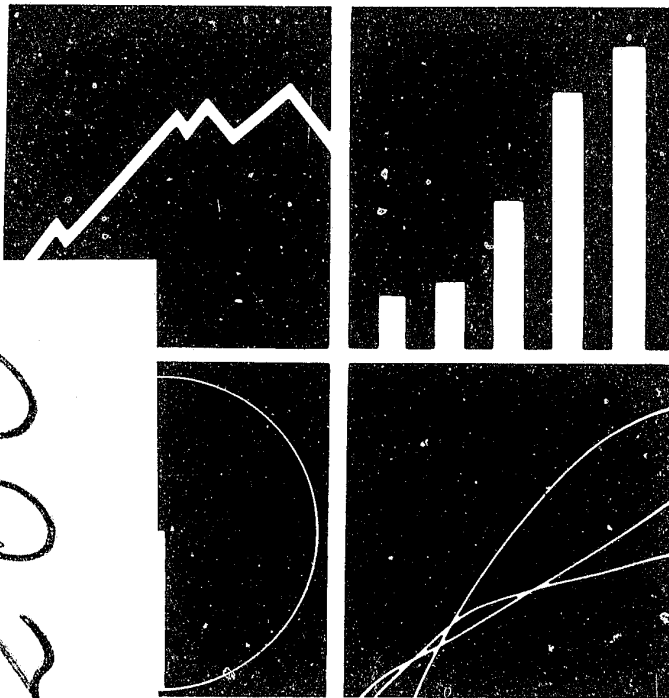# Heroin Related Crime

A Comprehensive Analysis of the
Major Aspects of Heroin User Crime

HEROIN RELATED CRIME

Statistical and Data Services
  Division
Office of Administration and
  Management
Drug Enforcement Administration
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FOREWORD

This report represents an effort to analyze a wide range
of statistical surveys and research studies which deal
with one or more aspects of heroin related property crime.

The purpose of this effort is to discuss the complexity
of the heroin related crime issue, to develop a new
estimate of heroin user crime, and to examine this esti-
mate in terms of national property crime and the indi-
vidual heroin user.

The heroin user property crime estimate in this study is
developed and discussed for 1974, the base year of this
report. While specific statistics on the number and costs
of heroin user property crimes are subject to some varia-
tion in any given year, the general findings concerning
addict behavior and the impact of heroin user crime in
this country are not limited to 1974, but are believed to
reflect the overall situation from 1974 to the present.

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Summary of Findings

Cost and Impact of Heroin User Crime

It is estimated that heroin users committed $3.9 billion dollars worth of property crime in 1974. This represents about 19% of all property crime in the United States. It should be realized that this estimate represents a sizeable amount of property crime. According to this cost figure, heroin users commit about 100,000 robberies, burglaries, larcenies, or auto thefts each day plus an undetermined amount of crime involving bad checks and credit cards. This results in a cost to society of over ten million dollars per day. Additionally addicts engage in an immeasurable amount of illicit drug sales.

Relationship of Habit Size to Individual Criminal Behavior

It is a gross oversimplification to view the heroin user population as a homogeneous group in terms of habit size or criminal behavior. There are at least three major habit classifications among heroin users. In this study these groups are defined as small habit users, medium habit addicts, and large habit addicts.

Users with small habits (taking heroin about once a day) depend primarily on legitimate income or relatives to fund heroin use. Only about one in three utilizes criminal activities as a primary source of income, and only about one in seven commits theft regularly. It is estimated that nearly half of all heroin users have small habits.

Medium habit addicts represent about 27% of the heroin user population. About one in every four medium habit addicts commits theft as a primary source of income, and an additional 14% sell drugs. Medium habit users take about two to three average doses of heroin per day.

Criminal involvement is most substantial among users who are severly addicted. These addicts, who represent about 24% of the user population, have an average demand for heroin which requires the equivalent of six to nine average doses per day to sustain. In order to support this habit, over four of every ten large habit addicts commit theft as a primary source of funds, and nearly one third sell drugs.

It would appear from these statistics that the extent of a heroin user's criminal behavior is directly proportional to the size of his habit, and that addiction to heroin accelerates any pre-addiction criminal tendencies.

Impact of Crime Committed by Users in Each Habit Size Group

Most heroin related property crime is committed by less than
one-fourth of the heroin user population. Indications are
that the average large habit addict commits over two hundred
property crimes per year. As a group these addicts cost
society about $3 billion in stolen property or cash. Since
these addicts are on the street about 70% of the time, each
addict is responsible for one property crime per day when
active. It is also estimated that 30% of all large habit
addicts sell drugs as a primary source of income. It is
important to recognize the implication behind this estimate.
For the most part, it translates into nearly 40,000 severly
addicted persons who sell drugs as street level "pushers"
on a regular basis.

By contrast, medium habit addicts and small habit users,
who make up 76% of the heroin user population, committed
less than one billion dollars worth of property crime in
1974.

Small habit users are individually responsible for about one
crime per month. The annual cost of theft committed by
this group is about $.245 billion. In the strict sense, the
crimes of the small habit users could be considered heroin
related since funds were used to purchase heroin. However,
the infrequency of crime among these users coupled with their
relatively light habits (one dose per day) suggests that they
were not driven to crime by addiction. In fact, only by the
most liberal definition could these persons be considered
as addicts.

Generally speaking, medium habit addicts commit about one
property crime per week. The cost of theft committed by
this group in 1974 is estimated at about $.636 billion.
Although one-fourth fund their habits through theft, about
44% of the medium habit addicts engage in legitimate
employment as a primary source of funds. On the whole,
medium habit addicts are dependent upon heroin, but many
sustain use without resorting to crime. For this reason,
only about 3% of all property crime in the U.S. is committed
by this group.

Only the large habit addicts fit into any common stereotype
of a heroin user with a strong dependence upon crime. They
would appear to be unable to support their addiction with-
out committing theft or selling drugs. The impact of their
criminal behavior is substantial.

General Findings - Addict Lifestyle

Most substantial data on addict behavior suggests that
the lifestyle of a heroin user is often unstructured, that
he is not able to pursue his habit every day of the year,
and that, for a variety of reasons, he takes other drugs
besides heroin.

In general terms, it is clear that many heroin users are
not "on the street" all of the time. Periods of inacti-
vity are brought about by incarceration, entrance into
treatment programs, or by attempts to voluntarily abstain.
As a group, it is estimated that heroin users are out of
circulation about 30% of the time.

Although it is well documented that criminal behavior is
most substantial among those severly addicted, it must be
noted that users in all habit size groups frequently
engage in a combination of activities to obtain funds. The
most extensive data available on heroin users showed that
the users utilized an average of two sources of support
each, suggesting that many users continually shift from
legitimate to illegal activities to obtain money for drugs.

Finally, drug taking behavior among heroin users is not
confined to heroin. While heroin may be the drug of choice,
heroin users are willing to substitute other drugs for
heroin when it is unavailable or too expensive. Further-
more, users frequently take heroin in combination with
another drug to potentiate the euphoric effect.

Complexity of Heroin Related Crime Issue

Hovering over the question of heroin related crime is the
wealth of research available on the nature of addiction
and the socio-economic backgrounds of addicts. This infor-
mation indicates that addicts frequently come from urban
areas where crime rates are very high. They are often
reared in broken homes where poverty, drug abuse and alco-
holism is common. As a group addicts are often seen as a
sign of a larger underlying social disorder.

It is not surprising, therefore, that for many addicts,
criminal behavior preceeds addiction. In this regard, it
is improbable that the criminal activities of heroin users
are caused exclusively to produce funds to purchase heroin.
Rather, a portion of addict crime must be seen as the ef-
fect of the social atmosphere which concurrently may lead
to both heroin addiction and crime.

It is estimated that in 1974, heroin users committed
$3.9 billion in property crime to support their habits.
By one standard all of this crime could be considered
heroin related since it is estimated that funds obtained
were used to purchase heroin, and since severe addiction
to heroin clearly forces many users into criminal activities.

On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that the elimina-
tion of heroin use in the U.S. would eliminate all crimes
committed by heroin users. To make such an assumption
would be to predict that the lives of many disadvantaged
persons, often predisposed to crime, would have been crime
free, but for the use of heroin. Such an assumption is
not warranted. The social causes of crime are highly
complex, and must be successfully treated before a major
reduction in the crime rate can be expected.

HEROIN RELATED CRIME

HEROIN RELATED CRIME

Introduction

The costs, prevalence, and impact of heroin related property crime have been matters of concern to legislators, law enforcement officials, those involved in drug rehabilitation, scholars, businessmen, and private citizens for many years, with interest heightening in the last decade as heroin addiction showed a marked increase. As a result of such interest, a large number of books, articles, research studies, and statistical surveys have been published concerning the critical issues on the topic, such as the nature and causes of addict crime, the percent of property crime that is addict related, and the cost to society of heroin related crime.

Unfortunately, with all of the data available, there is not a clear consensus on any of these issues. In fact, at times opinions run to extremes, and methods of estimating heroin related crime differ in both the philosophical approach taken and the nature of the data selected as relevant to the problem. At best one could say that there are several schools of thought on this very complex subject, but little general agreement except on two matters: 1) there is some relationship between heroin use and crime; 2) no totally satisfactory appraisal has been made.

In reviewing previous research on the subject, it is understandable why there is no clearly acceptable estimate of heroin addict crime in the United States. First, the initial issue, the degree to which heroin use actually causes property crime, is controversial. The matter is compounded because hard data on addict criminal behavior from treatment centers and jails is conflicting. Also, soft data on addicts, such as estimates of their number or what it costs to support a habit is varied and continually changing. Thus, any carefully drawn estimate of the amount of crime committed by heroin users is easily disputed, since there is always substantial evidence available which indicates that the estimate is incorrect.

For this reason, researchers are often given a series of rather negative alternatives in their search for an answer concerning the prevalence and cost of heroin related crime. First, they can deny to make an estimate because of the various unknowns or contradictions; second, they can make an estimate and ignore information which is in contrast to their position; third, they can list a variety of estimates and choose a "most reasonable" figure; finally, they can derive a qualified estimate which essentially makes compromises when data is in conflict.

This paper will attempt to derive an estimate of heroin related crime in the United States utilizing the last alternative. While there is no clearcut or absolute solution to the question of heroin related crime, data is now so voluminous that a qualified compromise estimate can be drawn, especially if data responsibly collected are seen as diverse parts of a larger complex picture.

Purpose

The primary purpose of this paper will be to estimate the amount of property crime heroin users commit and to examine related data which puts this estimate into perspective. More specifically, the primary purposes are:

1. To provide an estimate of the number and costs of crimes committed by heroin users.

2. To provide an overall estimate of property crime in the U.S. in order to gauge the impact of heroin user crime.

3. To discuss criminal activity of heroin users in relation to other income producing behavior.

4. To discuss other complexities of the heroin related crime issue, the most important of which is the degree that negative socio-economic conditions surrounding addiction also affect criminal behavior.

A secondary purpose of this study will be to examine previous research relating to addict crime to include other estimates, surveys of addict behavior, and various theories on how the subject itself should be approached. To a great extent the accomplishment of this secondary purpose will be a necessary stepping stone in the development of the positions of this paper.

Sources

All source materials reviewed for this study are listed in the bibliography. Published materials most heavily utilized are further described in the text of this study. Information reviewed includes Federal, State, and Local government analytical reports, statistical surveys, and estimates as well as books, articles and studies published on the subject in the private sector. Material dealing with one or more of the following topics was considered relevant:

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a) The causes of addiction
b) The socio-economic backgrounds of heroin users
c) The income producing behavior of heroin users
d) The drug taking behavior of heroin users
e) The criminal behavior of heroin users
f) The proportion of crime committed by heroin users
g) Estimated or reported crime in the U.S.

Because of the volume and diversity of research conducted on heroin related crime and because new data are constantly being published, it was not feasible to examine all material available on this topic. However, attempts were made to examine the subject from as many points of view as possible, and to closely study each of the major approaches on the matter.

Approach

This study will be divided into two sections. The first section will consist of a presentation of background material on the subject of heroin related crime through an examination of the most common approaches taken to estimate or examine the problem. In the review of each approach, examples will be provided, strengths and limitations will be discussed, and the significance of the approach will be evaluated. The purpose of the first section will be to review methodologies which can be useful in development of a new heroin related crime estimate, to partially describe the research of others up to this time, and to identify issues which must be dealt with if the estimate of this study is to make any new contribution to the body of research on the subject.

The second part of the study will consist of the development of an in-depth estimate of heroin related crime in the United States. The estimate of heroin user crime will be placed in the context of overall property crime in the U.S., and will also be seen as it is related to the individual heroin user. The development of this estimate will also borrow heavily from the research of others. Because of the variety of material on the subject, this final estimate will, by necessity, be the product of a compromise between two diverse estimates.

SECTION I

BACKGROUND: COMMON METHODS USED TO ESTIMATE ADDICT CRIME

There are several major approaches taken to estimate heroin related crime. Three of these approaches will be discussed at this point in order to provide perspective and background material on the issue, to identify problematic areas or areas which need further development, and to establish the framework and methodology for the estimate to be calculated later in this report.

A discussion of some of the more common approaches to the heroin related crime questions follows.

Approach A) The Fifty-Per Cent Method and Higher Estimates

Anyone reviewing published material dealing with heroin related crime is likely to come across several statements to the effect that an extremely large percentage of crime in a given area is heroin related. The figure usually given is 50%, and it is often presented by a public official, through a government report, or quoted by a researcher or newspaper from someone in the public realm. For example, a New York City report published in 1971 stated, "It is estimated by police and correction officials that approximately 50% of crime committed by adults and juveniles is related to drug abuse".[1] A U.S. Senate Staff Study on drug abuse in Washington, D.C. cited testimony by two judges indicating, "between half and three-fourths of the serious crime in the area is drug related".[2] A Fiscal Year 1971 Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police department annual report noted, "Heroin is expensive.... Very few people can afford this expense without turning to crime. Estimates on crime by addicts run as high as 50%".[3]

While references to New York City and Washington, D.C. are most prevalent, the fifty percent figure has also been linked to Chicago[4] as well as to any major city with a high incidence of addiction.[5] One example, taken from a report concerning heroin addiction in Albuquerque quotes a local police officer as having, "never arrested a burglar who wasn't on dope".[6]

Blanket statements such as those above that half or more of all property crimes are addict related should be viewed with a great deal of caution. While it is true that such projections are at times supported by statistical documentation,* evidence tends to be limited in both sample size, and in the time frame in which data is collected. As Swezey et al stated "It is noteworthy that as the sample size increases, percentages of drug related crime appear to decrease".[7] Furthermore, many estimates which attribute such a high proportion of crime to heroin users are made without any visible supporting evidence whatsoever. It would seem reasonable to discount these estimates primarily because they are not derived from fact, but appear to reflect only loose opinion.

Nonetheless the 50% approach must be viewed as significant in one respect. Statements such as those referred to above

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*It will be noted later, for example, that selected jail surveys in New York and Washington, D.C. show the percent users among those arrested to be near or even above the 50% range.

affect the public perspective of the heroin/ crime relation-
ship and the cost of such crime to society. For many, who
are not involved with this subject to any extensive degree,
the 50% figure may represent the only number they read, hear,
or remember on the subject, and its impact cannot be dis-
regarded. A report to the President's Commission on Law
Enforcement cites several such statements as having been
"quoted and paraphrased so many times that they have taken
on an aura of truth that they do not deserve". [8] A similar
view was expressed by Max Singer who states, "the estimate
that half of the property crimes are committed by addicts
was originally attributed to a police official and has
been used so often that it is now part of the common wisdom". [9]

The theory that 50% of property crime is heroin related is
discussed here, not because of its merit, but because of
its predominance and potential impact upon public thinking
and legislation. It is also important to make note of the
theory because it frequently germinates from the stereotype
of a heroin addict as an individual who is addicted shortly
after initiating heroin use, who quickly develops a craving
which can only be satisfied by heroin, and who will commit
almost any act to obtain the drug. It will be seen later
that this description is not applicable to most heroin users.

It is not to be decided here, at this juncture of the study,
the proportion of crime that is addict related. Rather,
the purpose here is to examine and evaluate several of the
more common approaches to the addict/crime issue. While
later analysis of this syndrome may indicate the possibility
of such a huge proportion of addict theft, this study will
not utilize the "50% approach" per se because it is seldom the
product of extensive research. Instead, this approach has
sensationalized the issue in the past and has failed to deal
with the complexities of the subject of heroin related crime.

Approach B) Identification of Heroin Users
Among an Arrestee Population

A common method of addressing the heroin related crime question is through a survey of heroin users among arrestees. This represents a sizeable amount of research and is in actuality, the first method discussed here which deals with the addict/crime question using a statistical base.

Under this method, local police officials or a team of researchers make a survey of heroin users in jail. The purpose of this exercise is primarily to identify the drug user population in order to determine the percent of crime committed by heroin (or drug) users*. Frequently, such surveys are also designed to develop information on the causes of drug abuse or on behavioral traits of addicts.

There have been numerous efforts of this type and, in a general sense, most indicate a high correlation between drug abuse and property crime with substantial percentages of those arrested showing evidence of drug use. However, beyond this general aspect, these surveys are not sufficient in themselves to provide a clear picture of how much property crime is heroin related. The smaller surveys are not broad enough in scope, similar enough in methodology, specific enough in their isolation of heroin use from drug use, or consistent enough in their findings to be employed as a gauge of heroin related property crime.

For example, a survey of 521 suspects in a Dallas jail in late 1972 showed that approximately 30% of the arrestees charged in most property crime categories admitted drug use.[10] However, heroin users could not be isolated from this percentage, and marihuana was reported as the most frequently used drug, with heroin following second. In Lakewood, Ohio (a suburb of Cleveland) the police department indicated that about 27% of all arrestees charged with property crimes were drug users; however, heroin again was not broken out.[11] The Cleveland police department identified 13% of those arrested in May-June 1972 as heroin users, but no data was available as to the offense.[12] A 1969 Washington, D.C. sample of 225 residents in the D.C. jail found 43% to be heroin addicts.[13] The state of New Jersey gathered information on each person arrested in August 1970 and determined that nearly 14% of all persons arrested for property crime were drug users, with heroin use not specified once again.[14]

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*Identification of drug users is usually made through urine samples, interviews, or a police records check.

These reports all point to extensive drug use among an arrestee population, but they are generally local surveys conducted on a one time only basis, limited in sample size, producing incomparable data which cannot be used to measure the problem on a national basis.

A review of two of the more extensive efforts along these lines also shows inconsistent findings. In a survey entitled Drug Usage and Arrest Charges, published in 1971, the percent of heroin users was identified from jail samples of roughly 300 arrestees in each of six U.S. cities. Overall, about 30% of those arrested for crimes involving financial gain were identified as heroin users.[15] On a city by city basis the breakout was as follows:

% Current Heroin Users Among Those Arrested for Financial Gain Crimes*

Chicago	21%
New Orleans	27%
San Antonio	23%
New York	66%
Los Angeles	21%
St. Louis	21%
Overall Average	30%

The percent of heroin users identified in the six samples was similar in all cities except New York, where the incidence of addiction was believed to be higher.

Yet, focusing on New York, one finds a major contrast between the findings of Drug Usage and a series of annual statistical reports published by the New York City police which also attempted to determine the number and percent of persons arrested who were drug users. These reports probably contain the most consistent long range effort utilizing the jail survey method. A sample of the volume of data collected as well as the results can be seen in the following table:

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*Crimes include robbery, burglary, larceny, auto theft, possession of stolen property, forgery, fraud, commercialized vice.

New York City
1970-1972
Percent of Estimated Heroin Users Among Those Arrested for
Property Crimes [16]

	# Arrested	# (%) Heroin Users*	
Robbery	49,810	6,079	(12%)
Burglary	45,038	6,552	(15%)
Grand Larceny	13,872	1,095	(8%)
Petit Larceny	27,345	2,022	(7%)
Possession Stolen Property	33,924	2,593	(8%)
Auto Theft	24,527	1,486	(6%)
Forgery	10,809	575	(5%)
Burglar Tools	4,288	559	(13%)
Total	209,613	20,961	10%

The marked contrasts between the comprehensive annual statis-
tics collected by the New York City Police and those published
in Drug Usage, which were collected in the Brooklyn House of
Detention for Men over a short period of time, are more dramati-
cally presented in the chart below:

Current Heroin Users, New York City, by Arrest Charge

	1971 NYC Police Survey[17]			1971 Drug Usage[18]		
	Arrested	Users	%	Arrested	Users	%
Robbery	17,417	2,870	16%	49	39	79%
Burglary	15,847	3,136	20%	68	53	78%
Larceny	13,575	1,295	10%	43	22	51%
Auto Theft	8,045	674	8%	3	1	33%

*The actual number and percent of heroin users arrested for each
specific charge was unknown. However, the percent of opiate
users for all charges was available and the percentage was pro-
rated to specific charges. Over the three year period 88% of
all admitted drug users were heroin users.

This table clearly illustrates that the findings of jail surveys are highly dependent on the time in which data is collected, the sample size, the location of the survey, and the method of identifying drug users. In the same city and in the same year, two conflicting sets of statistics have been derived.

Jail Survey Limitations

It should be apparent that although the jail survey is a widely utilized method for measuring addict crime, the method has provided a series of independent estimates which do not add up to any clear picture of how much crime is heroin related. This is a major limitation of this methodology, at least in terms of its potential for utilization on a national scale.*

There are also at least two other limitations inherent in this methodology. One is that it is an oversimplification to assume that the percentage of heroin users in jail equals the percentage of heroin related crime committed in the area. As will be noted later, many heroin addicts were criminals before they were addicts and addicts in general come from backgrounds or population groups which tend to be more criminally oriented than the norm. It is likely, therefore, that some of the heroin users in jail would have been charged with their crimes independent of heroin use.

Another limitation is that, by themselves, figures on the percent of crime that is addict related provide an incomplete picture of the situation. That is, it is difficult to translate such percentages into hard figures on how many robberies, burglaries, or larcenies heroin users commit or the ultimate cost of such activity. It is well understood that direct application of these percentages to reported crime figures is unsatisfactory because reported crime data understate the problem. Thus, to have tangible value, these percentages would have to be applied or related to an estimate of the number and cost of all property crime committed. Most data currently generated by the jail sur-

*Another extensive report has recently been published by LEAA, the Survey of Inmates of State Correctional Facilities, 1974, published March 1976. This survey utilized a sample size of over 10,000 inmates and estimated that of the 191,400 inmates of State Correctional Institutions, about 30% had used heroin at one time and that 21% used heroin on a daily basis. However, the percent of heroin users charged with property crimes was not given, currently limiting the value of the report for purposes of this study.

veys do not give a concrete idea of the effects of heroin related crime, but rather, provide a percent or fraction of an unknown quantity.

Uses

Despite these limitations, it must be recognized that jail surveys have contributed valuable material on the heroin related crime question. Perhaps the most important aspect of the jail surveys is that they are statistically based and use hard figures. The methodology utilized does not depend upon estimates or opinions of the addict/crime problem, but on actual findings. Furthermore, the jail survey attempts to statistically view heroin user crime within the boundary of the overall crime picture, even though this picture is rarely drawn into focus. Not all methods relate addict property crime to total property crime.

Because of its purely statistical nature and because addict crime is set in the context of overall crime it will be necessary to utilize the jail survey methodology to some extent to arrive at an estimate of heroin related crime in this paper.

Approach C) Estimating Cost of Crime Based on Addiction Factors

The other most prevalent method of estimating the amount heroin related crime (besides the jail survey) involves the establishment of a formula which interrelates various addiction factors to produce a cost of heroin addict crime. The following items are almost always introduced into the formula: a) the estimated number of addicts; b) the average cost per day of a heroin habit; c) the percent of addict income derived via theft; and d) the dollar value received for stolen goods, often referred to as the fence factor. More detailed formulas will also employ other factors such as the percent of time the addict is off of the street, the amount of cash stolen versus property, and others.

After these factors are determined, a calculation is made and a figure is produced: the dollar cost of property lost due to addict crime. A highly representative example of the application of this methodology is provided in McGlothlin et al's Alternative Approaches to Opiate Addiction Control: Costs Benefits and Potential, a report published under BNDD contract. McGlothlin et al derived the following factors and provided the estimate below for the annual cost of property crime committed by addicts, 1972.[19]

# of Addicts	Avg. cost Per Day	# days on the Street	% Income from Theft	Income Received from Theft	Fence Factor*	Value of Property Stolen
375,000 X	$20 X	219 X	60% =	$986 mil ÷	35% =	$2.827 bil.

Estimates such as the above are commonly calculated and exist for several cities and the nation for various time periods. It is hard to approximate how many times this method has been employed; research for this study found at least ten articles, studies, etc. which utilize this system, plus a few short cut versions, and there are undoubtedly many other.**

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*In the actual report, McGlothlin et al provided a fence factor of 30% for the value of goods stolen. The factor is raised to approximately 35% here to account for the report's estimate of the amount of cash stolen.

**A sampling of some of these estimates can be found in studies of Brown, Casey, Holahan, Hood, and O'Conner. (See Bibliography).

Some reports go further providing a series of possible
estimates by changing the values of the factors, thereby
offering a range of estimates of the cost of addict crime.
Perhaps the most extensive series of estimates was estab-
lished in the SAODAP report published at the end of 1974.
In this report, the following possibilities were listed:[20]

# of Addicts	% of Habit via Income Producing Crime	Days/Year	$/Day	Fence Factor	Cost (Billions)
250,000	33%	255	$ 43	3	$ 2.7
250,000	33%	255	$ 51.50	3	$ 3.3
250,000	60%	255	$ 43	3	$ 4.9
250,000	60%	255	$ 51.50	3	$ 5.9
600,000	33%	255	$ 43	3	$ 6.6
600,000	33%	255	$ 51.50	3	$ 7.8
600,000	60%	255	$ 43	3	$ 11.8
600,000	60%	255	$ 51.50	3	$ 14.2

Frequently this methodology is presented in narrative form,
as the formula and variables are interwoven with a rather
general description of the addict lifestyle. One of the highest
estimates of heroin related crime ever made was explained in
such a narrative:

> Narcotic addicts drain millions of dollars from society.
> First, the very cost of the drug themselves on the illicit
> market is exorbitant. The average addict spends approxi-
> mately $58 each day for a narcotic drug. This means for
> several days a week, 52 weeks each year, he would
> require about $21,112-there are no weekends or holidays
> off from a drug habit. Based on the foregoing estimates,
> the cost of heroin for addicts in the United States is
> $36.3 million per day or $13.2 billion per year. Some
> of the hard narcotic addicts require almost $200 a day
> instead of $58. The habit produces the craving, and the
> addict must produce the money. Most of this money feeds
> directly into the organized criminal structure. Because
> most addicts cannot legally obtain the cash to buy their
> drugs, they turn to crime. Most convert stolen merchan-
> dise into cash. It takes about $3-$5 in stolen goods
> to get $1 cash. So, to support a $58 a day habit, the
> addict has to steal $200 worth of property a day, or

$73,000 a year. Accepting the fact that some addicts
are gainfully employed, some derive their income from
selling drugs, while others are engaged in vice reduces
considerably the number of addicts actually stealing
property to support their habits. If we assume that
60 percent of the estimated 626,114 heroin addicts
steal property to support their habits, over .27 billion
dollars worth of property is stolen each year to pay
for heroin addiction."[21]

The consensus among many researchers is that the factoring
method is the common or "traditional method" utilized to
arrive at heroin related crime estimates. McGlothlin et al
comments, "This approach, together with estimates of the
number of addicts, underlies most current efforts to deter-
mine the extent of addict theft."[22] Peter Freck et al states,
"There are several analyses which estimate these costs and
all make separate estimates of several disparate variables
combining to yield a total annual nationwide figure."[23]

However, despite the popularity of this methodology, several
experts, including some who utilize the method themselves,
have expressed reservations about this approach. McGlothlin
et al notes, "This method uses a multitude of independent
variables; and, since data on many of their values are either
highly uncertain or non-existent, many disparate guesses or
debatable assumptions have been employed".[24] Freck et al
states, "The quality of these estimates is highly suspect due
to the paucity of data on which they are based".[25] And a
Federal Strategy report in 1973 refers to these approaches as,
"estimates which are obtained by multiplying crude estimates."[26]

It is relevant, therefore, to discuss some of the major limi-
tations of this predominant methodology and also to discuss
the potential use of the approach in the heroin related crime
estimate to be made in this report.

Limitations

The first and probably most obvious limitation in this metho-
dology is that recently mentioned. The estimate derived can
vary tremendously based upon the factors chosen, and the fac-
tors are only estimates themselves. This variance is evident
in two estimates published under BNDD/DEA auspices within two
years of each other. One established a 1972 addict crime
cost at $2.8 billion (McGlothlin), one set the 1973 estimate
at $27 billion (DEA Fact Sheets).

The degree of variance that can exist is also illustrated in the SAODAP report referred to earlier. Using various addict estimates, habit costs etc., SAODAP calculated eight alternative estimates ranging from $2.7 to $14.2 billion. In fairness to the report, SAODAP selected as most probable a middle figure of about $6.3 billion and qualified all factors incorporated into the estimate. However, one can easily see from the range experienced how volatile the procedure is. Freck et al comments about the factors chosen, "These are disparate variables and if the estimates for any are far from the mark, the total annual property theft by addicts will be off proportionately."[27]

What becomes evident after reviewing several of these estimates is that the methodology is subject to such extreme fluctuation and has produced estimates so varied and incongruous that one is presented only with an idea of how confusing the heroin related crime question is instead of a firm idea of how much crime is committed by addicts.

A second limitation is that the approach frequently produces multi-billion dollar figures on addict crime which are rarely reconciled with data on estimated or reported crime in the U.S., or with data from jails on the percent of crime that is heroin related. For example, the SAODAP figure of $6.3 billion stolen in 1974 is nearly five times higher than the UCR estimate that $1.349 billion worth of goods was reported stolen in that year. While reported crime figures admittedly understate the amount of property crime in the U.S., the point is that the SAODAP figure, as well as almost all other such estimates, consistently exceed the figure on all reported property crime creating what one critic calls "a major anomaly which seems to have gone unnoticed."[28]

The subject of unreported or estimated crime will be discussed later in this paper. The argument being made here is not that the SAODAP or other similar estimates could not be accurate. At issue here is that the SAODAP figure of $6.3 billion and all estimates using the traditional methodology are derived using a system of progression which is completely unchecked and unqualified by hard data available on U.S. crime. The estimates exist in a vacuum, producing cost figures so high that they sometimes suggest that more than 100% of crime in the U.S. is addict related. This would appear to be the case in the $27 billion estimate cited earlier.

A third limitation is found in the nature of the estimate produced. A figure on the dollar cost of addict crime is difficult to translate into any tangible picture of how much crime the cost represents or the impact of such crime on society. The multibillion dollar estimates provided by these approaches are only numbers and do not give the reader any grasp of the real situation. One can see this in the SAODAP estimates. It is doubtful that a reader would have any better understanding of the impact of addict crime if told that the $2.7 billion estimate was correct than he would if given the figure of $14.2 billion. Yet one suggests a problem five times greater than the other. It is safe to assume that this reader's knowledge would not be broadened if the $6.3 billion estimate was presented to him as more reasonable than the high or low figure. The final product of this "traditional" approach is usually a vague description of the addict crime - a dollar cost. Only occasionally are attempts made to translate these estimates into the number of crimes committed or the impact of addict crime on the overall property crime rate. In short, we are rarely told what the estimate means.

Uses

Despite these limitations, the "traditional methodology" does provide one of the few approaches available on which a national estimate of the cost of heroin related crime can be derived. The deficiences cited have been discussed, not to discredit other attempts, but rather, to illustrate weaknesses which must be overcome if such an estimate is to have any meaning.

Unlike the jail survey, this methodology attempts to expand sometimes limited findings onto a national scale. In this respect it has much greater range for producing a national estimate than most jail surveys. For this reason, the "traditional methodology" will also be used in the development of this study's crime figure. Attempts will be made, however, to offset the weaknesses inherent in this traditional approach. This includes an extensive research effort in the selection credible "addiction factors".* Of equal importance, an attempt will be made to relate this estimate to data on overall crime in the U.S., and to data on the percent of addicts arrested for property crime.

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*This is not to imply that several of the studies referred to earlier did not also conduct credible research in the determination of addiction factors.

Summary - Section I

Section I serves as a description of the most common approaches utilized to measure heroin related crime.

Two approaches deserve serious consideration. The first of these, the jail survey, serves as an attempt to identify the percent of heroin users among an arrested population. As such, it is an objective effort to develop tangible statistical material on how much crime is heroin related. The second major approach is that which multiplies various addiction factors to arrive at a dollar cost of heroin related property crime. The method has great potential in that it allows for estimates to be expanded to a national scale.

Still, both methods have limitations. The jail surveys are usually limited to the time and place in which statistics are collected. Also, most are limited by the size of the data base.

The other method is highly volatile. Alteration of even one or two of the subjective addiction factors can drastically alter the final cost estimate.

Furthermore, in neither method is consistency found among the collective efforts of researchers. Also, the estimates produced by both methods suffer because they are rarely related to a tangible overall estimate of property crime.

The next section of this report will utilize both of these major approaches in the derivation of a heroin related crime estimate. However, an attempt will be made to offset to some degree the various limitations discussed.

Section II

Derivation and Discussion of Heroin Related
Property Crime Estimate

The purpose of this section is to derive the heroin related property crime estimate for this report, to study the impact of heroin user crime on national property crime, and to discuss heroin user crime in terms of addict behavior.

Estimates in this report will be calculated for 1974. This represents the latest year in which all relevant comprehensive data on U.S. property crime is available. Also, 1974 was chosen because the most detailed data on heroin user behavior was collected just prior to that year.

Section II is divided into six parts:

Part A - Estimate of Property Crime in the United States, 1974.

Part B - Derivation of a Preliminary Heroin User Property Crime Estimate, 1974.

    1. Heroin User Crime Estimate Utilizing Jail Survey Method.

    2. Heroin User Crime Estimate Utilizing Method of Multiplying Addict Factors.

    3. Resolution of Estimates Developed in 1 & 2.- Establishment of Preliminary Estimate.

Part C - Examination of Income Producing Behavior of Heroin Users and the Correlation Between Habit Size and this Behavior. Relationship of Findings to Preliminary Estimate.

Part D - Derivation of Final Heroin User Property Crime Estimate. - 1974.

Part E - Discussion of the Final Estimate. Relationship of Heroin User Crime to National Property Crime. Examination of Crimes Committed by the Individual Users.

Part F - Discussion of Heroin Related Crime in terms of Socio-Economic Conditions Surrounding Addiction.

Section II - Part A

Estimate of Property Crime in the United States, 1974

Part A - Property Crime in the U.S.

Prior to the development of a heroin user crime estimate, it is necessary to calculate an estimate of total property crime in this country. This overall estimate is vital for two reasons. First, it allows for a heroin user crime estimate to be put into the perspective of the national crime picture as well as providing a boundry within which the "addict crime" estimate must fall. Second, it allows for the translation of the heroin crime estimate into tangible figures, such as the number and costs of such crime.

In the following pages an estimate of property crime in the United States for the Calendar Year 1974 will be provided. It includes the dollar value of cash and property stolen plus an estimate of the number of crimes committed. It is limited to property crime which is committed for financial gain, and, therefore, such incidents as vandalism and arson are not included. As stated earlier, the year 1974 was chosen for the estimate since it is the latest year for which comprehensive statistics on U.S. crime are available.

The estimate has been derived through the extraction of data from three U.S. Government reports. A description of each of these reports and their utilization is discussed below:

a) Criminal Victimization in the United States: A Comparison of 1973 and 1974 Findings, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, May 1976.

Criminal Victimization is an extensive survey report of crime in the United States for the two year period, 1973 and 1974. Based on surveys of households and commercial establishments, the rates of victimization, the per cent of crime that is reported to police, and the number of victimizations occurring in the United States are broken out for the year 1974. The essential use of this report for the property crime estimate will be to determine the number of many types of property crimes in the U.S.

b) The Cost of Crime Against Business, U.S. Department of Commerce, January 1976.

The Cost of Crimes Against Business estimates the dollar value of cash and goods stolen from various types of business establishments, including manufacturers, wholesalers, retailers, and service industries (banks, hotels, airlines, etc.). This report will be used to determine these costs and to make estimates of the number of certain types of crime, such as business larcenies, which are not covered in Criminal Victimizations.

c) <u>Crime in the United States: Uniform Crime Reports,</u>
<u>FBI,</u> 1974.

The <u>Uniform Crime Reports</u> (referred to hereafter as
UCR) have traditionally been utilized as the defini-
tive source for reported crime trends in the United
States. Although the UCR reports deal only with
reported crime and not estimated crime, a determina-
tion is made of the estimated average cost of each
reported crime. UCR average costs per crime will be
utilized in the estimate of property crime.

In essence, then, the LEAA report will be used to determine
the number of crimes committed, the Department of Commerce
report will establish dollar costs of business crime, and the
UCR will be used to determine the dollar costs of non-business
(personal) crime. In some cases, a report may be utilized for
more than one of these purposes since figures on costs and the
number of crimes are dealt with by more than one report. In
any event, an explanation of the methodology used to arrive at
each figure estimated will be provided.

<u>QUALIFICATIONS</u>

Because of the nature of the reports cited, there are two ele-
ments in the source data which may somewhat inflate the overall
estimate. First, the number of crimes committed is largely
based upon victimizations in the LEAA report. Although each
victimization is tabulated as a crime committed in the following
estimate, in reality more than one person could be victimized
by a single crime. This inflation factor would only affect
crimes against persons, however, since household or business
victimizations appear to only have been counted once, regardless
of the number of persons involved. Secondly, reported crime
"average losses" from the UCR will be applied to unreported
estimates. It is generally believed that reported property
crimes tend to involve greater losses than those which go
unreported. Therefore, the application of "average losses per
reported crime" to crimes which go unreported may, admittedly,
inflate the estimate.

It should be noted, however, that other aspects of the source
data deny the incorporation of certain crimes into the esti-
mate which should be considered. First, attempted crimes are
not included although approximately 2.5 million attempted
property crimes are estimated in Criminal Victimizations.

Second, "undetected crimes" cannot be estimated in categories of personal or household larcenies. There is reason to believe that such crimes are numerous.* Third, the Department of Commerce Report does not include in its estimate the cost of property crime related to restaurants, bars, or gas stations. If included, the cost of commerical crimes would be higher.

Given the nature of the data, no adjustment can be made to accommodate those items which tend to inflate the estimate or to those which do the opposite. It is believed that the opposing limitations do offset or balance each other to some degree. Under any circumstances, the following statistics were derived as a result of an objective attempt to come to a realistic estimate of property crime in the U.S., given comprehensive data of varying degrees of specificity.

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*It is obvious that a substantial percentage of business crime is initially undetected but later discovered through inventories. Their cost is reported in the Department of Commerce report. It is reasonable to expect that some property crimes go unnoticed in the personal/household categories also, but are never discovered. These crimes would not be subject to estimation, since they are not detected, and hence, never enter the data base.

1974 CRIME ESTIMATE
- Summary -

CRIME	ESTIMATED INCIDENTS	AVERAGE COST	TOTAL COST
Robbery	1,441,000	$ 321	$ .463 billion
Burglary	6,776,000	$ 508	$ 3.445 billion
Larceny	180,721,922	$ 71	$ 12.916 billion
Auto Theft	856,000	$ 1,246	$ 1.067 billion
Bad Checks/Credit Cards	N.A.	N.A.	$ 2.460 billion
TOTAL			$ 20.351 billion

1974 CRIME ESTIMATE

ROBBERY - $.463 billion

	Estimated #	Average Cost	Total Cost
Banks	3,517	$3,598	$.013 billion
Business	263,483	$ 645	$.170 billion
Personal	1,174,000	$ 239	$.280 billion
Total	1,441,000	$ 321	$.463 billion

EXPLANATION:

- Bank - All figures were derived from UCR. It is assumed that 100% of all bank robberies are reported.

- Business/Commercial - Criminal Victimizations estimated that there were 267,000 commercial robberies in 1974. If bank robberies are subtracted, this figure becomes 263,483. The Department of Commerce estimated that $170 million were lost by retailers through robbery. This would average to $645 lost per robbery.

- Personal - Criminal Victimizations estimated 1,174,000 personal victimizations via robbery in 1974. It is estimated that the total cost of these robberies was $.28 billion, with the average cost of each robbery set at $239. These cost figures were computed as follows: The UCR considered the average cost for all robberies to be $321 per robbery. Criminal Victimizations cited a total of 1,441,000 commercial/personal robbery incidents. A multiplication of $321 times 1,441,000 would equal a total robbery loss of $463 million. Since $183 million was considered lost through commercial robberies, $280 million is considered lost through personal robberies. The cost of personal robberies averages to approximately $239 per robbery.

BURGLARY - $3.445 billion

	Estimated #	Average Cost	Total Cost
Business	1,555,000	$855	$1.330 billion
Residential	5,221,000	$405	$2.115 billion
Total	6,776,000	$508	$3.445 billion

EXPLANATION:

- Business/Commercial - Criminal Victimizations estimated that 1,555,000 commercial burglaries occurred in 1974. The Department of Commerce estimated that retailers lost $1.33 billion from burglary. This averages to a $855 value loss for each burglary.

- Residential - Criminal Victimizations estimated that 5,221,000 household burglaries occurred in 1974. UCR figures indicate that the average cost per residential burglary was $405. Thus, a total of $2.115 billion worth of cash/property is estimated to have been stolen in 1974 from residences.

LARCENY - $12.916 billion

	Estimated #	Average Cost	Total Cost	
Business				
Shoplifting	117,304,692	$ 26	$3.05	billion
Employee Theft - Retailers			$ .75	billion
Larceny - Manufacturers			$2.8	billion
Larceny - Wholesalers			$2.1	billion
Internal Theft - Banks			$ .015	billion
Hotels			$ .5	billion
Sub Total - non-Shoplifting	39,519,230	$ 156	$6.165	billion
Total - Business Larceny	156,823,922	$ 59	$9.215	billion

Personal & Household	Estimated #	Average Cost	Total Cost	
Pick-Pocket	358,000	$ 117	$ .042	billion
Purse snatch	153,000	$ 75	$ .011	billion
Other Personal/ no Contact	15,098,000	$ 156	$2.355	billion
Household	8,289,000	$ 156	$1.293	billion
Total-Personal/ Household	23,898,000	$ 155	$3.701	billion

	Estimated #	Average Cost	Total Cost
TOTAL LARCENIES	180,721,922	$ 71	$12.916 billion

LARCENY-EXPLANATION:

● Larceny-Business

  Shoplifting - The Department of Commerce estimates that
  there are 140 million shoplifting incidents each year.
  UCR estimates that each shoplifting incident averaged
  $32 worth of property stolen; this would equal a total
  of $4.48 billion worth of stolen property. However,
  the Department of Commerce also calculates the total loss
  to business from shoplifting to be $1.62 billion. A
  compromise figure of $3.05 billion lost has been chosen
  for the purposes of this study. Prorating this compromise
  cost figure to the number of incidents and loss per inci-
  dent brings the totals to 117,304,692 incidents at $26
  per incident.

  All Other Business Larceny - Cost figures were taken
  directly from the Department of Commerce reports. In ad-
  dition to the 117 million shoplifting incidents estimated,
  it is also estimated that 39,519,230 other larceny inci-
  dents occurred among businesses. This figure is arrived
  at by dividing the remainder of value lost after shop-
  lifting (a total of $6.165 billion) by the average loss
  per larceny given in the UCR ($156).

● Larceny-Personal & Household

  Pick-pocketing - Criminal Victimizations estimates about
  358,000 incidents. UCR data indicates that the average
  pick-pocketing incident resulted in a loss of $117,
  setting the national loss from pick-pocketing at
  $42 million.

  Purse-snatching - Criminal Victimizations estimates
  that 153,000 purse-snatching incidents occurred in 1974.
  UCR estimates an average loss of $75 in value per incident.
  The loss at the national level is estimated at $11
  million.

  Personal Larceny Without Contact - Criminal Victimizations
  estimates about 15,098,000 personal larcenies occurred in
  the U.S. UCR estimated that the average larceny (unspeci-
  fied as to type) resulted in $156 worth of stolen goods
  for a total of $2.355 billion stolen.

  Household Larceny - Criminal Victimizations estimated
  8,289,000 household larcenies in 1974. At an average cost
  of $156, it is estimated at $1.293 billion was lost in the
  U.S. in 1974.

AUTO THEFT - $1.067 Billion

	Estimated #	Average Cost	Total Cost
Auto Theft	856,000	$1,246	$1.067 billion

EXPLANATION:

Criminal Victimizations estimated that 856,000 auto thefts occurred in 1974. The UCR estimates $1,246 as the average per theft bringing the total cost figure to $1.067 billion.

BAD CHECKS & CREDIT CARDS - $2.46 billion

EXPLANATION:

The Department of Commerce estimates businesses and banks lose $2.46 billion from bad checks and fraudulent credit card use. No estimate is available as to the number of incidents or the average cost per incident.

SECTION II - PART B

Derivation of Preliminary Heroin
User Property Crime Estimate, 1974

PART B

HEROIN USER CRIME ESTIMATE - PRELIMINARY

The estimate of property crime in the United States, 1974, establishes a ceiling or boundry into which the cost of addict related crime can be placed and viewed in perspective.

The next step, then, will be to establish an estimate of heroin user crime. At the onset, it should be understood that this is a highly subjective project. The calculation of such an estimate is done under full recognition that, in the area of drug crime, there are many unknowns as well as a wide range of conflicting opinions.

The approach taken here will be to derive two new estimates of heroin user crime using the two most prominent methodologies examined earlier - the jail survey and the system of multiplying addiction factors. Despite the limitations of each of these methodologies, both contain elements which in some respects offset the limitations of the other. The jail survey utilizes hard data and thereby tempers the essentially theoretical methodology of multiplying addict factors. By contrast the latter system deals with elements of addict behavior which are beyond the limited range of the jail survey. From these two estimates a preliminary estimate will be established based on a reconciliation or compromise of the two. This preliminary estimate will later be applied and adjusted to data on heroin user behavior and estimated addicts to derive a detailed picture of the criminal behavior of heroin users in this country, and the impact heroin related crime.

PART B-1

ESTIMATE OF HEROIN USER CRIME, 1974
UTILIZING THE JAIL SURVEY METHOD

The first estimate of heroin related crime will utilize the
jail survey method. To counter the limitation of conflicting
findings among various sources, a single "best" source has
been chosen, the New York City Police statistics for 1970,
1971, 1972. These statistics will be integrated with other
data and translated into a national heroin related crime
estimate.

The sources to be used, the reason for their selection, and
the method chosen to formulate a national estimate are dis-
cussed below.

Sources:

1. Statistical Report, Narcotics, prepared by New York City
   Police Department, cumulative findings, 1970-1972.

   • The New York City Police Statistical Reports indi-
     cate the number and percent of property crimes com-
     mitted by drug users. A reasonable determination
     can be made to indicate the number of these who are
     heroin users. These reports are considered the best
     jail survey for the purposes of this estimate because
     the sample size is large, data was consistently col-
     lected over three years, and because New York figures
     are adaptable to other information on addiction
     and crime in New York City and the Nation.

2. DEA addict estimates 1971-1974.

   - National   1971-1974
   - New York City   1971-1973

   • DEA's narcotic abuser estimates were calculated at
     the city level up to 1973. A rough New York City
     estimate can be determined for 1974 based on
     earlier estimates.

3. Crime in the United States, 1974, prepared by the FBI,
   Uniform Crime Reports.

   • UCR data provide reported crime figures for New York
     City, 1974.

4. Crime in the Nations Five Largest Cities, U.S. Department of Justice, LEAA, April 1974.

   • This LEAA report presents the percentage of crime reported to police in New York City in 1972. This report can be used, along with the UCR, to calculate a property crime estimate for New York City in certain crime categories.

5. National Property Crime Estimate, 1974, prepared in Section II, Part A, of this report.

Methodology

A series of calculations integrating data on reported and unreported crime, addiction, and heroin users arrested will be made for each of five crime categories: robbery, burglary, larceny, auto theft, and bad check/credit card fraud. The purpose of each calculation will be to translate data from the New York City police reports into an estimate of the cost of heroin related crime at the national level.

An explanation of the step by step procedure is provided in the calculation for the first crime category - robbery. The calculations for each of the other crime categories will follow the procedure set forth for robbery; however, steps will not be explained unless exceptions from the "robbery" procedures occur. The national cost of addict crime in each of the five major crime categories will be added to represent the total cost of addict crime, and the sum will serve as the first national property crime estimate.

One final point should be made concerning this methodology. Although the jail survey itself represents hard data, the translation of New York City police statistics into a national estimate necessitates the use of several estimates. In this respect there is a margin for error. Nonetheless, the calculation of a national estimate utilizing arrest statistics is unavoidable to serve as a check to the next estimate which is to a great extent theoretical.

1974 ESTIMATE OF HEROIN RELATED CRIME - JAIL SURVEY

Robbery* - $.016 billion

A - Estimated addict population, New York City, 1974

223,000

B - New York City - # reported robberies

77,940

C - % robberies reported, New York City

59%

D - New York City estimated # robberies

132,102

E - % robberies committed by addicts in New York City

12% X 1.27 = 15%

F - # of addict robberies - New York City

19,815

G - New York City - % addicts who commit robbery

9%

H - # of addict robberies - U.S.

50,220

I - % of U.S. robberies that are addict committed

3.5%

J - Cost of addict robberies

$.016 billion

. . . .

*A discussion of each step is provided on the following pages.

Steps - Robbery

A - It is estimated that in 1974, about 40% of the nation's
addict population resided in New York City. This
figure is based on 1971-1973 addict estimates in which
New York City was determined to have 40% of the total
U.S. addict population (.40 X 558,000* = 223,000).

B - In each major crime category (e.g., robbery) the number
of UCR reported crimes in New York City is listed.

C - The percent of robberies reported to police in New York
City will be listed. This figure is derived from LEAA's,
Crime in the Nation's Five Largest Cities.

D - UCR reported robberies are divided by the New York City
percent reported in "C" above to derive an estimated
number of robberies for the city. (77940 ÷ .59 = 132,102).

E - The percent of robberies committed by heroin users will
be determined from the New York City police reports (12%).
This percent will be multiplied by the increase in ad-
diction in 1974 (27%) over the average three year period
1970-1972 to acquire the percent of addict robberies,
New York City, 1974.

F - The percent derived in "E" is multiplied by the number of
estimated robberies in New York City to achieve the
estimated number of addict robberies in New York City.
(132102 x .15 = 19815).

G - The number of addict robberies in New York City will be
divided by the estimated number of addicts in New York City
to determine the percent of addicts who commit robberies.
A more accurate label for this cateogry would be "the
percent of addicts who commit robbery, if none committed
more than one per year". (19815 ÷ 223,000 = .09 or 9%).

H - The percent of addicts who commit robberies in New York
City will be multiplied against the National addict
estimate. The percent figure allows for 9% of the ad-
dict population to commit one robbery per year.
(.09 X 558,000 = 50,220).

I - The number of addict robberies committed in the U.S. will
be divided into the total estimated number of robberies
in the U.S., set forth earlier in this study, to deter-
mine the percent of robberies that are addict related.
(50,220 ÷ 1,441,00 = .035 or 3.5%).

*558,000 figure represents DEA's National Addict estimate, 1974.

J - The cost of addict robberies in the U.S. is computed either by a) multiplying the percent of U.S. robberies committed by addicts times the national cost of robbery, or by b) multiplying the number of robberies by the average cost per robbery. (.035 X $.463 billion, estimated national cost for robbery, = $.016 billion).

Burglary - $.060 billion

A - Estimated addict population, New York City, 1974

223,000

B - New York City - # reported burglaries

158,321

C - % burglaries reported, New York City

66%

D - New York City - estimated # burglaries

239,880

E - % committed by addicts in New York City

15% X 1.27 = 19%

F - # of addict burglaries - New York City

45,577

G - New York City - % addicts who commit burglary

20%

H - # of addict burglaries - U.S.

111,600

I - % of U.S. burglaries that are addict committed

2%

J - Cost of addict burglaries

$.060 billion

Larceny-$.100 billion

A - Estimated addict population, New York City, 1974

223,000

B - New York City - # reported larcenies

163,157

C - National estimate* % reported

3%

D - New York City - Estimated # larcenies

5,438,567

E - % larcenies committed by addicts in New York City

8% X 1.27 = 10%

F - # of addict larcenies - New York City

543,857

G - New York City - % addicts who commit larceny

244%

H - # of addict larcenies - U.S.

1,362,000

I - % of U.S. larcenies that are addict committed

1%

J - Cost of addict larcenies

$.100 billion

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*Larceny is so grossly underreported that the national percentage of larcenies reported is used based upon the property crime estimate in this study.

Auto Theft-$ .028 billion

A - Estimated addict population, New York City, 1974

223,000

B - New York City # reported auto thefts

73,731.

C - % auto thefts reported

73%

D - New York City - estimated # auto thefts

101,000

E - % auto thefts committed by addicts in New York City

6% X 1.27 = 8%

F - # of addict auto thefts - New York City

8,080

G - New York City - % addicts who commit auto theft

4%

H - # of addict auto thefts - U.S.

22,320

I - % of U.S. auto thefts that are addict committed

2.6%

J - Cost of addict auto thefts

$.028 billion

E. Bad Checks and Credit Card Fraud - $.027 billion.
The New York City arrest reports do not provide sufficient data to estimate the percent of addict involvement in crimes relating to bad check writing and credit card fraud. This figure, then, will be prorated by applying the percent of addict crime thus far calculated to the National cost of bad check/credit card crime set forth in this study's property crime estimate.

Thus far, the cost of addict crime, calculated with New York City arrest data, has been about 1.1% of the national cost.

Crime	National Cost	NYC Arrest Reports Method Addict Cost
Robbery	$ .463 billion	$.016 billion
Burglary	$ 3.445 billion	$.060 billion
Larceny	$ 12.916 billion	$.100 billion
Auto Theft	$ 1.067 billion	$.028 billion
	$ 17.891 billion	$.204 billion

In order to round out the addict crime estimate, the 1.1% figure will be multiplied times the $2.46 billion estimate (national cost - bad check/credit card crime), resulting in an estimated cost of $.027 billion for addict bad check/credit card crime.

Total - Cost of Addict Crime - Jail Survey

	# Crimes National	Cost	# Crimes Addicts	Cost
Robbery	1,441,000	$ .463 bil	50,220	$ .016 bil
Burglary	6,776,000	$ 3.445 bil	111,600	$ .060 bil
Larceny	180,721,922	$ 12.916 bil	1,362,000	$ .100 bil
Auto Theft	856,000	$ 1.067 bil	22,320	$ .028 bil
Bad Check/ Credit Card	N.A.	$ 2.46 bil	N.A.	$ .027 bil
Total		$ 20.351 bil		$ .231 bil (1.1%) of national crime

The total amount of property crime committed by addicts, using this methodology is $.231 billion for 1974.

PART B-2

HEROIN USER CRIME ESTIMATE, 1974, UTILIZING METHOD OF MULTIPLYING ADDICT FACTORS

The next estimate of heroin related crime will utilize the "traditonal methodology" of multiplying various addict factors to arrive at a dollar cost of heroin user crime for the base year of this report, 1974. The following factors have been chosen to make this estimate:

Factor A - Average daily cost of heroin habit

Factor B - Estimated number of heroin addicts

Factor C - Days on the street annually

Factor D - % of funds derived from theft

Factor E - Cash return for goods stolen (fence factor)

Factor F - % heroin substitution/supplementation.

As has been noted earlier, it is important to utilize the best data available in selection of values for each factor. Therefore, considerable material will be presented in the development of each value. Information on addict behavior will serve as a necessary part of this discussion.

After values are selected for each factor, the cost of addict crime using this method will be calculated.

Selection of Values for Addiction Factors

Factor A - <u>Average daily cost of heroin habit - $58.00</u>

DEA estimates that the average heroin addict
requires 50 milligrams of the drug daily to
support his habit. This assumes that the
user is truly addicted, taking approximately
five 10mg doses per day.

In 1974, DEA price/purity data indicated that
the average cost of heroin was $1.15 per mil-
ligram pure. This figure was based upon actual
purchases of evidence made by DEA agents as
part of undercover investigations.

Assuming the addict can meet the 50mg demand,
the average cost per day in 1974 is estimated
at $58.

Factor B - <u>Estimated number of addicts - 558,000</u>

DEA estimates that at the end of 1974, there were
558,000 heroin addicts in the United States. DEA
arrives at its estimated heroin addict figure
using data obtained in a reported narcotic abuser
system. Through this system, state and local
police agencies throughout the U.S. voluntarily
report to DEA the names of narcotic abusers who
come to their attention. This information serves
as the sole statistical base for DEA's addict
estimate.

Factor C - <u>Percent time in circulation - 70%</u>

It is generally agreed upon that heroin users are
not active all of the time. Periods of inactivity
(in which the user is not pursuing his habit) are
brought about by incarceration, voluntary absti-
nence, and entrance into treatment programs. Ad-
ditionally, the lifestyle of the addict, which is
often unstructured, leads to inconsistent pursuit
of his habit. While there is no definitive esti-
mate of the amount of time addicts are out of cir-
culation, evidence that addicts are frequently
off of the street is so clearcut that it must be
regarded as a factor in any estimate of addict
crime.

Research conducted among addict groups under treatment almost always presents data on arrest or incarceration. For example, a survey of a group of long term addicts in the Phoenix House Therapeutic Community, (admitted in 1970-1971), showed that almost one-fourth had averaged two and one-half years in jail.[29] Another study in the same community (admitted in 1968) indicated that 79% had spent time in jail or reform school and that most of those had been incarcerated at least four times.[30] A survey of records kept on 43,000 drug abuse patients who entered treatment between 1968-1973 revealed that over four of five had been arrested prior to treatment, nearly half had served time in jail, and for over one-fourth, the length of incarceration exceeded one year.[31] In any given year, certified admission data from the Narcotic Addiction Control Commission in New York have shown a high percentage of persons arrested prior to treatment. In 1973, 83% of the 3,086 certified admissions had arrest histories, with 37% having been arrested at least five times, and 13% at least ten times.[32]

Of course, statistics such as these are most frequently presented to illustrate addict criminality, either for drug charges or property crimes. However, they also clearly illustrate how frequently heroin users are arrested, incarcerated, and hence, out of circulation.

Evidence is also conclusive that heroin addicts abstain from heroin abuse either via treatment programs or through self-imposed abstinence. In 1975, NIDA reported that about 103,000 heroin users were admitted to Federally funded treatment programs.[33] The number actually participating in treatment is unknown, but the 103,000 figure itself represents about 19% of all estimated heroin users for 1975. McGlothlin et al's 1971 estimate of addict crime indicated that nearly 20% of the addict population were in treatment at the time of the report.[34]

Data on voluntary abstinence was reported by Waldorf. Based on interviews with 422 addicts in New York State Treatment Facilities, Waldorf found that four in ten had abstained for over three months, and that one of every six had abstained for over two years.[35]

For the addict crime estimate to be made here, a figure of 30% will be used as the percent of time an addict is "out of circulation". This figure is in agreement with the estimate made by SAODAP.[36] It is below the 40% estimate of McGlothlin,[37] and above estimate of 20% given by Casey[38] and O'Conner.[39]

Therefore the estimate to be used here, that addicts are actively pursuing their habit 70% of the time, is based on a compromise of estimates from other researchers. It is not a value calculated from new data. The estimate that heroin users are out of circulation 30% of the time would appear to be reasonable based upon data available on addicts in treatment or in jail.

Factor D - <u>Funds derived from theft - 45%</u>

One of the most significant factors in arriving at an estimate of the cost of addict crime is that which identifies the percent of addict funds acquired through theft.

The problem that one immediately faces in arriving at this factor is that there are a variety of findings from limited (in terms of addict population) surveys on the percent of addicts who commit theft and/or the percent of addict funds derived from theft.

Cushman, in an article concerning 81 addicts in a New York City methadone maintenance clinic (admitted in 1969-1970) found that most addicts were dependent on more than one source of income, that about 46% engaged in some form of theft, and that roughly 30% of the funds spent on heroin were derived from theft.[40] DeLeon et al's analysis of 1,151 addicts in Phoenix House found that 43% engaged in burglary or shoplifting and that 48% committed other forms of theft during periods of drug use*. This analysis also cited multiple sources of support among addicts.[41] Kozel et al's survey of offenders in the Washington, D.C. jail found that about 44% of the heroin addicts committed property crime.[42]

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*There is an overlap in these figures, i.e., some addicts appear in both categories.

Other findings include those of O'Conner et al, Holahan[44] and Nash et al,[45] each of whom cited percentages of 60% or higher either for the percent of addicts who steal or the percent of their heroin habits which were supported by theft. Each also generally agreed that many addicts do not limit income producing behavior to one activity, but rather utilize a combination of legitimate employment, welfare, drug sales, and theft to acquire funds.

It is difficult to arrive at a standard factor from smaller surveys such as those cited above. While independent research provides general concensus on the fact that addicts frequently steal and utilize multiple activities for funds, there is not specific agreement on the percent of funds acquired via theft. In fairness to the research reviewed, most authors do not project findings to a national scale. Nonetheless, the findings in addict studies surveyed do not provide a common factor for the amount of funds acquired via theft.

For this reason, the publications of the New York State Narcotic Addiction Control Commission (NACC) will be utilized as the best source for the value concerning the income producing behavior of addicts. NACC collected extensive data on drug users (most of whom were heroin users) in New York State Treatment facilities for fiscal years 1968-1973. The data is comprehensive in size, was collected over several years, and represents activity of heroin users at various habit levels. It is clearly the most extensive statistical survey of drug user patterns.

Findings - NACC

Published NACC data[46] indicated that 27.4% of the 17,166 drug users admitted to NACC treatment programs from 1970 through 1973 utilized "stolen cash/goods" as a primary source of support.* It was also indicated that 45% of the treatment population engaged in theft at some time, displaying what other

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*87% of these drug users were heroin users or addicts.

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surveys show - that heroin users frequently engage
in more than one source of income producing
behavior*.   Based on correspondence with NACC,[47]
it was further determined that 38% of all heroin
user income was derived by those who reported
theft as a primary source of support.   Since this
material clearly indicated that criminal behavior
is more profitable than legitimate activity**, an
adjustment based on calculations raised the 38%
figure to 45% to account for "theft income" ac-
quired by heroin users who steal as a secondary
source of support.

Thus, a value of 45% is chosen for Factor D - the
percent of funds acquired via theft.

A more detailed analysis of the NACC statistics
will be presented in Part C of this section.

Factor E - Cash Return for Stolen Goods (Fence Factor) - 45%

Almost all discussions of the cost of addict crime
agree that addicts do not receive 100% of the market
value of property they steal.   The fraction of the
property's true value that the addict receives is
labeled by many as the "fence factor".   The fence
factor is divided into the amount of funds acquired
by addicts via theft to determine the dollar cost
of goods actually stolen.

Most studies establish a fence factor of between
25% and 40%.   Figures provided by Cushman,[48]
Hood,[49] O'Conner et al,[50] and a Senate study in
Washington, D.C.[51] all fall within this range.   The
Ford Foundation Report[52] and Holahan[53] calculated
that an addict must steal about $2.60 worth of
cash or goods to acquire $1.00 in cash (fence
factor 38%).

Unfortunately most "fence factor" estimates are not
documented; thus, little statistical evidence is

*While these theft percentages are below the findings of many
reports, it should be realized that the NACC group forms a very
large data base, as opposed to smaller surveys which frequently
concentrate on incarcerated addicts or upon heroin users who
have been addicted for long periods of time.   In this respect
the NACC statistics reflect a broader picture of the heroin user
than limited surveys.

*See Section II, Part C.

given to support the factor derived. While the
factors may be correct in the studies cited, it
is also possible that the standard fence factor -
roughly 33% - is part of the "common wisdom".

However, one report, Narcotics Use and Crime, pre-
pared by Plair and Jackson, provides substantial
data on the disposal of stolen property by fifty
Washington D.C. addicts, twenty-five of whom were
young (averaging 17 years of age) and twenty-five
of whom were adult (averaging 30 years of age).
Interviews conducted with these addicts showed
that stolen merchandise sold to a fence brought a
cash return of about one-third the market value,
supporting other estimates.[54]

However, it was also brought out that other "buyers"
are frequently available who pay better. Plair
and Jackson found that only about half of the adult
addicts and one-third of the young addicts sold to
fences. Other buyers included persons on the
street, businessmen, friends and neighbors, and
customers who regularly placed "orders" with the
addicts.[55] As a result of additional buyers, adult
addicts were able to realize 36.7% return on pro-
perty stolen, young addicts 44.6%.[56]

Although Plair and Jackson utilized a small data
base, the information on the disposal of property
stolen is the most thoroughly documented of any
report reviewed, and will be used as the best source
for establishing a fence factor. Using Plair and
Jackson, an initial fence factor of 40% will be used
as the value received on property stolen, repre-
senting a rough average of the return realized by
younger and older addicts. This figure is conserva-
tively adjusted upward to 45% to account for cash
stolen.

Factor F - Drug Substitution/Supplementation - 20%

Each of the previous factors discussed represents a
common element in most heroin crime calculations
of this type. However, one element rarely found is
a factor to deal with the substitution for or sup-
plementation of heroin use by heroin users. As
noted in the White Paper on Drug Abuse, "Even some

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heroin addicts do not use heroin exclusively.
This multiple drug use occurs for a variety of
reasons: Beginning users often experiment...
experienced users sometimes use combinations of
drugs for the more intense combined effect, and
sometimes one drug is substituted for another
which is unavailable."[57] Evidence is overwhelming
that heroin users do not confine their use to
one drug, and therefore, a factor must be included
into the formula to account for the degree to
which the cost of addiction is reduced by the use
of other, less expensive drugs.

The use of other drugs by heroin users can be
easily shown. A questionnaire survey of 213 opiate
users in Illinois, Lexington, and California indi-
cated that 55% were multiple drug users, that 18%
used three to four drugs, and that 13% used five
or more drugs.[58] A Washington, D.C. jail study
found that 43% of the heroin addicts continued to
use cocaine, and that 5% used barbiturates and 5%
used amphetamines.[59] According to An Assessment of
Drug Use for New York State, about 35% of the
regular heroin users reported concommitant use with
barbiturates, and nearly 20% used heroin with
amphetamine, methadone, or LSD.[60] Direct or indirect
evidence of supplemental or concurrent drug use
among heroin users is also found in the research of
DeLeon et al, Arthur D. Little, Inc., James and
D'Orban, and Walter et al. (See Bibliography).

Hard statistical data is also present in three major
data bases. First, DEA's Drug Abuse Warning Net-
work (DAWN) through which drug death and injury data
from 21 major metropolitan areas are collected,
listed nearly 18,000. heroin injuries in 1975. In
about 20% of the incidents reported, heroin was
taken in combination with another substance.[61] In
Drug Abuse and Arrest Changes, 256 arrested heroin
users were identified by urinalysis. Thirteen per-
cent of those identified also had presence of
barbiturates, 11% had presence of methadone, 5% had
evidence of other substances. In all, 29% of those
testing positive for heroin showed the presence of
another drug.[62] Finally, published data from NACC
indicated that of the roughly 15,000 heroin admis-
sions (1970-1973), about 22% reported use of heroin
in combination with another drug.[63]

Needless to say, the above data brings into question any stereotype of the heroin addict as one who craves heroin, but rather shows considerable flexibility in the drug abuse patterns of many users.

The present concern, however, is in devising a factor which will approximate a reduction in heroin costs because of multiple drug use. The factor chosen here will be 20%. That is, the overall cost of heroin will be reduced by 20% to account for that part of the heroin user's habit supplemented or substituted for by the taking of another drug. This factor represents the lowest percentage found in any of the material reviewed on the number of heroin users who take other drugs. The choice of this factor is somewhat arbitrary in that other researchers have not included such a factor into their estimates. Yet it is within 10% of three major sources: DAWN, Drug Abuse and Arrest Charges, and NACC data.

Estimate of Heroin Related Crime - 1974
- Multiplication of Factors

The following estimate follows a traditional method used to calculate the annual dollar cost of property crime committed by heroin users. In the previous pages an attempt was made to statistically support the value used in each factor.

Formula:

Factor A - cost per day - $58 times

Factor B - estimated heroin addicts - 558,000 times

Factor C - time on the street - 70% (256 days) - times

Factor D - funds derived from theft - 45% divided by

Factor E - fence factor - 45% less

Factor F - drug substitution/ supplementation - 20% (=X.8)

    equals = annual cost of heroin related crime

Calculation

$58 X 558,000 X 256 X .45 ÷ .45 X .8 = $6,628,147,200.

It is important to note that the above figure is not the final estimate selected in this study, but one of two calculated estimates which will serve as steps to reaching the final estimate.

RESOLUTION OF THE TWO PREVIOUS ESTIMATES -
ESTABLISHMENT OF PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE - $3.430 billion

The previous two parts of this study have developed two
figures for the cost of heroin related crime. From a jail
survey methodology, an estimate of $.231 billion was cal-
culated. The second methodology, which multiplied addic-
tion factors, established an estimate of $6.628 billion.

These two estimates are summarized to indicate the difficulty
involved in trying to develop a realistic estimate of addict
related crime. From two traditional approaches, two widely
disparate figures have been calculated - one which suggests
that one of every hundred dollars lost in property crime is
addict related, one which shows the figure to be about one
in every three*. Resolving this disparity will be the subject
of the following paragraphs.

Concentrating on the jail survey estimate, the argument could
be made that a figure of $.231 billion is far too low to be
considered realistic. Such a figure would only support about
20,000 addicts with a $58 a day habit; DEA's active
reported narcotic abuser system showed about 83,000 active
heroin users registered at the end of 1974, over four times the
number which could be supported by the first estimated
figure.

Several arguments could be made which might have the impact of
raising the $.231 billion dollar estimate to one which is more
acceptable. For one thing, it could be argued that the number
of admitted users in the New York City police reports is far
below the number of actual users arrested. However, assuming
that only one in three** addicts arrested admitted heroin use,
the national addict crime cost estimate would be about $.7
billion, which would only support about 60,000 addicts. A
second argument could be raised that the addict population in
New York City in 1974 was less than 40% of the national total.
Yet if the New York estimate was 20%, the national cost of
addict crime calculated would still have been below $.5 bil-
lion. Another possible error could be that the amount of pro-
perty crime in New York City was under estimated. However,
if the estimate was off by half, the national cost of addict
crime would have remained below one-half billion dollars.

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*These fractions are based upon the 1974 property crime estimate
of $20.351 billion, developed in Part A of this section.

**The ratio of 1:3 for the number of admitted users arrested
would appear reasonable. Over the 1970-1972 period, only one
of every three persons in New York City arrested for mis-
demeanor dangerous drug charges admitted being a user.

Even if one assumes that severe data errors existed in several aspects of the calculation, it would be difficult to raise the $.231 billion estimate to even half of the $6.6 billion figure of the other estimate. For instance, in the jail survey calculation, if the number of addicts arrested were tripled, and the proportion of addicts in New York City was reduced from 40% to 20%, and the amount of New York City property crime were doubled, the national heroin related crime estimate would still have been only $2.77 billion, nearly four billion dollars lower than the $6.6 billion derived in the other methodology.

It is not so important to accept or deny the $.231 billion estimate as to recognize the implication behind it. That is, that a heroin related crime figure calculated from essentially statistical sources is in direct contrast to the multibillion dollar figure which is derived in the multiplication of estimated factors. And there is no reasonable way that the $.231 billion can be raised to approximate the higher estimate. Thus, although the figure itself is clearly too low, it cannot be disregarded because it indicates that if heroin users commit less than one-third of the robberies burglaries, and larcenies in an area of high addict concentration, then it is unlikely that they commit one-third of all property crime nationwide.

The $.231 billion figure also illustrates the contrast that has existed for years between hard data derived from jail surveys and estimates based upon the multiplication of addict factors.

This contrast raises the other side of the question, "Could the $6.6 billion estimate be considered realistic?" While the answer to this question is speculative, it seems highly unlikely that the cost of heroin user crime is so high. Continuing the previous argument, if on a national scale heroin users are responsible for 1/3 of all property crime, (represented by the $6.6 billion figure) then in cities where addict concentration is heaviest, addicts would commit well over 33% of the property crimes committed. Addict influence would be so great that the property crime rate in cities of high incidence would be expected to be much higher than in cities with a lesser addiction problem.

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Yet existing data does not bear this out. The following chart lists the 1975 property crime rate in ten cities as reported in the UCR as well as incidence of heroin injury as reported in the Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN). Although many factors affect the incidence of injury, such as the purity of heroin available, a general picture of both the heroin and property crime problem can be obtained from this chart.

City	1975 Heroin Injury Rates*64	1975 Reported Property Crime Rate*65
New York	30	5,544
Los Angeles	58	6,274
Chicago	32	5,449
Philadelphia	8	3,781
Detroit	74	6,922
San Francisco	69	7,293
Washington	8	5,527
Boston	16	5,911
Cleveland	3	4,691
Minneapolis	6	5,350

The table indicates that there appears to be some correlation between the incidence of property crime and heroin injury. The cities with the highest reported property crime rate, San Francisco and Detroit also have the highest incidence of injury and vice versa; yet the correlation is not distinct beyond these extremes. The reported property crime rate of New York, Washington, Minneapolis and Boston are all between 5,350 and 5,911 reported incidents per 100,000, but incidence of heroin injury differs widely. In fact New York's injury rate is double that of Boston's, with the property crime figures below Boston's. Washington, D.C. has a higher property crime rate than Chicago, although incidence of injury is only one-quarter of Chicago's

*Rate per 100,000.

Other conflicts could be cited but the general
point to be made is that many factors affect
the property crime rate. It is not responsive
to a single factor - e.g., heroin addiction.
Thus, heroin use should not be considered the
single overwhelming force behind the property
crime rise in the last few years, and it does
not appear to be responsible for one-third of
all U.S. property crime, since many cities with
documented addiction problems have reported pro-
perty crime rates similar to or higher than
those with apparent lesser problems.

One other point should be developed in this
regard. From 1969 thru 1974, DEA estimates of
addiction rose from 242,000 to 558,000, an
increase of 131%. In the same five years inci-
dence of reported property crime rose 31%. It
was not uncommon in those years, as now, to view
heroin use as the primary cause of such an increase.
However, to make this assumption would overlook
the fact that in the same five years reported
violent crime rose 40%, to include a 33% increase
in murder, a 40% increase in assault, and a 42%
increase in rape. These are not crimes generally
attributed to heroin addicts, and if addicts were
the leading cause for the rise in property crime,
then what caused violent crimes to increase so
dramatically?

The only answer that can be given is that many
factors interrelate to influence the crime rate.
Unemployment, availability of firearms, changes
in social attitudes and conditions, performance of
the local court systems, drug use, and other fac-
tors all affect the crime rate. If there were
a single influence, then only certain crimes would
increase. But this has not been the case; all
types of crime have shown steady increase. It is
a gross oversimplification to isolate the rise in
property crime to a single factor, and it is not
likely that heroin addicts commit 1/3 of all pro-
perty crime nationwide. As stated in the Task
Force Report on Narcotics and Drug Abuse, "Since
there is much crime in cities where drug use is
not thought to be a major problem, to commit re-
sources against abuse solely in the expectation
of producing a dramatic reduction in crime may be
to invite disappointment".66

In conclusion, both heroin user crime estimates
calculated earlier are believed to be incorrect.
One is too high, the other too low, and the two
are irreconcilable in themselves. For this
reason, the preliminary estimate of heroin related
crime in the U.S. for this study will be a com-
promise estimate between these high and low figures.
This compromise estimate is $3.430 billion, and
it represents the average between the high and low
estimates (6.628 + .231 = 6.859 ÷ 2 = 3.430).

The estimate is not entirely satisfactory but it
represents a way to utilize two estimates which
are based on traditional though dissimilar ap-
proaches, both of which contain elements of fact,
but each of which contains some flaw which brings
about an apparent unrealistic estimate. In short
the compromise estimate serves as an attempt to
consider two approaches concurrently which es-
sentially have never been compatable, but which
have had considerable influence on the position
taken by researchers of how much crime is heroin
related.

The figure of $3.430 billion is the preliminary
estimate for the cost of heroin related crime in
1974. It is considered preliminary because it
will not support DEA's full addict estimate of
558,000. However, the final heroin crime estimate
for this study will not vary significantly from
the preliminary estimate.

In the next two parts of this section, an attempt
will be made to correlate this preliminary estimate
with data on addict behavior and to adjust this
estimate to DEA's addict estimate for 1974. This
adjustment will represent the final estimate for
this report.

SECTION II - PART C

Examination of Income Producing Behavior of
Heroin Users and the Correlation Between Habit
Size and Criminal Activity.

Relationship of Findings to Preliminary Estimate

Part C - Introduction

Up to this point, this report has only briefly reviewed data which deals with the income producing behavior of heroin users. Yet, if any reasonable comprehension of the meaning of a heroin user crime estimate is to be obtained, a more thorough analysis of the relationship between the extent of heroin use and criminal activity must be provided. The purpose of this part of the study is to present a statistical description of all income producing behavior of heroin users, including theft, and to analyze this behavior as it relates to the size of the user's habit.

The findings of this descriptive analysis will be applied to the preliminary heroin user crime estimate in the second half of Part C.

PART C-1

INCOME PRODUCING BEHAVIOR OF HEROIN USERS

By far the most comprehensive data reviewed for this study, dealing with the financial activities of drug abusers was collected by the Narcotic Addiction Control Commission of New York State. As noted earlier, from fiscal years 1970-1973*, a total of 17,166 drug users were admitted to NACC treatment programs. What is unique about NACC reports is the extensive statistical material on the sources of income of those admitted, the amount of income earned, and the costs of maintaining drug habits. While many other reports have developed data along these lines, no material examined for this study utilized a data base comparable in size to NACC's.

Several charts consolidating data from the four NACC reports (1970-1973) on income and drug costs will be presented and discussed. It should be noted that these tables were consolidated within DEA and represent a new analysis of NACC data. On this same point, the interpretation of this material was also developed within DEA, and is not necessarily a reflection of NACC opinion.

The first chart presents information on sources of support among users**.

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*NACC reports as of fiscal years ending March 31.

**Overall percentages are based on total treatment population. Sources of income among heroin users could not be derived. However, nearly 9 of every 10 persons admitted were heroin users.

Source of Support	% of Users Who Utilize as Primary Source of Support	% of Users Who Utilize For Some Support
Legitimate Income	23.3%	37%
Relative	10.1%	40%
Subtotal - No Social Cost	33.4%	N.A.
Welfare	5.0%	14%
Institution	1.3%	3%
Unemployment or Work-man's comp.	.4%	1%
Subtotal - Social Cost	6.7%	N.A.
Stolen cash/goods	27.4%	45%
Prostitution	1.4%	4%
Sale of Drugs	17.9%	33%
Subtotal - Crime	46.7%	N.A.
Other	3.9%	N.A.
Unascertained	9.3%	N.A.
Total	100.0%	N.A.

Several points can be made from the above chart. First, about one-fourth of the subjects were legitimately employed and about one-third derived income primarily from either legitimate income or relatives. About 7% indicated a primary source of support in welfare, institution, and unemployment categories. Although income derived from these sources does not constitute a criminal cost to society, it must be seen as representing some social cost. Finally, nearly half of the users engaged in criminal activity, with 27% using stolen cash or goods as a primary source of support and 18% selling drugs.

The primary source of support however, was not the only source of support. While only 27% stole as a primary source of income, 45% did commit theft for some support. Furthermore, 33% used the sale of drugs for some part of their income. Also, 37% utilized legitimate jobs to some extent and 40% depended on relatives.

On the whole, these users frequently engaged in more than one activity to obtain funds (averaging nearly two sources of support each), a point which is consistent with other surveys. Primary support percentages in NACC for those who committed theft or sold drugs were somewhat below those found in the

smaller surveys reviewed. However, the proportions of the
NACC heroin users who utilized these activities for some
source of income were within the ranges observed in other
studies.

The second chart provides the average income derived from
each of these sources of support. There is one limitation
to this chart - total income from all sources is matched
with primary source of support categories. It should also
be noted that the data listed below was obtained from NACC
through separate correspondence and utilized a data base
slightly altered from that published in the yearly reports.[67]

<div align="center">NACC 1970-1973</div>

Primary Source of Support	Average Weekly Income - All Sources
Legitimate Income	$171
Relative	$124
Welfare	$156
Institution	$125
Unemployment or Workmans' Comp.	$104
Stolen Cash/Goods	$350
Prostitution	$439
Sale of Drugs	$429
Other	$222
Average - All Sources	$274

It is evident from the previous table that users who engage
in criminal activities as a primary source of support earn
much more per week than those who do not. Average income
ranked highest for prostitution, drug sale, and stolen cash/
goods respectively while income from legitimate employment
($170) averaged less than half that of any of the illegal
categories. It is assumed that those who do not commit crime
have less costly heroin habits than those who do, since the
incomes of the former are substantially lower. By the same
token, the data suggests that addicts who develop costly
habits are frequently forced into criminal activity to support
their addiction.

These points lead to the final series of tables which provide
percentage figures on the weekly earnings and habits of ad-
dicts, plus a chart of the percentage of addicts, by primary
source of support, who fall into three weekly earning categories.

Table A

Weekly Earnings

25% of the users received income below $100 per week

25% of the users received income between $100-$199 per week

50% of the users received income of over $200 per week

Table B

Weekly Heroin Habits

Classification	% of All Users	% of Total Funds Expended for Heroin By All Users	Average Daily Cost - Heroin
Weekly Habit Below $100	25%	5%	$ 7
Weekly Habit $100-$199	29%	16%	$20
Weekly Habit $200 & Over	46%	79%	$60
Total	100%	100%	$35 (avg.)

Table C

Primary Source of Income for Weekly Earning Categories
Weekly Income Classifications

Primary Source of Income	Under $100	$100-$199	Over $200
Legitimate Income	34%	44%	15%
Relative	25%	7%	4%
Subtotal - No Social Cost	59%	51%	19%
Welfare	11%	5%	3%
Institution	2%	less than 1%	less than 1%
Unemployment or Work Comp.	1%	less than 1%	less than 1%
Subtotal - Social Cost	14%	6%	4%
Stolen cash/goods	14%	24%	42%
Prostitution	less than 1%	1%	2%
Sale of Drugs	7%	14%	30%
Subtotal - Crime	22%	39%	74%
Other	5%	4%	3%
Total	100%	100%	100%

It is necessary to view these three tables together because, as a group, they provide important information on the correlation that appears to exist between the types of income producing activities addicts engage in and the size of heroin habits.

First of all, 25% of the heroin users over the four year period had weekly habits costing under $100, and 25% of the users reported weekly incomes under $100. The assumption is made here (and in later discussions) that, for the most part, the same individuals are represented in both categories*.

The habits of this group averaged only about $7 a day and their expenditures for heroin represented only 5% of the total funds paid for heroin by all heroin users. The primary source of income for these users was mainly non-criminal with 59% listing their primary source of support as either legitimate income or relatives and only 22% citing criminal activity. Only one in seven stole as a primary source of funds.

In brief, the group of users with weekly habits under $100, while representing 25% of the heroin users admitted to NACC, expended only about one dollar out of every twenty used to purchase heroin by the total user group; only a small percentage of this group utilized theft as a primary source of income. In later discussions, individuals in this group will be labeled "small habit users".

Approximately 29% of the users admitted to NACC from 1970-1973 reported weekly drug habits of between $100-$199 and 25% reported earnings in the same range. Abusers in this middle group averaged $20 a day habits and expended 16% of the total funds paid by all heroin users to purchase heroin. A higher proportion of this group engaged in crime as a primary source of support than did the below $100 group. Thirty-nine percent committed crimes as a primary source of support, with 24% stealing and 14% selling drugs. Hereafter this group will be defined as "medium habit addicts".

By far the largest category concerns that in which earnings or habits exceeded $200 a week. Fifty percent of the abusers reported weekly incomes over $200, and 46% of the abusers reported weekly habits above that figure. Individuals in this group averaged $60 a day habits and their expenditures represented 79% of all funds used to buy heroin.

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*It is not possible to be absolutely sure that the same group of users who reported income under $100 also reported weekly heroin habits under $100. However, it is logical to assume so, in general terms, since a person with a habit larger than $100 a week could not support it with income less. The same argument would hold true for each of the other income/habit categories.

The criminal involvement of this group is much more sub-
stantial than in either of the other two with 74% citing
criminal activity as a primary source of income to include
42% who committed theft and 30% who sold drugs. In other
words, the percentage of these users who engaged in crime
was about 3 1/2 times that of users with habits below $100
a week. Users in this third group will be considered "large
habit addicts."

Conclusions

A summary of the NACC data reviewed leads to several con-
clusions about heroin users.

First: Heroin users engage in a wide range of income pro-
            ducing behavior. The percent of heroin users who
            are legitimately employed approximates the per-
            centage of those who steal. Furthermore, many
            users engage in more than one type of activity to
            acquire funds, suggesting that some heroin users
            continually shift from legitimate to illicit
            activity to obtain money or drugs.

Second: There is a distinct difference between the percent
            of heroin users who commit theft and the percent
            of total heroin user income derived from theft
            since criminal behavior is more profitable than
            legitimate activity. Therefore, any analysis to
            determine the cost of addict crime must consider
            the percent of total funds stolen rather than the
            percent of users who engage in theft.

Third: A heroin user's criminal behavior is usually di-
            rectly proportional to the cost of his habit.
            The theory that heroin use accelerates criminal
            behavior is supported by the correlations between
            habit size and source of income. In this regard,
            the total damage done to society by heroin user
            crime is primarily caused by large habit addicts.
            Theft by this group far exceeds that of users with
            smaller habits.

Fourth: The question of whether or not addicts steal and
            what property losses society experiences because
            of theft is only part of the cost of addiction
            issue. A large percentage of addicts sell drugs.
            The sale of drugs is sometimes regarded as a
            "victimless crime" and not considered on a par with
            theft. It should be recognized that drug sale
            helps to continue or spread heroin use and as such
            promotes the cycle of addiction and crime.

Fifth: The NACC data on the whole brings into question
           any stereotype of a heroin user. It is clearly
           a gross oversimplification to view the heroin
           user population as a homogeneous group in terms
           of habit size or criminal behavior.

INTEGRATION OF NACC FINDINGS TO
THE PRELIMINARY PROPERTY CRIME ESTIMATE

The preliminary estimate of the cost of heroin related crime was established at $3.430 billion. In order to relate this estimate to the behavioral data just described, it is necessary first to determine the number of heroin users that this estimate would support. Utilizing the various addiction factors set forth in Section I, Part B-2 of this study, it is estimated that the theft of $3.430 billion in property/cash in 1974 would have supported about 289,000 heroin users with $58 a day habits. This is illustrated in the formula below:

Factor A - cost per day   - $58 times
Factor B - heroin users   - 289,000 times
Factor C - time on street   - 256 days times
Factor D - % funds derived theft - 45% divided by
Factor E - Fence Factor   - 45% less
Factor F - heroin substitution   - 20% equals
                    factor
    cost of heroin user crime $3.430 billion

It should be immediately obvious that this is the identical formula used to calculate an earlier estimate of $6.6 billion except that the number of heroin users has been lowered from 558,000 to 289,000. It is our conclusion that the "fl-." discussed earlier in the $6.6 billion figure was in the assumption that the 558,000 heroin users all had a $58 a day habit. A discussion of how this conclusion was reached will be forthcoming in the next part of the study.

For now however, it is important to correlate the analysis of NACC findings with the preliminary estimate of $3.430 billion and with the corresponding addict figure of 289,000 in order to establish a framework in which to derive the final addict crime estimate.

This correlation will estimate the cost of theft activity by heroin users in each of three habit size groups, since the NACC analysis indicated distinctly different criminal behavior related to the size of the habit. Updating the habit size/earning categories set forth in NACC data to reflect the increase in the four year 1970-1973 average daily cost from $35 to $58, the following chart has been calculated to illustrate the theft activity of 289,000 heroin users.

Cost of Heroin User Theft By Habit Size
-Preliminary-
1974

	Small	Medium	Large	Total or Average
		Heroin User Habit Categories		
1. % of heroin user population	25%	29%	46%	100%
2. # of heroin users in group	72,250	83,810	132,940	289,000
3. % of total funds expended for heroin by group	5%	16%	79%	100%
4. Annual funds expended for heroin by group	$.172 bil	$.548 bil	$2.710 bil	$3.430 bil
5. Annual average heroin expenditures per addict (256 days)	$ 2,374	$ 6,458	$20,382	$11,868
6. Daily average heroin expenditures per addict	$9.27	$25.58	$79.62	$46.36 avg.
7. Cost required to meet daily addict demand	$11.59	$31.98	$99.53	$57.96 avg.
8. % addicts who steal for primary support	14%	24%	42%	30% avg.
9. % funds acquired from theft	17%	29%	50%	45% avg.
10. Total funds acquired from theft	$ .029 bil	$ .159 bil	$ 1.355 bil	$1.543 bil
11. Amount stolen by group (45% Fence Factor)	$ .065 bil	$ .354 bil	$ 3.011 bil	$3.430 bil
12. % of total theft by group	2%	10%	88%	100%
13. Annual income from theft per user	$404	$1,899	$10,191	$ 5,340 avg.
14. Annual amount stolen per user	$897	$4,220	$22,648	$11,869 avg.

(67)

Several clarifying remarks should be made concerning this chart.

- Lines 1, 3, and 8 (1st three colums) - Percentages in these categories duplicate NACC data (see pp. 61&62).

- Line 6 (all columns) - Figures are meant to reflect actual funds expended for heroin.

- Line 7 (all columns) - Figures represent cost per day if full habit demand could be realized. The $58 a day "average habit" is reflected in the final column.

- Lines 6 and 7 (all columns) - Actual funds expended (line 6) are 20% below those reflected in Line 7 because of drug substitution.

- Line 8 (last column) - Because income and habit categories in NACC data do not correspond perfectly, the average figure for the percent of users who steal for primary support differs slightly from the 27.4% figure derived from NACC published reports (1970-1973).

- Line 9 (all columns) - The percentage of income derived from theft will be higher than the percent of addicts who steal. The increases are based on NACC data, and adjusted slightly in the last column to agree with a previous estimate (see Section II, Part B-2).

- General - In several blocks, it will be noticed that figures have been rounded or adjusted slightly. Given the diversity of information on which these calculations are based, it was not possible to derive a perfect match between individual categories and the total or average categories. However, the rounding of figures does not in any way alter the overall picture presented by the data.

The previous chart is designed to indicate how the preliminary estimate of heroin user crime ($3.430 billion) interrelates with data on heroin users extracted from NACC. Also, it provides the framework to establish and explain the final heroin user property crime estimate. A similar chart will be presented in the development of the final estimate. The only difference between statistics presented in the previous chart and those set forth in the final estimate will be in the number of heroin users estimated in each habit size group and related calculations.

SECTION II - PART D

Derivation of Final Heroin User Property
Crime Estimate - 1974

PART D

DERIVATION OF THE FINAL HEROIN USER CRIME
ESTIMATE FOR 1974
- $3.9 Billion-

In 1974, DEA estimated that there were 558,000 narcotic ad-
dicts in the United States, with an addict defined as a user
who took an undetermined amount of narcotics every day. The
addict estimate was based upon a statistical calculation which
utilized as a data base about 92,000 narcotic users who had
been arrested by the police at least once over a five year
period and reported to DEA as narcotic abusers.

In the discussion of the preliminary heroin/crime estimate,
it was assumed that 289,000 heroin users could be supported
by $3.430 billion stolen if the "average habit" was $58 a day.
Based on the analysis of NACC data, it was further assumed
that this addict population divided into habit size categories
in the same proportion as the heroin users in NACC - that is,
25% small habit users, 29% medium habit addicts, 46% large
habit addicts.

To adjust the preliminary heroin related crime estimate to
incorporate DEA's 558,000 addict estimate, the division of
heroin users by habit size will not follow NACC patterns.
Instead, the 269,000 heroin users, who make up the difference
between the DEA estimate and the 289,000 figure, will all be
placed into small and medium habit categories.

This reapportionment is primarily based on evidence that
criminal and drug taking behavior in a treatment population
(even one so large as NACC) is not reflective of the entire
heroin user population. Rather, heroin users in rehabiltation
programs are frequently more severly addicted than those who
do not enter treatment. The criminal behavior among a treat-
ment group, therefore, overstates heroin user criminality to
some extent.

Along these lines, Vorenberg notes in a discussion of data
from selected New York treatment centers, that early decline
in criminality may be exaggerated because "this is a peak
year (the first year of treatment) for arrest and may be
related to the reason many come into treatment."[68] Vorenberg
also states, "....addicts may not come into such programs
until they reach a point at which the level of drug use and
required criminal activity to support that use has gotten

uncomfortably high."[69] Swezey et al comments about the
"distorted picture" of addict criminality derived from a
hospital or jail population.[70]

Additionally, data developed on users <u>outside</u> of treatment
or jails indicated relatively light heroin use and criminal
behavior. The <u>Assessment of Drug Use in the General
population</u> for New York State estimated from a survey of
households that in 1970 there were 64,000 heroin users in
New York State. Of these the study estimated that 50% were
legally employed, and only about 32,000 used heroin as often
as six times per month.[71]

In short, it is a reasonable assumption that severely addicted
users are more likely to enter treatment than those with light
habits. Because of their heavier addiction, they are also
more likely to commit theft. Therefore, any survey of a treat-
ment population will overrepresent addict criminality. Curi-
ously, NACC data itself supports this line of thought. Crimi-
nality among this broad based group was less pronounced than
in smaller groups consisting almost entirely of severely ad-
dicted users. Unfortunately, descriptions of criminality have
often been extracted out of context from surveys dealing with
severely addicted groups and presented to the general public
as typical of all heroin users. This procedure has led, in
part, to the exaggerated stereotyping of heroin users.

A second, though lesser, justification for reapportioning the
heroin user estimate toward lighter habit categories is based
upon the nature of DEA's addict estimate. As noted earlier,
this estimate of 558,000 is based upon a reported user figure
of about 92,000 narcotic users,* almost all of whom were known
to be arrested. Reported users are dropped from the addict
register if they are not rearrested within a five year time
frame.

A close look at reported addict figures suggests that a sub-
stantial portion of these users were not rearrested in the
five year period. This is evidenced by the fact that the
total number of active addicts in any given year is largely
dependent upon two items: 1) the number of new users added to
the register in the given year, and 2) the number of new
users added to the roles five years prior, who were subject
to removal from the register if not rearrested. The following
chart is designed to illustrate this dependence from 1972 to
1976.

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*About 83,000 were listed as heroin users.

New Reported Addicts			Total Reported Addicts		
Year	Number	Change from 5 years Prior	Year	Number	Change from Previous Year
1972	24,692	+18,545	1972	95,392	+13,098
1973	16,446	+ 9,227	1973	98,988	+ 3,596
1974	9,077	- 5,529	1974	91,750	- 7,328
1975	9,308	- 2,893	1975	89,788	- 1,962
1976	14,176	- 9,705	1976	70,935	-18,853

It must be noted that the reported addict system depends upon voluntary participation on the part of state and local police agencies and that this participation has deteriorated in recent years. Nonetheless, it is clear that increases or decreases in the total reported figures are strongly related to the number of new users arrested in the most recent year versus the number of new users arrested five years prior. This would suggest that many reported addicts are arrested only once and consequently dropped from the rolls.

Yet it is difficult for a severely addicted heroin user to escape arrest for any length of time, especially if he supports his habit via theft. It will be estimated later that the average large habit addict commits well over 200 crimes a year and the small habit user about ten. The more severely addicted user is therefore much more prone to arrest. Arthur D. Little Inc. refers to this as a "visibility factor" and notes, "The police naturally come into the most contact with the addicts having the grossest habits and needing the most money."[72] The Little Inc. report also contends that it is difficult for anyone severely addicted to go undetected for any extended period of time.

The point to be made here is that among reported addicts, there is evidence that many were not re-arrested after the initial report. It would be erroneous to label these users as habitual criminal addicts since they were not sustained in the reported addict system. Furthermore, of the 558,000 heroin users in DEA's estimate 466,000 were projected from the reported base. It would not be a safe assumption that their criminal behavior exceeded that of arrested (reported) addicts. The opposite assumption would be more logical.

In other words, little binding evidence exists to support a theory that a majority of DEA's 558,000 estimated addicts were severely addicted or that they had a $58 a day habit. It should be noted that the only qualification that DEA places on its addict estimate is that each of the 558,000 addicts use narcotics once a day, everyday.

Therefore, because "treatment addicts" are more severely addicted than users not in treatment, and because there is little evidence that DEA's addict estimate consists predominantly of large or medium habit users, it is believed that a breakout of heroin users more heavily weighted toward small and medium habit categories is in order.

For these reasons the following steps will be taken to derive a final heroin user crime estimate from the preliminary estimate of $3.430 billion.

    1st) The original division by habit size of the 289,000 heroin users (linked to the preliminary estimate) will remain intact as in the chart on page 67. Drug taking and criminal behavior of these users will be considered as typical of addicts who are frequently arrested or in treatment.

    2nd) The 269,000 heroin users who make up the difference between DEA's estimate of 558,000 and the 289,000 users will be added to small and medium habit categories on a 3:1 basis respectively. These users will be considered more typical of users outside of treatment centers or jails.

Thus, the final heroin user property crime estimate will incorporate 558,000 users divided into three groups:

    a) 274,000 small habit users who have an average daily demand of about 10 milligrams a day*.

    b) 151,060 medium habit users who have an average demand of about 28 milligrams a day.

    c) 132,940 large habit users who have an average daily demand of about 87 milligrams a day.

The following chart presents the amount of crime committed by these users. It fluctuates from the chart on page 67 only in those blocks dependent upon the number of users in each addict size group.

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*This is not in conflict with DEA's addict estimate which defines an addict who uses heroin every day. Ten milligrams is one average dose.

Cost of Heroin User By Habit Size
-Final Estimate 1974-

	Heroin User Habit Categories			Total Average
	Small	Medium	Large	
1. % of heroin user population	49%	27%	24%	100%
2. # of heroin users in group	274,000	151,060	132,940	558,000
3. % of total funds expended for heroin by group	15%	23%	62%	100%
4. Annual funds expended for heroin by group	$.650 bil	$.989 bil	$2.710 bil	$4.349 bil
5. Annual average heroin expenditures per addict (256 days)	$2,374	$6,548	$20,382	$7,794 avg.
6. Daily average heroin expenditures per addict	$9.27	$25.58	$79.62	$30.45 avg.
7. Cost required to meet daily addict demand	$11.59	$31.98	$99.53	$38.06 avg.
8. % addicts who steal for primary support	14%	24%	42%	23% avg.
9. % funds acquired from theft	17%	29%	50%	40% avg.
10. Total funds acquired from theft by group	$.111 bil	$.287 bil	$1.355 bil	$1.753 bil
11. Amount stolen by group (45% Fence Factor)	$.246 bil	$.637 bil	$3.011 bil	$3.894 bil
12. % of total theft by group	6.3%	16.4%	77.3%	100%
13. Annual income from theft per user	$404	$1,899	$10,191	$3,140 avg.
14. Annual amount stolen per user	$897	$4,220	$22,648	$6,979 avg.

(74)

The amount of property crime committed by DEA's estimate of 558,000 heroin users is $3.894 billion (line 11). This figure is rounded to $3.9 billion - the final estimate for this study. It represents 19% of all property crime in the U.S. for 1974 according to the property crime estimate callated in Part A of this section.

A more familiar and simplified presentation of this chart follows, using the methodology of multiplying addiction factors.

-Final Estimate-
Heroin User Property Crime
1974

	Heroin User Habit Categories			
Addiction Factors	Small Habit	Medium Habit	Large Habit	Total or Average
Factor A - - Cost Per Day	$ 11.59	$ 31.98	$ 99.53	$38.06 avg.
(times)				
Factor B - - Heroin Users	274,000	151,060	132,940	558,000
(times)				
Factor C - - Annual days on street	256	256	256	256 avg.
(times)				
Factor D - - % Funds derived from theft (divided by)	17%	29%	50%	40% avg.
Factor E - -Fence Factor	45%	45%	45%	45% avg.
(less)				
Factor F - - Substitution/Supplementation	20%	20%	20%	20% avg.
(equals)				
Total Theft	$.246 bil	$.637 bil	$3.011 bil	3.9 bil

The next part of this report will examine this final estimate as it relates to overall property crime in the United States, and as it reflects on individual user behavior.

SECTION II - PART E

Discussion of the Final Crime Estimate

Part E - Relationship of Heroin User Crime to National Pro-
perty Crime. Examination of Crimes Committed by
the Individual User.

Part E of this report is designed to illustrate how
the final heroin user crime estimate impacts on
national crime trends and to show how much crime
the average user commits.

To this end, the 1974 heroin user crime estimate
will be translated into two sets of statistical
charts to display:

a) The relationship of heroin user crime to over-
all property crime, 1974.

b) The annual criminal behavior of heroin users
on an individual user basis.

In each set of charts, data will be stratified by
habit size. No new data is presented in these charts.
Rather, they represent a summation or reconstruction
of previous information or estimates set forth in
earlier parts of this report.

Before presenting these tables, several explanatory
notes are in order:

1st) It is estimated that heroin users are respon-
sible for 19% of all property crime in the
U.S. for 1974. The 19% figure is applied to
each individual property crime category to
derive the number and costs of robberies,
burglaries, etc., committed by heroin users.
Other fixed percentages are also utilized to
estimate the number of specific crimes com-
mitted by each habit size group.

2nd) In the second set of charts, the "individual"
represents a composit picture of users in the
habit group displayed. For example, it will
be estimated that the average large habit
user commits over 200 larcenies a year. It
should be recognized that if a severely ad-
dicted person depends entirely on theft for
his income, he will commit more than 200
larcenies and that if he depends primarily
on another source of income, he will commit
less than 200 larcenies annually.

3rd) In the individual crime charts, the total
value of cash/goods stolen are multiplied
by the fence factor (45%) to achieve the ad-
dict income. In specific crime categories,
the fence factors used are as follows:

Robbery	-	50%
Burglary	-	40%
Larceny	-	40%
Auto Theft	-	30%
Bad Checks/ Credit Card	-	75%-85%

4th) The diversity of information utilized to
assemble these charts and the necessary
rounding of figures in various categories
has resulted in minor discrepancies between
certain subtotal and total categories.
These discrepancies are unavoidable but in
no way affect the overall picture presented
by the data.

5th) All data presented accounts only for the
amount of income needed to support heroin
habits. Data does not indicate income needed
to support other expenses.

With these qualifications in mind, the final heroin
user crime estimate for this study is related to
national property crime figures and individual user
crime in the following pages.

ESTIMATE OF PROPERTY CRIMES COMMITTED

- National

- All Heroin Users, by Habit Size

1974 Property Crime Estimate
Summary - U.S.

Crime	Estimated Incidents	Average Cost Per Incident	Total Cost
Robbery	1,441,000	$ 321	$ .463 billion
Burglary	6,776,000	$ 508	$ 3.445 billion
Larceny*	180,721,922	$ 71	$12.916 billion
Auto Theft	856,000	$1,246	$ 1.067 billion
Bad Checks/Credit Cards	n.a.	n.a.	$ 2.46 billion
TOTAL			$20.351 billion

1974
Property Crimes Committed by Heroin Users
558,000 heroin users account for approximately 19% of property crime

Crime	Estimated Incidents	Average Cost Per Incident	Total Cost
Robbery	275,723	$ 321	$ .089 billion
Burglary	1,296,533	$ 508	$ .659 billion
Larceny*	34,579,685	$ 71	$ 2.455 billion
Auto Theft	163,788	$1,246	$ .204 billion
Bad Checks/Credit Cards	n.a.	n.a.	$ .485 billion
TOTAL			3.9 billion

*Includes shoplifting

1974
HEROIN USER PROPERTY CRIME ESTIMATE

- Summary of Crime Committed by Large Habit Addicts

Large habit - Average cost per day: $79.62*
It is estimated that there are 132,940 large habit heroin addicts.

Crime	Estimated Incidents	Average Cost Per Incident	Total Cost
Robbery	213,133	$ 321	$ .068 billion
Burglary	1,002,220	$ 508	$ .509 billion
Larceny**	26,730,097	$ 71	$ 1.898 billion
Auto Theft	126,608	$1,246	$ .158 billion
Bad Checks/Credit Cards	n.a.	n.a.	$ .378 billion
TOTAL			$ 3.011 billion

Large habit addicts make up 24% of all users. They account for 77% of all heroin user crime, and 14.7% of all national property crime.

*If the large habit addict's demand for heroin could be realized, the average daily cost of his habit would be about $100.

**Includes shoplifting.

1974
HEROIN USER PROPERTY CRIME ESTIMATE

- Summary of Property Crime Committed by Medium Habit Addicts

Medium habit - Average cost per day: $25.58*
It is estimated that there are 151,060 medium habit heroin addicts.

Crime	Estimated Incidents	Average Cost Per Incident	Total Cost
Robbery	45,219	$ 321	$ .015 billion
Burglary	212,631	$ 508	$ .108 billion
Larceny**	5,671,068	$ 71	$ .403 billion
Auto Theft	26,861	$1,246	$ .033 billion
Bad Checks/Credit Card	n.a.	n.a.	$ .077 billion
TOTAL			$ .636 billion

Medium habit addicts make up 27% of all users. They account for
16.4% of all heroin user property crime, and 3.1% of all national
property crime.

*If the medium habit addict's demand for heroin could be realized,
the average daily cost of his habit would be about $32.

**Includes shoplifting.

82

1974
HEROIN USER PROPERTY CRIME ESTIMATE

- Summary of Crime Committed by Small Habit Users

Small habit - Average cost per day: $9.27*
It is estimated that there are 274,000 small habit heroin users.

Crime	Estimated Incidents	Average Cost Per Incident	Total Cost
Robbery	17,371	$ 321	$ .006 billion
Burglary	81,682	$ 508	$ .042 billion
Larceny**	2,178,520	$ 71	$ .154 billion
Auto Theft	10,319	$1,246	$ .013 billion
Bad Checks/Credit Cards	n.a.	n.a.	$ .030 billion
TOTAL			$ .245 billion

Small habit users make up 49% of all users. They account for 6.3% of all heroin user crime, and 1.2% of all national property crime.

*If the small habit user's demand for heroin could be realized, the average daily cost of his habit would be about $12.

**Includes shoplifting.

83

ESTIMATE OF PROPERTY CRIMES COMMITTED

- Individual Heroin User by Habit Size

- Summary of Property Crimes Committed - Individual Heroin User

LARGE HABIT ADDICT

Estimated individual theft activity of 132,940 large habit heroin addicts (cost of average annual habit - $20,382).

The average addict in this category steals $22,648 in cash or goods annually to acquire $10,191 in cash. He is active 256 days per year and substitutes for or supplements heroin use 20% of the time, when active. About 50% of his habit is funded through theft.

The annual theft activity of each heroin user is displayed below:

Number of Property Crimes Committed Annually	Cost/Each Crime	Total Value Stolen	Income Received by the Addict	% of Total Theft Income
1.60 Robberies	$ 321	$ 514	$ 257	2.5%
7.54 Burglaries	$ 508	$ 3,830	$ 1,532	15%
201.07 Larcenies*	$ 71	$14,276	$ 5,710	56%
.95 Auto Thefts	$1,246	$ 1,184	$ 355	3.5%
n.a. Bad Checks/Credit Cards	n.a.	$ 2,844	$ 2,337	23%
TOTAL		$22,648	$10,191	100%

The number of heroin addicts in this group represents 24% of the user population. They account for 77% of all heroin user property crime.

*Includes shoplifting

1974

- Summary of Property Crimes Committed - Individual Heroin User

MEDIUM HABIT ADDICT

Estimated individual theft activity of 151,060 medium habit heroin addicts (cost of average annual habit - $6,548).

The average addict in this category steals $4,220 in cash or goods annually to acquire $1,899 in cash. He is active 256 days per year and substitutes for or supplements heroin use 20% of the time, when active. About 29% of his habit is funded through theft.

The annual theft activity of each heroin user is displayed below:

Number of Property Crimes Committed Annually		Cost/Each Crime	Total Value Stolen	Income Received by the Addict	% of Total Theft Income
.30	Robberies	$ 321	$ 97	$ 49	2.5%
1.41	Burglaries	$ 508	$ 717	$ 287	15%
37.54	Larcenies*	$ 71	$2,666	$ 1,067	56%
.18	Auto Thefts	$ 1,246	$ 224	$ 67	3.5%
n.a.	Bad Checks/Credit Card	n.a.	$ 516	$ 429	23%
	TOTAL		$4,220	$ 1,899	100%

The number of heroin addicts in this group represents 27% of the user population. They account for 16.4% of all heroin user property crime.

*Includes shoplifting.

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- Summary of Property Crimes Committed - Individual Heroin User

SMALL HABIT USER

Estimated individual theft activity of 274,000 small habit heroin users (cost of average annual habit - $2,374).

The average user in this category steals $897 in cash or goods annually to acquire $404 in cash. He substitutes for or supplements heroin use 20% of the time, when active. About 17% of his habit is funded through theft.

The annual theft activity of each heroin user is displayed below:

Number of Property Crimes Committed Annually		Cost/Each Crime	Total Value Stolen	Income Received by the Addict	% of Total Theft Income
.06	Robberies	$ 321	$ 19	$ 10	2.5%
.30	Burglaries	$ 508	$ 153	$ 61	15%
7.95	Larcenies*	$ 71	$ 565	$ 226	56%
.04	Auto Thefts	$ 1,246	$ 50	$ 15	3.7%
n.a.	Bad Checks/Credit Card	n.a.	$ 110	$ 92	22.8%
	TOTAL		$ 897	$ 404	

The number of heroin users in this group represents 49% of the user population. They account for 6.3% of all heroin user property crime.

*Includes shoplifting.

1974
- Summary of Property Crimes Committed - Individual Heroin User

AVERAGE USER

Estimated individual theft activity of 558,000 heroin users (cost of average annual habit - $7,794).

The average user steals $6,979 in cash or goods annually to acquire $3,140 in cash. He uses heroin 256 days per year and substitutes for or supplements heroin use 20% of the time, when active. About 40% of the cost of his habit is funded through theft.

The annual theft activity of each heroin user is displayed below:

Number of Property Crimes Committed Annually		Cost/Each Crime	Total Value Stolen	Income Received by the Addict	% of Total Theft Income
.5	Robberies	$ 321	$ 161	$ 81	2.5%
2.32	Burglaries	$ 508	$1,179	$ 472	15.0%
62.0	Larcenies*	$ 71	$4,402	$1,761	56.0%
.29	Auto Thefts	$1,246	$ 362	$ 109	3.5%
n.a.	Bad Checks/Credit Cards	n.a.	$ 875	$ 717	23.0%
	TOTAL		$6,979	$3,140	100%

The number of heroin users in this group represents all of DEA's estimated user population in 1974.

*Includes shoplifting.

Discussion

The following discussion is directed primarily toward data displayed in the previous charts; however material presented in earlier parts of this section is also relevant.

Heroin users commit a significant amount of property crime in this country. In 1974 it is estimated that they accounted for 19% of all property crime. If this estimate is correct, it is unlikely that heroin related crime would exceed 20% or drop below 15% in any recent year.

It is estimated that heroin users commit about 100,000 robberies, burglaries, larcenies, or auto thefts each day, plus an undetermined amount of crime involving bad checks and credit cards. This results in a cost to society of over ten million dollars per day. Additionally, addicts engage in an immeasureable amount of illicit drug sales.

Most heroin related property crime is committed by less than one-fourth of the heroin user population. Indications are that the average large habit addict commits over two hundred property crimes per year. As a group these addicts cost society about $3 billion in stolen property or cash. Since these addicts are on the street about 70% of the time, each addict is responsible for about one property crime per day when active. Considering that 30% of the large habit addicts utilize the sale of drugs as a primary source of support,* it is a safe assumption that the habits of the severely addicted are funded almost entirely through illegal means.

By contrast, medium habit and small habit users, who make up 76% of the heroin user population, committed less than one billion dollars worth of property crime in 1974. Generally speaking, medium habit users commit one property crime per week, if bad check/credit card crime is included; small habit users are responsible for about one crime per month.

On the whole, the previous charts indicate the fallacy in stereotyping heroin users. Of the 558,000 estimated heroin users, virtually half take heroin about once a day. Over a third of this small habit group uses legitimate employment as a main source of support. Only by the most liberal definition could these persons be defined as addicts. Furthermore, small habit users commit about one in every hundred property crimes in the U.S. In the strict sense, their crimes

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*All references to the percent of addicts who engage in various activities are based on the chart on page 62.

would be considered heroin related since funds are used to purchase heroin. However, the infrequency of crime among these users coupled with their relatively light habits suggest that their crimes were not caused by addiction.

Medium habit users take heroin two to three times a day. However, data on income producing activity does not portray a habitual criminal. Criminal behavior in this group was frequent but not constant. About 29% of heroin costs are funded through theft, yet 44% of the medium habit users engage in legitimate jobs for a primary source of support. It is probable that users in this group are more likely to utilize multiple sources of income or to continually shift from legal to illegal activities than users in small or large habit groups. The medium habit users appear at the same time to be dependent on heroin, and capable of maintaining their habits with a minimum of criminal behavior.

Only the large habit addicts fit into any common stereotype of a heroin user with a strong dependence upon crime. Their habits require six to nine average doses per day to sustain and they are unable to support such habits without resorting to theft and the sale of drugs.

SECTION II - PART F

Discussion of Heroin Related Crime in terms of
Socio Economic Conditions Surrounding Addiction.

PART F

Hovering over the question of heroin related crime is the
wealth of research available on the nature of addiction
and the socio-economic backgrounds of addicts. This infor-
mation indicates that addicts frequently come from urban
areas where crime rates are very high. They are often
reared in broken homes where poverty, drug abuse, and alco-
holism is common, and their addiction is frequently seen as
a manifestation of personality disorders.

As a group, addicts are regarded as a sign of a larger under-
lying social problem. The Arthur D. Little report notes that
drug taking "...is not the disease - it is analagous to the
fever, not the germ that causes the fever".[73]

In this regard, it is improbable that the criminal activities
of heroin users are caused exclusively to obtain funds to
purchase heroin. Rather, a portion of addict crime must be
considered as the effect of the social atmosphere which con-
currently may lead to both heroin addiction and crime.

If there is any general consensus on the subject of heroin
related crime, it is on this matter.

The purpose of this final part of the study will be to examine
aspects of heroin addiction which indicates that part of a
heroin user's crimes would be committed independent of heroin
use. Three aspects that will be discussed are:

    A) Socio-economic conditions surrounding addiction

    B) Pre-addiction arrest records

    C) Drug use among criminals.

A discussion of each of these points follows:

    A) <u>Socio-economic conditions surrounding addiction.</u>

        Most reports which deal with the conditions sur-
        rounding addiction find or concede that addicts
        are frequently raised in an impoverished delinquent
        social atmosphere. In the Task Force Report, Blum
        states, "Residence for most opiate addicts is, as
        Lexington statistics show, in poor metropolitan
        areas. As Chein et al (1964) and Rosenfeld (1957)
        have shown in New York City, these neighborhoods
        of high opiate addiction are the most deprived
        areas where delinquent orientation to life exists..."[74]

Chein et al's The Road to H, to which Blum refers
describes heroin epidemic areas as "areas of rela-
tively concentrated settlement of underprivileged
minority groups, of poverty and low income status,
of low educational attainment, of disrupted family
life, of disproportionately large numbers of adult
females compared to males and of highly crowded
housing; they are densely populated and teeming with
teenagers."[75] Abrams et al's examination of addicts
in Chicago also suggests that they live in areas
with a high incidence of crime.[76]

More recently, evidence of the inner city, high
crime environment surrounding heroin addiction has
been found through the correlation of Drug Abuse
Warning Network (DAWN) injury data with census
tract data. On a national basis (October 1973-
June 1975) statistics collected from DAWN sug-
gested that the greatest portion of narcotic injuries
occurred within the poorest areas of cities examined.[77]

Related to these findings are those which deal with
the personal backgrounds of addicts. Several
studies indicate that addicts come from a highly
unstable family environment. Chein et al noted that
the life of the male addict, "...is condusive to the
development of disturbed personalities.... Rela-
tions between parents are far from ideal as evidenced
by separation, divorce, overt hostility, or a lack
of warmth."[78]

DeLeon et al's examination of addict family life
found several signs of discord. About half of the
1151 addicts had come from broken homes, in over 40%
of the cases a member of the family had an arrest
record, 30% came from a family with a problem drinker,
39% indicated that a member of the family used drugs
(other than marihuana), and 30% indicated that the
family had been on welfare at some time.[79] In the
Nash et al study findings were similar.[80]

O'Donnell's survey of 266 narcotic addicts from Kentucky
found that in 30% of the cases, addicts had at least
one parent who either: a) was an alcoholic, b) was
mentally ill, c) was a narcotic addict, or d) had been
in prison. Also, 25% of the males and 41% of the
females had come from homes where one parent was
missing.[81] The significance of O'Donnell's findings is
that the addicts were predominantly from white, rural
backgrounds - yet displayed similar characteristics of
inner city addicts.

For the most part, surveys indicate that narcotic addicts are usually underprivileged, either emotionally or economically or both.

B) Pre-addiction arrest records

The second element which is continually cited as a sign that crime by heroin addicts is not exclusively caused by heroin use is that many addicts show evidence of criminal behavior which preceeds addiction. Needless to say, this is not surprising given the environment in which many addicts are reared.

Research for this study found numerous examples of this circumstance. Abrams et al noted that 63% of the small group of users addicted after 1952 had arrest records preceeding addiction.[82] DeLeon et al found 30% of the addicts in their survey had engaged in burglary or shoplifting prior to drug use and that 20% had committed other forms of theft*.[83] O'Donnell's survey noted that 28% of the addicts had at least one arrest prior to addiction.[84] Clinard's review of an addiction study conducted in Lexington and Fort Worth noted that of 1679 addicts with an arrest history, 56.3% had been arrested before the onset of opiate abuse."[85] Vorenberg and Lukoff, looking at a treatment population of over 700 patients, found that 44% were arrested before drug use.[86] Stephens and Ellis' survey of 589 criminal addicts from NACC discovered that 37% had pre-addiction arrest histories indicating "that large numbers of addicts are drawn from categories of persons already labeled criminals."[87]

It should be noted that the above references by no means constitute an exhaustive list of pre-addiction arrest findings.

Before looking at the next item, a comment should be made concerning studies on addicts in Britain. Recent articles of younger, newly addicted persons in Great Britain show that for the most part these addicts are from lower economic groups, that they are often unstable or malajusted, that they have a high incidence of criminality, and that this criminality

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*There is probably an overlap in this statistics. That is, some addicts engaged in burglary, shoplifting, and other forms of theft.

frequently preceeds addiction.* This material is
highly relevant to information discussed thus far.
It strongly suggests that the social causes behind
addiction are not limited to the U.S., and diminishes
the argument that "heroin use causes crimes" since
heroin is legally available to addicts through a
national health program.

C) Drug use among criminals

In the jail surveys listed in Section I, Part B of
this study, it was evident that drug abuse among the
various arrestee populations was not confined to
heroin. The assumption that heroin use causes crime
is based in part, on the fact that heroin is both
highly addictive and very expensive. These two
characteristics are not commonly associated
together with other drugs.

However, extensive drug use of all types among a
criminal population also suggests that criminals
use drugs as part of their lifestyle, and that
heroin use may be an outgrowth of this lifestyle
rather than a cause for it.

Some of the most conclusive evidence of extensive
drug use among a criminal population is found in
Eckerman et al's Drug Usage and Arrest Charges.
Of the 1889 persons arrested in the six cities
surveyed, 922 (49%) were determined to be current
drug users.[88] Additionally, 290 were counted as past
drug users. In other words, nearly two-thirds of
the arrestees had some history of illicit drug use.
Although no definitive standard is available to
compare this rate of incidence to the general popu-
lation, it would appear a safe assumption that the
Drug Usage figures are well above the norm.

It is also relevant that half of the "current users"
did not use heroin. The following chart lists the
number of persons who used various drugs at the time
of arrest.

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*See articles by James, Bewley, Mott, and Hawks, listed in
Bibliography.

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Drug Usage
Drugs Used - Current Users
-922 Users*-

Drugs	# Who Use	% Who Use of Total Current Users
Heroin	461	50%
Morphine	45	5%
Cocaine	179	19%
Methadone	79	9%
Marihuana	536	58%
Hashish	166	18%
Amphetamine	175	19%
Barbiturate	312	34%
Psychedelics	107	12%
Tranquilizers	44	5%
Other	19	2%

Two elements of this chart are worth noting. First, marihuana, not heroin, was used by more persons than any other drug. It would be unreasonable to establish a causal relationship between marihuana use and property crime, since marihuana use is so widespread in the general population and since it is not generally considered a physically addictive drug. Yet the incidence of marihuana and other drug usage, does bring into question the assumption that heroin use causes crime, when less addictive and less expensive drugs are so heavily represented. Another question is also raised: Has the connection between heroin use and criminal behavior been too quickly established because heroin addicts are found in jails?

Second, drug use was rampant among this criminal population. Half were current users who took all types of drugs. On the average, each current user was a user of 2.3 drugs. The chart suggests that many criminals are indiscriminate in their selection of drugs and will take whatever is available. Over half took marihuana, half took heroin, one in three took barbiturates, one in five took cocaine, one in five took amphetamines, one in five took hashish.

Drug use is part of the criminal lifestyle. Criminals take drugs - all types of drugs. One enters a very delicate and subjective area when attempting to isolate either, a) those persons who were drawn into crime by drug use, or b) those drugs which specifically caused crime.

*The total of the number who use will exceed 922 because of multiple drug usage.

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Summary

Considerable evidence has been presented which draws into question a simple cause - effect relationship between heroin use and crime. The truth is that addicts often come from impoverished backgrounds where drug use and criminal behavior go hand in hand.

The material in this final part of the study has been presented to qualify the heroin related property crime estimate of $3.9 billion. By one standard all of this crime could be considered heroin related since it is estimated that the funds acquired were used to purchase heroin. On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that elimination of heroin use would eliminate all crimes committed by heroin users. To make such an assumption would be to predict that the lives of many disadvantaged persons, predisposed to crime, would have been crime free, but for the use of heroin. Such an assumption is clearly unreasonable.

This study has estimated that $3.9 billion worth of property or cash were stolen in 1974 by heroin users to support their habits. Also, data in this study has shown that heroin use does accelerate certain types of criminal behavior. Many crimes committed in this country are inherently tied to heroin addiction.

It must also be emphasized, however, that elimination of heroin addiction would not guarantee that all criminal behavior of current heroin addicts would cease. The social causes of crime are highly complex, and must themselves be successfully treated before a major reduction in crime can be expected.

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