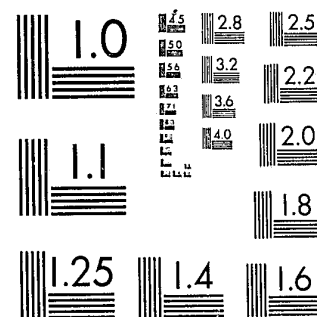


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ILLEGAL DRUG USE AMONG WOMEN IN DETENTION

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ACQUISITIONS

A dissertation submitted to the School of Criminal Justice, State University of New York at Albany, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Spring 1980

PREFACE

The material in this project was prepared under Grant No(s) 77NI-99-0042 from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice. Researchers undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment. Therefore, points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent the official position or policy of the U.S. Department of Justice.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates illegal drug use and crime among women in detention, focusing on three major areas: (1) the characteristics of women offenders who use drugs; (2) the interrelationships between crime and drugs; and (3) the motivational patterns for illegal drug use.

Sampling all women admitted to the Philadelphia House of Corrections during the latter part of 1976 and the first part of 1977, over 100 women in detention were interviewed for this study. Institutional records and arrest data were also analyzed. The sample is divided into two groups, based on self-report information: those who report little or no drug use (30%) and those who report extensive drug use (70%).

Differences between these two groups of women in personal and social characteristics are noted. Few differences are observed in the demographics of the two groups. However, women in the high drug group are more likely to have family members who use illegal drugs, misuse alcohol, and/or have been arrested.

The extent to which the criminal justice process identifies women offenders who are drug users is revealed by the number of women in detention who report drug use and their more extensive arrest history when compared to women who do not use drugs. Women in the high drug group have more arrests for property and drug offenses and a greater number of prior arrests and prior sanctions. They

are also more likely to report juvenile delinquency activity and at a younger age. The type of prior arrest history reveals that the more serious offense behavior belongs to women in the low drug group; they are more likely to have an arrest history of crimes against the person (e.g., assault).

For women who are drug users, entry into the illegal drug scene is examined. From these descriptions of the first and regular drug events, four different motivational patterns for drug use emerge. Feeling the High is a motivational pattern which emphasizes the importance of the physical effects that the drug produces. Some women report that problems and pressures make the use of drugs seem like a desirable way to cope with these stresses; this pattern is called Making it Easier. Peer pressures, either direct or indirect, and the desire for inclusion in the group, contribute to the pursuit of drug use in the motivational pattern, Part of the Scene. Finally, for women in Tie that Binds, entry into the illegal drug scene is described as a way to maintain a relationship.

The diversity of paths into the illegal drug scene have implications for both prevention and treatment programs. No single approach may be expected to divert all women from the illegal drug scene. Likewise, a single path out of the illegal drug scene is not expected to be sufficient for the variety of motivational patterns for drug use depicted by the women offender. Further, intervention for the female offender is complicated by both extensive involvement with the criminal justice process and her involvement in the drug scene.

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CHAPTER 1

DRUG USE AMONG WOMEN OFFENDERS

Statement of the Problem

Within the array of female crimes, drug use is a particularly salient problem among women offenders in the criminal justice process. The number of illicit drug users varies according to the offender populations. For example, in the state of New York, approximately 50 percent of the incarcerated women under custody of the Department of Correctional Services (as of June 30, 1975) have admitted use of dangerous drugs (State of New York, Dept. of Correctional Services, 1975: Tables VI and VII). In Philadelphia, 40-50 percent of all women detained are self-reported drug users.¹ Examining female arrestees in Philadelphia, File, McCahill, and Savitz (1974:179) found 21 percent of all females arrested had some narcotics involvement at the time of arrest.² Although population and definitional distinctions vary in these studies, a substantial drug problem appears to exist among female offenders and arrestees.

While little is known about the woman who uses illegal drugs, less is known about the female offender who uses drugs. The social and personal characteristics of female drug users that have been noted focus primarily on treatment populations.³ Further study is needed on the women offender who uses drugs.

Interest in female drug use is also warranted on the basis of the complex interrelationships between crime and drugs. Many drug users

support their habits through criminal activity.⁴ Acquiring drugs through illegal channels results in higher costs and increased risks. Further, the connections for illegal drugs are obtained through the criminal subculture, exposing individuals to these values, attitudes, and influences. Whether one activity is the antecedent of the other is a matter of much debate and discussion. As such, the temporal order question has not been resolved, although current interest in the topic might be better directed toward an examination of how the two types of deviance evolve together.

The majority of studies have investigated the interrelationships between crime and drugs for the male offender; however, some information is available on the woman's criminal and drug activity. Specifically, the types and extent of criminal activity have been noted for various populations. Information about how women offenders differ according to their drug use is not generally available, although such comparisons offer new insights into the complex drug-crime interrelationships. Further, such analyses provide a more complete understanding of the women involved in the criminal justice system.

Finally, exploring the complexities of how and why women enter the illegal drug scene is warranted since this information may guide future research and provide a better understanding of these phenomena for women. Investigation of their entry into the illegal drug scene offers some theoretical perspectives that explain female drug use, beyond that which can be gathered from the literature on male drug users. Further, the legal and social response to these women could then be analyzed in light of the notions and concepts that were identified as relevant to the female experience.

Both the type and extent of drug use that are included in this study present some problems. First, only illegal drugs are considered because this classification system acknowledges those drugs which are socially approved and disapproved. The implication has been that legal drugs are safe, appropriate, medically acceptable, good; the opposite connotation has been given illegal drugs. In truth, the legal classification of drugs does not correspond with psychological, physical, or social damage of the drugs themselves.⁵ Therefore, drug use that is socially disapproved and legally sanctioned is the focus here.

Second, past studies have come to different conclusions as to the extent of drug use that must signify a problem. In an attempt to define the various degrees of drug use, numerous definitions and terminology have been employed (e.g., involvement, addiction, abuse, misuse, dependence). However, these definitions change according to the type of drug in question. Since all levels of consumption are illegal, this study does not draw an arbitrary distinction between what is use and abuse of drugs; all degrees of consumption are considered use of illegal drugs.

Focusing on the female offender who uses illegal drugs, three areas of research are identified for further investigation: female drug users' personal and social characteristics; the interrelationships between crime and drugs; and the entry into the illegal drug scene. Each area is explored in the literature review that follows. A brief historical account provides a context in which to examine the personal and social characteristics which have been noted for the female drug user. The interrelationships between crime and drugs have been explored primarily through the types and extent of criminal activity of female drug users and the temporal order question. Finally, the question of how and why

women enter the illegal drug scene is considered through the theoretical literature on female crime and drug use, as well as studies which have explored the drug user's own reasons and motives for drug involvement. Together, these materials provide a framework for examining the problem of the female offender who uses drugs.

Review of the Literature

Characteristics of Female Drug Users--The use of drugs that are presently defined as illegal in the United States has an interesting history for the female user.⁶ With the passage of the Harrison Act (1914) and subsequent legislation, criminalization of opiate use resulted in a change from a largely female addicted population to an addicted population comprised mostly of men. The percentage of females in this population is estimated to have declined from a high of 60-75 percent, prior to the Harrison Act, to a low of 20 percent by the mid-sixties (Brecher, and the Editors of Consumer Reports, 1972:3; Cuskey, Premkumar, and Sigel, 1972:12).

Explanations for this apparent decline in opiate use among women have generally centered around the criminalization of opiate use and the removal of the "respectability" from the drug (Maglin, 1974:160). Cuskey, et al., (1972:7) imply that by nature or social role, women are more law-abiding than men; thus, when opiates became illegal, women ceased using opiates. Other explanations suggest that continued use would require some involvement with the criminal world, perhaps prostituting to support one's use of drugs. The social stigma corresponding with criminal activity creates a sufficient barrier to opiate use for most women. Others may have switched to drugs which were still considered legal.⁷

Race, age, social and economic status all vary according to the female drug use population under investigation. Changes in characteristics of female users appear to have occurred since the passage of the Harrison Act and may still be occurring. Specific patterns of drug use have been noted for different geographical areas. For example, a medical pattern of drug use was identified for rural Southern women (e.g., Ball, 1965). Drawing a comprehensive picture of the female drug user is further complicated by the types and extent of drugs considered in the various studies; many of the studies have examined only heroin or opiate use.⁸

Racial composition of drug using groups indicate considerable variation from sample to sample. Among some of the more recent studies on female drug users, nearly equal numbers of whites and blacks were found (e.g., a street sample by Rosenbaum, 1979a; a treatment sample by Walford, 1973; a Lexington Hospital sample by Stephens and Slatin, 1974). In a study of female offenders and drug use, James, Goshko, and Wohl (1979) report that their sample was primarily white.

Age of first drug use and age of first narcotic use differs according to James, et al., (1979), with the former being between the mean ages of 16-18 and the latter, 18-20. Stephens and Slatin (1974) report that first narcotic addiction occurred at the mean age of 19 for nonwhite and white female street addicts and at the mean age of 22 (nonwhite) and 25 (white) for women who were not street addicts. Earlier studies gave the mid-twenties as the mean age of first drug use and addiction (Cuskey, Premkumar, and Sigel, 1972).

Family arrangements tend to differ for the female drug user according to several studies. Approximately one fourth of Rosenbaum's sample of street addicts were married and approximately three fourths had children. According to Rosenbaum (1979a:149), women drug users were limited to male drug users in their personal relationships; the male drug user is not so limited. Furthermore, a lasting relationship between men and women in the drug scene appeared precluded. Relationships between male and female drug users eroded because of one or a combination of the following three reasons: heroin became the focal point which eroded other aspects of the relationship, heroin disrupted the traditional sex-role delineation for the couple, and/or the unscrupulousness of the heroin-lifestyle along with constant money problems created division within the relationship (Rosenbaum, 1979a:151).

For many of the women identified in these samples, childhood family members had been involved in drugs, alcohol, and/or crime. Rosenbaum (1979a) found slightly less than half of her sample had addicted family members. Comparing male and female addicts in treatment in New York City, Waldorf (1973) found twice as many women (20%) as men (10%) had lived with an addicted relative (excluding addicted husbands). Furthermore, he found more disorganization within the families of women addicts than of men; more women (30%) than men (21%) reported living with a relative with a drinking problem. In a study by Chambers, Hinesley, and Moldestad (1970) on the Lexington population, women drug addicts were more likely than male addicts to have been reared in broken homes, with blacks more likely than whites to report such backgrounds. In a survey of drug use among the population

in Walla Walla County, Washington, Bowker (1977:14-17) reported that both males and females were influenced by their parents' and siblings' use of drugs. However, parents' and siblings' use of alcohol was associated more with girls than boys using alcohol and marijuana.

While the personal and social characteristics of women drug users may differ from those of the larger society, there is some evidence that the values and goals of illegal drug users are similar to other segments of the larger female population. In a comparative study of the values of college and lower class females, Baldinger, Goldsmith, Capel, and Stewart (1972) found that college marijuana users had a more liberal value system, while heroin users from the lower class had the most conservative and traditional value system. Both non-smoking college students and lower class women without heroin use fell within the extremes depicted by the other two groups.

As is apparent from this brief review, personal and social characteristics differ among various groups of female drug users. Most of the studies have examined heroin or opiate use. Depending on the type of population under investigation, characteristics vary, making a typical picture (or pictures) of the female drug user impossible. Demographics and personal characteristics are needed to define clearly the different populations which are examined for their drug use. In addition, both present and childhood families are worthy of investigation, providing insight into the personal environments of women who use drugs.

Interrelationships between Crime and Drugs--Information that is available about the interrelationship between criminal activity and drug use for women can be broadly classified into two areas: (1)

information on the types and extent of criminal activity, and (2) information about the temporal order of these events.⁹ However, several factors complicate the investigation of the interrelationships between these two types of deviance for women. Few studies have considered female populations. For those with female populations, much of the research prior to the mid-seventies was focused on treatment, rather than offender populations. Comparative work has primarily been between males and females in the same populations, or pre and post treatment assessments of criminality for a female drug population. Further, these studies have followed the assumption that crime inevitably occurs with illegal drug use.

Another factor which makes the investigation of this interrelationship difficult is the variety of illegal drugs, complicated by the artificial determination of what is an illegal drug. Because of the variety of illegal drugs and their varying impact on the system, many researchers have chosen "pure" samples to investigate (e.g., heroin only). While this approach furthers our understanding about crime and this particular drug, the larger perspective of crime and illegal drugs is lost. Investigation of only one drug (e.g., heroin) becomes limiting when faced with the multi-drug user. Further, the quality and true chemical composition of drugs on the street create problems when assessing the nature of someone's drug experience.

While the limitations described above do not allow any conclusions to be drawn from the existing studies concerning the interrelationship between crime and drugs, some observations can be made. First, women who use illegal drugs do engage in a variety of offenses, with the majority of studies indicating property, drug, and prostitution

offenses as predominant. Both self-report and arrest data appear to support this notion. Using self-report criminal data obtained from women who are addicts, addict-prostitutes, prostitutes, and female offenders, James, Gosho, and Wohl (1979:225) conclude that for adult women, a particular drug is not necessarily associated with a particular offense pattern. However, heroin is closely tied to crimes committed to purchase drugs. James, et al. (1979:227) comment that the types of crimes committed appear to be more closely related to opportunity and skill, rather than to the specific drug used. Both groups, prostitutes and prostitute-addicts, tend to derive most of their illegal income from prostitution despite their differences in drug use. Nonprostitute-addicts are primarily supporting themselves through drug sales and shoplifting/larceny. Female offenders are similar in their patterns to nonprostitute-addicts.

Studying both male and female heroin users from New York treatment settings, Waldorf (1973:57) reports women's primary means of support are selling drugs (27%), prostitution (26%), and stealing (22%).

Using official record data (police records and pretrial service division records), File, McCahill, and Savitz (1974:179) reveal that 21 percent of all female arrestees (for 90 days in 1973) were narcotics involved as defined by positive urine specimens, self-report, or police arrest records for sale or possession. Among those who were narcotics involved, prior arrests had occurred for drug sales or possession (81%), larceny (45%), prostitution (41%), other (which included contempt of court, violation of probation or parole, failure

40%), burglary (21%), robbery (13%), assault (12%), weapons (11%), with the remainder of offense categories showing less than 10 percent (File, et al., 1973:181). A greater percent of the blacks than whites had prior arrests for all categories except drug sales or possession, burglary, and liquor. The mean number of previous arrests for all narcotics involved women in the sample was 6.8, with blacks showing a higher average (7.8) than whites (4.5).

Among San Francisco female street addicts, Rosenbaum (1979:270) reports that most addicts have at least three different hustles for support and only 4 percent of her sample did not hustle. Dealing (61%), prostitution (60%), shoplifting (28%), forgery (21%), burglary (18%), and robbery (17%) are the criminal activities that supply the major means of support. Despite nearly all of the sample's use of criminal activity to support their drug use, 22 percent have never served any time in a jail or penitentiary (Rosenbaum, 1979a:271).

The temporal order question is the second major area where some research has been done on the interrelationship between crime and drugs for women. One argument that has been made is if drug use occurs prior to criminal activity, the criminalization of drugs has created crime (other than drug use).¹⁰ An opposing view is that the individual may identify with the criminal lifestyle prior to drug use; therefore, drugs are merely an extension of the criminal lifestyle, another form of deviance.¹¹

The President's Task Force Report (1967) is unable to make a definitive statement about the causal connection between crime and drugs. Analyzing research primarily generated on male populations, Greenburg and Adler (1974:231) conclude in their survey on crime and

addiction, that the data generated in the 1960's indicate that criminal involvement typically occurs prior to drug involvement. Greenberg and Adler (1974:235) summarize the typical addict of today as ". . . an individual who has been immersed in a criminal subculture and is introduced to narcotics as a result of his socialization into this subculture." The Schaefer Commission (1973:172) also shares this perspective, indicating that recent research suggests criminal behavior precedes drug dependence.

The temporal order question for female drug users is the focus of relatively little research. Voss and Stephens (1973:195) interviewed 773 male patients and 217 female patients admitted to Lexington prior to treatment in May 1969 and found 39 percent of the males and 13 percent of the females reported specified criminal activity (defined as robbery, burglary, other forms of theft, forgery, drug sales, importation or transportation, prostitution-pimping, gambling) prior to any drug use including alcohol. The first arrest occurred prior to the use of drugs, other than alcohol and marijuana, for 58 percent of the men and only 34 percent of the women. For this sample, the temporal order appears to be quite different for men and women.

Only 10 percent of the female addicts had arrest histories prior to the onset of drug use in a study by Chambers and Inciardi (1971:5). Waldorf (1973:170), using self-reports, found 79 percent of the women and 55 percent of the men reported no criminal involvement prior to their heroin use. There are distinctions among ethnic groups, with both Puerto Rican and black women reporting less criminal activity before heroin use than white women.¹²

Chambers, Hinesley, and Moldestad (1970:272) also examine the temporal order question for black and white women admitted to Lexington in the 1960's, finding 62 percent of the white women and 79 percent of the black women were involved in drug use prior to their first arrest. In a study of blacks at Lexington, the mean age of first arrest ($\bar{x}=21.2$) and of first opiate use ($\bar{x}=21.1$) were almost identical (Chambers and Moffett, 1970:197).

Two other variables appear to affect the order in which criminal activity and drug addiction occurs. Waldorf (1973:170) reported that younger women are more likely to report criminal activity prior to drug use; approximately 25 percent of those under 26 reported crime prior to drug use as opposed to only 10 percent of those over 26 years of age. For male subjects addicted prior to 1959, O'Donnell (1969:111) found the more recent the year of addiction, the more likely criminal activity occurred prior to addiction. This suggests that criminal activity prior to drug use has become more likely in recent years.

Even if criminal activity occurs first, drug use may increase the probability of arrest. Zahn and Ball (1974:211) suggest that drug use leads to and exacerbates involvement in criminal activity for Puerto Rican women. Examining males and females entering the Denver City Jail and requesting detoxification services, Weissman, Katsampes, and Giancinti (1974:276) compare arrest records for pre and post onset periods of drug use. Using the occurrence of the first drug arrest as the indicator of drug onset, an increase in the mean number of arrest charges per person per year following drug onset for both males and females is indicated. While males show an increase in all

offense categories following drug use, the increase in total arrest rates for women is greater in most categories.

Several problems and questions are raised by these studies. The definitional distinctions vary from study to study; determinations of the points at which criminality and drug use first occur are difficult to make and thus are based upon a subjective opinion of what constitutes first drug use and first criminal activity. To know that criminal activity occurred (regardless of how defined) prior to drug use (regardless of how defined) may present an easy rationale for maintaining the current proscriptions against certain drugs defined as illegal or vice versa. However, upon examining the question more closely several other aspects of the question need consideration.

First, the events may have occurred independently of each other, despite their sequence in time. Second, temporal order studies do not usually give an indication of the amount of time between the two events. Thus a drug event may have preceded criminality by a little as a day or as much as several years. If there is a relationship, this interim period would be critical for any treatment or intervention approaches. Third, the chemical effects of drugs are generally not viewed as causing crime. Criminal activity that is associated with drug use is generally depicted as those offenses which provide money to buy the illegal drugs (e.g., Pres. T.F.R. on Narcotics and Drugs, 1967: Eckerman, et al., 1971). Finally attention to such causal order questions removes concentration from how these two types of deviance affect each other or from how they affect the individual who pursues both together. Thus the question to be considered is how do the two phenomena together result in substantially different problems when combined.

In examining these interrelationships, a focus on criminal populations and their use of drugs offers a better investigation of the impact of these two phenomena together. Comparison between offenders who do and do not become involved in illegal drug use has largely been ignored. However, such comparisons provide an indication of the differences in criminality as well as differences in personal and social characteristics that may exist between these two groups.¹³

Entering the Illegal Drug Scene--The literature review in this area includes three major types of research. First, some of the major theoretical works on female criminality provide a framework for understanding female criminality in general. Next, this section reviews the literature on the major explanations for drug use: psychological influences, peer influences (or social context), and environmental influences.¹⁴ While these theories are based primarily on the male population, several studies offer some indication that these same causal dimensions can be found among female drug users. Finally, a few studies which investigate the actor's own interpretation of how and why she entered the illegal drug scene, are reported. These perspectives offer a different focus on a woman's entry into the illegal drug scene.

Etiological explanations for female criminality tend to differ from those which explain male crime. The fewer numbers of women officially involved in the criminal justice process, the different patterns of offenses for which women are arrested and convicted, and the general belief that women are motivated or controlled by different biological, sociological, and/or psychological factors all contribute

to separate theories of male and female crime. Furthermore, many of the theories of male crime are at odds with the crime statistics of females.

Historically, female criminality has been explained by theories which depict the cause or center of the problem within a biological or physiological framework. Lombroso and Ferrero (1958) portray the born woman offender as biologically abnormal, with more masculine characteristics. Recognizing most female offenders as occasional criminals, the explanation for their crime resides in the weak-willed and easily led astray nature of women, who in general are seen as inferior to men. This theoretical basis for female crime is further strengthened by Freud's concepts of female behavior; for example, women are more passive than men (Freud, 1933). From these concepts criminal activity can be deduced as a result of women who are misguided or misdirected.

Thomas (1907,1923) also identifies the pathological nature of female criminals, however, he perceives this condition as a result of socially inadequate training or conditioning. For women, this lack of socialization is particularly disastrous because of woman's differing moral framework, which emphasizes her adjustment to men rather than to the contractual morality of the larger (male) society (1907:172). The nature of female crime is largely sexual, according to Thomas.

Pollak (1951) recognizes the importance of the physiological and biological nature of women and its role in female criminality; biological factors such as menstruation, pregnancy, and menopause are seen as important in the search for the etiological dimensions of female crime. His work also addresses the differing social roles

for males and females that influence the nature of female criminality. Within the social sphere, the double standard of sexual morality, extraneous social conditions (such as modern sales promotion methods which increase temptation to women buyers), and the various social roles that women occupy are each credited for affecting the nature of female criminality. Pollak perceives the woman's social roles as providing special opportunities to carry out petty offenses and deceitful crimes.

Attacks on traditional explanations of female crime center on the rejection of the notion that sexuality is related to female crime. Rather sex roles direct and determine the types of crimes women commit. Klein (1973) indicates that sexuality has been overemphasized to the exclusion of other important influences. She states that "in the case of women, biological explanations have always been prevalent; every writer has made assumptions about anatomy as destiny" (Klein, 1973:26). Rather, it is the economic and social factors which Klein (1973:27) suggests warrant examination: "The economic and social realities of crime--the fact that poor women commit crimes, and that most crimes for women are property offenses--are overlooked."

Following this argument of economic causes of crime, and adding a radical perspective on what is defined as crime and who is defined as criminal, Klein and Kress (1976) argue that female crime can only be understood in light of class and sexual discrimination which determine the types of crimes women commit. For example, rather than viewing prostitution as a result of some individual pathology, they examine it as a means of economic survival, with the woman as a victim of the political and economic conditions society imposes on poor women.

Examining arrest records for women, Hoffman-Bustamante (1973:117) observes that female crime is related to five major factors: (1) differential role expectations for men and women, (2) sex differences in socialization patterns and application of social control, (3) structurally determined differences in opportunity to commit particular offenses, (4) differential access or pressures toward criminally oriented subcultures and careers, (5) sex differences built into the crime categories themselves. Not only do these five factors operate differently in distinguishing male and female crimes, but also, these factors differ according to the type of crime. Further, Hoffman-Bustamante theorizes that female crime can be understood, at least in part, as crime committed in an auxiliary role to the male offender.

Recently, there have been advocates for criminological theories which view male and female crime as based on the same etiological factors. Adler (1975) perceives the needs of women as similar to men, with the need for status being one such example. Further, she claims a growing trend of closing social gaps in such formerly male-dominated areas as crime and criminality. Simon (1975) predicts an increase in the female crime rate along with a change in the type of crime. This increase will directly relate to the increase in opportunity, as a result of the changing roles of women.

Using self-report data from middle-class delinquents, Weis (1976) tests the various theories of female criminality. He depicts the theories of female crime according to three major groups. Role-reversal theories which claim that masculinization of female behavior causes crime, with theories of Lombroso and Freud influencing this thought. According to Weis, a sociological perspective within this group has

emerged in the women's liberation theory, specifically discussed by Adler. A second group of theories called human liberation or role convergence emphasize that as the similarities between males and females become greater, the nature and extent of criminal activity will be more similar. According to Weis, Wise (1967) represents this theory with the suggestion that middle class female delinquency resembles that of male delinquency and the apparent petty and nonviolent character of middle class delinquency can be attributed to the more pervasive feminization of middle class boys, as compared to working class boys.

The last group of theories could be characterized as sexism, role validation, or opportunity theory, according to Weis. Crime is viewed as "the illegitimate expression of femininity rather than a symbol of masculinity" (Weis, 1976:18). He suggests that Thomas (1923), Pollak (1950), Davis (1961), Hoffman-Bustamante (1973), Klein and Kress (1976), all propose theories consistent with this view.

In his own study on middle-class delinquency, Weis (1976) reports a substantial amount of "hidden" delinquency among both males and females. Female delinquency is more petty than serious in nature; girls are more involved in social offenses (e.g., drinking) and typically female offenses (e.g., shoplifting). They are least involved in typically masculine offenses or aggression (e.g., group fighting). Boys are more frequently involved in all acts than girls, however. Using these data, Weis suggests that the sex-role theories (role validation) are most appropriate for explaining female crime.

Existing theories on female crime have attempted to explain why there is little female crime or why certain types of crimes are committed by women. In some instances, both of these questions are addressed with the same theoretical framework. However, there is little information available on how and why women become involved in criminal activity. Given the rarity of the female offender, one may surmise that there are a number of barriers or outlets that keep most women from becoming officially recognized criminals. Knowing how and why women become involved in crime would offer explanations of female criminality, as well as, provide new insights into patterns of criminal behavior in general.

From the existing theoretical perspectives on female criminality, two major conclusions are useful for this study. First, some differences may be expected between males and females on how and why they engage in illegal drugs. Second, the variation in female criminality suggests that one theoretical perspective may not explain all criminality. Specifically, investigation of a woman's entry into the illegal drug scene is expected to reveal that a number of factors are important to this process.

The explanations that emphasize psychological influences on drug use outline two different perspectives. The first group examines drug use as a pleasurable activity, pursued for the positive rewards inherent in the chemical effect the drug has on the body (e.g., Weil, 1972; Rado, 1957; Crowley, 1972), as well as the psychological pleasures pursued in the search for a substitute for sex (e.g., Ding, 1972; Kron, 1965). Drugs essentially provide superpleasure which

once recognized, becomes self reinforcing. Certain types of individuals may be predisposed to the seduction of pleasure and drugs may fulfill the need for miraculous help (Rado, 1957).

The second group of psychological explanations for drug use emphasize the defects of the personality, self, and/or early life in general as the precursors to the drug behavior (e.g., Savitt, 1963; Chein, Gerard, Lee, Rosenfeld, 1964). These defects bring about psychological tensions and frustrations which the individual is unable to handle. Drugs relieve these intolerable states by blocking awareness and perceptions, essentially numbing the individual from psychological existence. According to Khantzian, Mack, and Schatzberg (1974), once the individual adopts this strategy to cope, further growth and development (psychological and social) are stunted, complicating treatment and making successful, nondrug existence more difficult. Personality disorders are crises that occur along the developmental process that are not atypical, but rather, normal adaptive responses are underdeveloped to deal with these crises.

There are a few studies which examine the psychological dimensions of female drug users. One such study suggests that personality disturbances antedated the onset of drug taking (Barnes and Noble, 1972:306). Gathering evidence from records and staff reports of girls in a remand home, Barnes and Noble (1972) indicate that girls who later took narcotics showed previous tendencies toward anxiety, tolerating stress poorly, as well as, depression and aggression, when compared to other girls in the remand home who did not progress to narcotic use. In evaluating these results, generalization to all types of female drug users is unwarranted; the impact of the remand home

experience was not separated from the supposedly predisposing factors that Barnes and Noble identified. Drug use may have been as much a result of the remand home experience for those particular girls as the psychological factors in the records.

Comparing female prisoners who had no involvement with drugs with those who used heroin, Climent, Raynes, Rollins, and Plutchik (1974:348) report that heroin users have a greater average number of adult psychiatric out-patient contacts and averaged more symptoms indicating neuroticism in childhood as compared to the group without drug use. However, there is little difference in the average number of adult psychiatric hospitalizations and there are fewer child guidance center contacts for the heroin group. Among these two groups of women, a direct relationship between psychiatric (or psychological) abnormalities and drug use appears tenuous.

Psychological explanations of drug use suggest that change must focus on the individual. Disorders and dysfunctions of the person become the primary focus of investigation and intervention. While a variety of studies have been conducted to examine the psychological and psychiatric problems of drug users, several considerations are necessary to evaluate such work. First, inadequate control groups or no control groups have been utilized in some studies. To determine if psychological or psychiatric abnormalities are characteristic of a group of drug users, a comparison group with similar socio-economic, demographic status must be used. Second, given that drug users can be found to differ in psychological or psychiatric terms from a comparable control group, it is impossible to determine from this difference alone, that disorders within the person existed prior to

the use of drugs; these disorders may manifest themselves as a result of the drug use. Third, such differences that are noted between non-drug and drug users may be due to the social and environmental conditions of the drug use, rather than solely the individual's pre-disposition.¹⁵

A second group of explanations for drug use center on the importance of peer groups or the social context of drug use to the process of becoming a drug user. Several different factors have been examined within this area. Peers and social groups provide a context in which drugs may be experienced and the process of becoming a drug user may be learned (e.g., Lindesmith, 1947; Becker, 1963; Levin, Roberts, and Hirsch, 1975). Lindesmith (1947:8) depicts addiction as occurring when the individual learns that the withdrawal symptoms are associated with the drug and that relief may be obtained with consumption of more drugs. Drug groups are viewed as providing status and a sense of belonging for individuals in need of identity and membership; secondary reinforcers emerge from the ritual and membership of the group (e.g., Wikler, 1970). Alksne, Lieberman, and Brill (1967:225) report that drug use is associated with a social setting in which there are unique opportunities for a kind of status achievement. This type of status achievement is particularly relevant to addicts from those social groups which see the legal authorities as oppressive agents.

Adolescent drug use has also been described as a form of retreatist behavior, which occurs when there is failure to achieve status and success through legitimate and other illegitimate means (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960). This "double failure" status results in the individual

being more vulnerable to retreatist behavior and can be the result of socially structured barriers.

These theoretical perspectives are supported through a number of studies which have shown the social nature of the drug use. Waldorf (1973:31) describes initial use of heroin as a "social phenomena;" only 4% of his sample of New York City addicts in treatment were alone during their first drug use. Wechsler and Thum (1973) indicate that peers play an important role in affecting the attitudes of adolescents toward future use of illegal drugs; the more drug using friends one has, the more likely that one views drug use within one's own future. Also, studies examining the professed motives of drug users reveal that social acceptance by peers is important to their introduction and use of drugs (e.g., Hendler and Stephens, 1977).

For women, the social context of drug use may include a male partner or friend, rather than a social group. Males are viewed as the carriers of drug use to females (e.g., Kron, 1965; Yablonsky, 1965; Eldred and Washington, 1975; Robinson, 1960; Maglin, 1974; Waldorf, 1973; O'Donnell, et al., 1967; Cuskey, et al., 1972). Bowker (1977) depicts this social context as the dating situation or male-female relationship in which a female is initiated into drugs as a part of her relationship with the male. Bullington (1974:188) found that Puerto Rican females were introduced to narcotics through male acquaintances and lovers--frequently in an attempt to revitalize a deteriorating amorous relationship. From a study of San Francisco street addicts, Rosenbaum (1979b:14) reports several aspects of the male-female relationship that influence a woman's entry into the

drug scene. For example, being the dealer's "old lady," wanting to share the experience, and desiring to share the goods for which money is spent, are all mentioned as important connections between male-female relationships and entry into the drug scene.

Whether the male-female relationship is or is not a critical component of a woman's entry into the drug scene, several studies suggest that women are more likely to be involved in partnerships where the husband is the user, rather than vice versa (Waldorf, 1973; O'Donnell, et al., 1967; Teran, et al., 1974). Other studies report that females are often introduced to drugs by males, while few males are introduced to drugs by females (e.g., Eldred and Washington, 1975).

Examination of peer influences as a key to understanding drug use shifts the attention from the individual to the social group. Drug use is examined for how it manifests itself in certain groups and how individuals become involved with others who use drugs. To demonstrate that drug use occurs in social contexts suggests that the phenomena of drug use is more complex than the personal interactions within oneself. Further, the individual does not necessarily deviate from her/his own reference group in engaging in drug use.

Environmental influences on drug use may operate in two ways upon an individual who uses drugs. First, the immediate family milieu of the drug user is examined for its contribution to the individual's involvement in illegal drug scene. Chein, et al. (1964) describe the family milieu of the addict as resulting in inadequate development of the personality particularly with a deficient or absent father-figure, creating an inadequate masculine identity for boys. Further, there are unrealistic levels of aspiration with regard to long range

goals and major distrust of social institutions as a result of the childrearing environment. The philosophical principles of parents, direct conduct of parents, and the health problems of the child have been identified as predictors for drug risk in children (Blum, 1972:107). In general, an unstable family background, a father figure that is less predominant and sometimes harsh and punitive, and mother figure who suffers from a wide array of social and psychological handicaps are all cited as contributors to an unhealthy family milieu by a variety of research studies and theoretical works (Salmon and Salmon, 1977b). In studies of female drug users, family variables are found to be associated with female drug use, as was indicated earlier. Cuskey, Berger, and Densen-Gerber (1977:348) examine the family's influence on women drug users and suggest that in addition to drugs, other juvenile acting out occurs when family stress is evident.

Second, the presiding culture and values are viewed as affecting the individual's decision to enter the drug scene. National policies and social changes may create a setting where drug use is more likely (Bourne, 1974; Brecher, et al., 1972). Attitudes towards drugs in the presiding culture also may be influential in the individual's decision to use drugs. There is a general acceptance of drugs as a cure for stresses and problems within our society (Blum, 1970; Brecher, et al., 1972). Consumption levels of nicotine, caffeine, alcohol, over-the-counter and prescription drugs suggest considerable reliance on these legal drugs by the U.S. population. This over-indulgence of stimulants and depressants may set the stage for drug consumption on all levels, with availability being a crucial factor to consider.

Efforts to curb the use of drugs defined as illegal, has affected both the characteristics of the users and the economics of the drug scene. Criminalization of narcotics made it possible for illegally operated businesses to flourish. This increased risk of drug use among those already living within a criminal setting, and perhaps, encouraged lower-class minorities to earn a living through the drug market where profits were considerably higher than other methods.

There is little information about the presiding culture's impact on female drug users specifically. Several studies on males examine the correlation between drug use and certain segments of the metropolitan area. Faris and Dunham (1939) found that addicts were highly concentrated in areas of Chicago that might be characterized as deteriorating and generally disorganized. In the study by Chein, et al. (1964:78), juvenile drug use appears to be heavily concentrated in economically and socially deprived areas. From the neighborhoods with the highest drug and delinquency rates, these authors suggest a prevalence of attitudes that reflect both a negative outlook and a sense of futility.

A few studies reveal drug users' statements about their reasons for drug involvement. From interviews of men and women in treatment facilities in Washington, D.C., Brown, Gauvey, Meyers, and Stark (1971) examine addicts' stated reasons for first heroin use and for failure of first attempts at withdrawal. A number of explanations for first heroin use are given, with curiosity and influence of friends being predominant among both adult males and females. For first drug use among females, other reasons are influence of relatives, relief of personal disturbance, and seeking a high (Brown, et al., 1971:638).

Weinstein (1976) indicates motives imputed for marijuana use differ according to the frequency of an individual's own marijuana use. Dividing the sample into frequent users, infrequent users, former users, and nonusers, all groups tend to ascribe the motives of social conformity and personal experience as the most likely reasons for first use. Nonusers are more likely than the other groups to have assessed emotional relief as the motive for initial use. Greater differences between the groups are observed for motives for continued use; personal rewards are more likely to be mentioned by both frequent (80%) and infrequent (72%) users. Nonusers again indicate emotional relief as a primary motivator (62%). While social conformity is considered to have provided motivation for continued use by 18-32 percent of each of the four groups.

Interviewing male and female patients at Lexington, Ellinwood, Smith, Vaillant (1966:39) report that the majority of women (71%) cite subcultural reasons (e.g., kicks, pleasure, part of gang, and curiosity) for their initial drug use, with over half of the 30 women indicating curiosity as the initial motivation. The male patients are more evenly divided between the three major categories of subcultural reasons, medical (e.g., pain or M.D. order), and emotional (e.g., anger, depression, anxiety). A comparison of the emotional category shows 20 percent of the men suggesting these reasons for initial use and only 7 percent of the women (Ellinwood, et al., 1966:39).

Friedman and Peer (1968:289) report differences in stated motives for drug use among prostitutes and pimps in Israel. While pimps give social factors such as "everybody in the gang

smokes" and boredom as the primary motivators, prostitutes mention deriving pleasure from drugs and using drugs as a means to forget their troubles.

Among 24 women prisoners in Mexico City, Teran, Schnass, Varagas, and Belsasso (1974:162) reveal stated reasons for first drug use as curiosity (71%), social pressure (17%), and personal problems (12%). In a comparative study of female college pot smokers and heroin users, Baldinger, Goldsmith, Capel, and Stewart (1972:53) indicate that personal curiosity is the primary reason for both groups to initiate drug use. McCarthy (1972:32) suggests that high school and college age women will participate in initial drug use out of curiosity, rebellion, and desire to be a part of the "in-thing."

Examining the life histories of San Francisco street addicts, Rosenbaum (1979a) discusses the process of "getting in" the social life of a heroin user. Rosenbaum reports that reduced options, economic hardships and disruptive family backgrounds, characterize the lives of these women prior to their entry into drugs. One social world depicted as facilitating the entry into the drug world is the "hippie trip." This social world is comprised of middle-class white women searching for a more accepting environment in contrast to their restricted upbringing. These women tend to be runaways who seek the freedom and excitement offered by such settings as the Haight Ashbury District and the drug scene of the mid-sixties.

The "outlaw world" involves a high priority in criminal activity as well as drug use. Groups often form in high schools, which provide a meeting place for drug use. Toughness and willingness to engage in violence are valued. Women carry out some petty offenses and

become enmeshed in the criminal world. Multi-drug use is valued and "getting wasted" on drugs is a focal concern.

The third social world, "the fast life," evolves in part from the limitations of the ghetto world. Poverty and violence in the home life encourage the entry into the fast life where material possessions and glamorous lifestyles appear to exist. Prostitution may be part of the scene and drug use allows a high to be experienced, as well as, provides a reward for the hard work of hustling.

Rational and social "motives" for experimenting with heroin, include the prevalence of drug use among friends, its appearance of fun, or her wish to share the experience with her man. In summarizing these stated motives, Rosenbaum refers to them as casual motives. Becoming addicted involves a few more factors, including the power of the drug itself and its desirable effects. Most important, the addiction experience is characterized as adding to the woman's life, rather than subtracting. While initially the number of life options appear to increase with drug use, ultimately these options become much more limited, eventually, trapping a woman into a drug lifestyle, with few means of escape (Rosenbaum, 1979).

From an indepth case study of one female addict, Hughes (1971:114) relates stages of motivation described by the addict. Initially, drugs make the world look better or at least more tolerable. In the addict's words, "Everything is always cool, everything is all right. It makes you not feel like fighting the world," (Hughes, 1971:114). Later, there was a period during which she tried to hang onto pleasurable feelings of relief, but was less able to maintain the

the original high. Finally, the motivation for using drugs becomes merely to prevent illness (Hughes, 1971:127).

The preceding studies present a variety of explanations for both the initial and regular use of drugs. In addition, these studies delineate some reasons given for first use from those given for continued use of drugs. While these studies provide some of the explanations for the use of drugs, further exploration of the situational and social contexts of drug use and the reasons given by female drug users may provide a clearer understanding of why and how women enter into the illegal drug scene.

Summary

From the literature review it is apparent that the personal and social characteristics of female drug users vary through time and across samples. Variations in the type of information collected indicate that no one picture of the female drug user can be complete. Clarification of the personal and social characteristics that are unique to the woman offender who uses drugs may provide a basis upon which other important variables related to drug use can be understood.

In past literature, interrelationships between crime and drugs for women have been explored on two levels: the type of criminality and the temporal order question. Variability in the types of crimes is apparent and the temporal order questions remain unresolved. Information on criminality and drug use is obtained largely from drug using population; few studies examine female offender populations for their drug use. The latter approach may offer a clearer insight into the interrelationships between crime and drugs, as well as provide a picture of how these women differ according to personal and social characteristics.

Finally, the literature on female criminality indicates that some differences between men and women may be anticipated in explaining how and why women engage in illegal drugs. Most of the drug theories and research are based on male populations. However, three major areas are identified, here, in the search for etiological explanations for female drug use: psychological, peer and environmental influences. Both the theoretical research and personal explanations for drug use indicate that a variety of factors are important to the use of drugs. Further, explanations for the process of becoming a drug user may vary according to the stage of drug use (e.g., first incident vs. regular use).

This study addresses these three areas of concern for the female offender who uses drugs: the personal and social characteristics; the interrelationships between crime and drugs; and the entry into the illegal drug scene. The following chapter describes the methodology used to investigate these questions.

FOOTNOTES

¹This figure was cited by the Director of the Addictive Services at the Philadelphia House of Corrections (April 1976). Data collected during the pilot study revealed that 40 percent of the admissions to the female wing of the House of Corrections were admitted to the drug treatment floor. However, this did not include drug users in the general population.

²In a survey of State Correctional Facilities conducted in January 1974, 61 percent of the inmates stated that they had used drugs such as heroin, methadone, cocaine, marijuana, amphetamines or barbiturates at some point in their lives without a doctor's prescription and outside a treatment program. Three fourths of those who had used more than one of these drugs and approximately one fourth had used four or more drugs. For further information see, Barton, W. "Drug Histories of Prisoners: Survey of Inmates of State Correctional Facilities, January 1974," a paper analyzing data derived from survey of inmates in State Correctional Facilities, 1974, National Prisoner Statistics, LEAA (1976).

³A number of earlier studies focused on the United States Public Health Service Hospital, the federal narcotics hospital located in Lexington, Kentucky (referred to as Lexington Hospital throughout). For example, see: Williams, J. and W. Bates, "Some Characteristics of Female Narcotic Addicts," The International J. of the Addictions, 5(2):245-256 (1970). O'Donnell, J., Narcotics Addicts in Kentucky, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, P.H.S. Publ. #1881, 1969. Pescor, M. "A Statistical Analysis of the Clinical Records of Hospitalized Drug Addicts," Public Health Reports, Supp. #143, 1-23, 1938. Chambers, Hinesley, and Moldestad, "Narcotic Addiction in Females-- A Race Comparison," The International J. of the Addictions, 5:257-278 (1970).

⁴In a comprehensive study of drug use and arrest characteristics in six metropolitan areas of the U.S., robbery emerged as the most frequent arrest charge. See: Eckerman, et al., Drug Usage and Arrest Charges. A Study of Drug Usage and Arrest Charges among Arrestees in Six Metropolitan Areas of the U.S., Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, U.S. Dept. of Justice, 1971. In a study of heroin use and crime, crime rates for methadone maintenance patients were highest for drug and property offenses. See: Hayim, et al., Heroin Use and Crime in a Methadone Maintenance Program, U.S. Dept. of Justice, LEAA, 1973. From self report data from addicts in treatment centers in New York City, selling drugs and stealing were the two predominant means of supporting their drug habit. See, Waldorf, D. Careers in Dope. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1973.

⁵Dosage, method of administration, frequency of dose, physiological state of the person, and presence of other chemicals, all affect the psychological and physical reaction of the individual. For further information, see: Blum, R. "Drugs, Behavior, and Crime," in Society and Drugs, ed. by Blum R. et al., San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970.

FOOTNOTES (CONT)

⁶For a more complete account of the history of drugs in the United States, see: D. Musto, The American Disease: Origins of Narcotic Control, New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1973. Also see: A. McCoy, The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia, New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

⁷Despite the decline in opiate use among women, they apparently account for a greater percent of the psychoactive prescription drugs. Citing data from a survey by Balter (1969) which shows women account for a greater percent of all barbiturates prescribed (63%), nonbarbiturate sedatives and hypnotics prescribed (66%), antianxiety drugs prescribed (68%), psychoactive drugs prescribed (68%), antidepressants prescribed (71%), and amphetamines prescribed (80%), Brecher, et al., (1972:484) note that two-thirds of all users of psychoactive prescription drugs were women. See: Brecher and the Eds. of Consumer Reports, Licit and Illicit Drugs. Boston: Little, Brown and Co. (1972).

⁸Another area of the female drug user which has received a great deal of attention concerns research on the female addict and pregnancy. For further information, see: Drugs and Pregnancy: The Effects of Nonmedical Use of Drugs on Pregnancy, Childbirth, and Neonates, ed. by P. Ferguson, T. Lennox, and D. Lettieri, NIDA, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Nov. 1974.

⁹The relationship between alcohol and criminal activity is not a focus of this study. However, for further information on the relationships between these two phenomena, see: L. Shupe, "Alcohol and Crime," J. of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 44:661-664 (1954); M. Wolfgang and R. Strohm, "The Relationship Between Alcohol and Criminal Homicide," Quarterly J. Studies on Alcohol, 17:411-425 (1956); Goodwin, "Alcohol in Suicide and Homicide," Quarterly J. Studies on Alcohol, 34:144-156 (1973). The relationship between female criminal patterns and drinking is less clear. For further information, see: Sclare, "The Female Alcoholic," British J. of the Addictions, 65(2):99-107 (1970); Cole, Fisher, and Cole, "Women Who Kill," Archives of General Psychiatry, 19:1-8 (1968).

¹⁰See: Garb and Crim, Pharmacology and Patient Care. N.Y.: Springer, 1966; P.w. Tappan, Crime, Justice and Correction, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1960.

¹¹See: Richard Blum, "Drugs, Behavior, and Crime," in Society and Drugs, ed. by R. Blum, et al., San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970, 270. Also see: L. Kolb, "Drug Addiction in its Relation to Crime," Mental Hygiene, 9:74-89, 1925.

FOOTNOTES (CONT)

¹²For males ethnic background appears related to the likelihood of arrest prior to opiate use. Arrest proceeded opiate use for 61.5% of the Mexican-Americans, 55% of the whites, 53% of the blacks, and 37% of the Puerto Ricans admitted Lexington in 1967. These data were broken down by sex but the number was too small (n=10) to make any definitive statements. For further information, see: Chambers, Cuskey, and Moffet, "Demographic Factors in Opiate Addiction among Mexican-Americans," in Epidemiology of Opiate Addiction in the U.S., ed. by J. Ball and C. Chambers, Springfield, IL: Thomas Pub., 178-201 (1970).

¹³One study which has looked at differences in female offender population according to drug use, examined the personal, social, and psychological differences. Briefly, the study concluded that non-addict prisoners are more likely than heroin users to have had a life-long pattern of antisocial behavior. For further information, see: Climent, Raynes, Rollins, and Plutchik, "Epidemiological Studies of Female Prisoners, II: Biological, Psychological and Social Correlates of Drug Addiction," International J. of the Addictions, 9(2):345-350, 1974.

¹⁴A fourth area on drug use is represented by various studies that discuss the medical or biological explanations for drug use. Since this study does not propose to address these issues, this area has been omitted from the review.

¹⁵For a more detailed critique of the psychological dimensions and drug use, see: Mott, J. "The Psychological Basis of Drug Dependence: Intellectual and Personal Characteristics of Opiate Users," British J. of the Addictions, 67:89-99, 1972.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Focus of the Study

This study explores illegal drug use among a female offender population. Three areas, identified in the preceding chapter, are addressed. First, the demographic and family characteristics of female offenders who use drugs are identified by a description of the sample and a comparison of women offenders who do and do not use illegal drugs. Second, the interrelationships between crime and drugs are explored; the type and extent of criminal and juvenile delinquency history that is specific to the women who use drugs is noted and contrasted with those women who do not use drugs.

Finally, the entry into the illegal drug scene is explored, addressing how and why women engage in illegal drugs. Descriptive accounts of the process by which women enter the illegal drug world provide the data from which motivational patterns are developed. Motivational patterns in this context refer to the actors' own descriptions or paths into the illegal drug scene and as such represent their interpretations of these events. The theoretical framework for the interpretation of these motives most closely follows that which is described by Mills (1940). In his work, motives are described as the verbal explanations for one's own or another's activity and are dependent upon the situations in which

the actions occur or "situated actions." Gerth and Mills (1953) also argue that the social situations within which the motives operate are of primary importance. Thus, the motive does not arise strictly from within the individual, but rather from within the context of the situation. To understand and explain motives is to describe "why and how human conduct takes a specific direction. It is a problem of steered conduct rather than a problem of motive power" (Gerth and Mills, 1953:113). Within this study, the "steered conduct" under investigation is the entry into the illegal drug scene.¹

Site Selection and Description of Setting

A primary consideration in selecting the site was the need for a female population with a history of both drug use and criminal activity. Initially, the feasibility of a female arrestee population was considered. It was apparent that data collection among such a population would have been both costly and time consuming.² In contrast, the detention population was better suited for the purposes of this study for several reasons. A large percentage of female detainees in Philadelphia reported use of physically addictive drugs. The arrest histories and current charges among the female detainees were expected to be more serious than among all women arrested. Finally, it was more efficient to sample women detained in one location as opposed to women arrested throughout the city.

Data generated by Goldkamp (1977) provides information on some of the differences between arrested women detained and not detained in Philadelphia. In addition, these data describe the larger arrested population from which the detention population was derived (see Table 2.1). Approximately 11 percent of the 8,316 defendants arrested and appearing

before the bail judge in Philadelphia between August 1, 1975 and November 2, 1975, were women and only 13 percent of all women arrested were detained (Goldkamp, 1977). From these data, several differences between women who were and were not detained are apparent. Women in detention were somewhat younger and more likely to be unemployed, than those not in detention. Women in detention were more seriously involved in the criminal justice process; charges of robbery or violent personal offenses were more likely, while charges of public order were less likely for women detained. There were also more prior arrests and convictions among women in detention.

The female detention population in Philadelphia reside in one section of the Philadelphia House of Corrections. All arrested women who can not post bail or who are detained without bail are housed in these detention facilities.

The women's wing at the House of Corrections has two floors; G-2 is the drug floor which provides the Addictive Services Program and G-1 is the general population floor. The Addictive Services Program, provides medical services for drug use (e.g., detoxification) and extra counseling services. Admission to G-2 is gained by self-professed drug use and not all drug users reported their use of drugs to authorities. Thus, G-1 had some women with drug experiences.

TABLE 2.1
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ARRESTED WOMEN
DETAINED AND NOT DETAINED IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1975
(Source: Goldkamp, J. "Bail Decision-making and the
Role of Pre-trial Detention in American Criminal Justice)*

VARIABLE	DETAINED (13.1%)		NOT DETAINED (86.9%)		
AGE	n	%	n	%	Difference
18	8	6.5	36	4.4	+ 2.1
19-20	19	15.3	108	13.2	+ 2.1
21-25	45	36.3	192	23.4	+12.9
26-30	25	20.2	152	18.5	+ 1.7
31-40	15	12.1	168	20.5	- 8.4
41+	12	9.7	164	20.0	-10.3
TOTAL	124	100.0	820	100.0	
RACE	n	%	n	%	Difference
Black/Other	98	79.0	644	78.5	+ 0.5
White	26	21.0	176	21.5	- 0.5
TOTAL	124	100.0	820	100.0	
CHARGE	n	%	n	%	Difference
Misc./Other	4	3.2	32	3.9	- 0.7
DWI/Traffic	3	2.4	44	5.4	- 3.0
Drunk/Disorderly	2	1.6	36	4.4	- 2.8
Public Order/ Nuisance	18	14.5	244	29.8	-15.3
Lesser Property	17	13.7	88	10.7	+ 3.0
Simple Assault	2	1.6	80	9.8	- 8.2
Theft	16	12.9	80	9.8	+ 3.1
Burglary	7	5.6	8	1.0	+ 4.6
Drugs	7	5.6	88	10.7	- 5.1
Aggravated Assault	16	12.9	108	13.2	- 0.3
Robbery	14	11.3	4	.5	+10.8
Violent Personal	18	14.5	8	1.0	+13.5
TOTAL	124	100.0	820	100.2**	

*These data were specially generated for this study and the
specific comparisons shown here are not reported in the larger study.
**Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.

TABLE 2.1 (CONT)

VARIABLE	DETAINED (13.1%)		NOT DETAINED (86.9%)		
EMPLOYMENT	n	%	n	%	Difference
Unemployed	102	87.2	572	73.0	+14.2
Employed	15	12.8	212	27.0	-14.2
TOTAL	117	100.0	784	100.0	
PRIOR ARRESTS	n	%	n	%	Difference
None	41	33.1	544	66.3	-33.2
One or two	11	8.9	120	14.6	- 5.7
Three or more	72	58.1	156	19.0	+39.1
TOTAL	124	100.1*	820	99.9*	
PRIOR CONVICTIONS	n	%	n	%	Difference
None	41	33.1	544	66.3	-33.2
One or two	11	8.9	120	14.6	- 5.7
Three or more	72	58.1	156	19.0	+39.1
TOTAL	124	100.1*	820	99.9	

*Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted at the Philadelphia House of Corrections during the summer of 1976. A nonrandom sample of 30 women was selected from women with extensive drug histories.³ Availability and willingness to participate were given consideration in the selection of this sample.

Sources of data for the pilot study included both focused or semi-structured interviews and official records. The focused interviews covered six major areas: present offense, criminal history, juvenile delinquency, family background, motivational patterns of drug use, drug history, and perceptions of self. Some general questions for each of these areas had been formulated from the review of the literature. Additional topics and questions, derived from initial interviews were added to the format. Motivational patterns included but were not limited to the following: the situational context, social circumstances, women's perceptions of self and others, reason for drug use, and lifestyle at the time. Events preceding drug use and during the process of becoming a drug user were reconstructed, as well as, information obtained on drug history variables (e.g., type of first drug).

Official records were examined to determine the various types of data available through these sources. Police arrest records were only sporadically available in the official records. The Common Pleas and Municipal Court Records of Philadelphia provided more complete information.

The data gathered during the pilot study assisted the main research effort in several ways. First, the pilot study confirmed the major premises underlying the research. For example, content analysis of the interview data revealed material relevant to determining motivational patterns of drug use. Examination of the arrest history data suggested that a variety of illegal activity characterized women in detention.

Second, the interview format was tested and revised where necessary. For example, existing literature suggested that the roles of others are important to the decision to initiate drug use. The pilot study provided an opportunity to develop appropriate questions that would uncover the variety of roles played by others. The development of skills and the acquisition of information during this time also provided a base of drug knowledge from which to proceed. For example, the drug argot specific to the Philadelphia area was learned.

Finally, during the pilot study valuable information was collected about the institution, staff, and inmates, which allowed successful completion of the main research effort. For example, a working knowledge of the institutional schedule identified the most convenient interviewing times for both the staff and the women. Rapport established with the women, the staff, and the administration, allowed for an easier completion of the main research effort.

Sampling Procedures for Main Study

Several problems were considered in selecting an appropriate sampling design. Although this site provided a number of women with a history of both crime and drugs, the size of the total population was still quite small. An initial concern was how to maximize the

number of subjects in the least amount of time. Daily changes in the population presented another sampling problem. The duration of the detention was unpredictable, varying from woman to woman. For some, the admission to detention was a technical one; the detainee never left the admission's area before release was obtained. Further, the pilot study proved that it was difficult, if not impossible, to contact the women and to solicit cooperation in the first few hours after admission. Especially for drug user, this time period was characterized by physical discomfort. All detainees exhibited some psychological and emotional tensions within the first few hours. Greater cooperation followed the administration of methadone from the clinic for the drug user, and following a period of adjustment, for everyone in general.

To deal realistically with these limitations, the population of interest is defined as all new admissions to the Philadelphia House of Corrections who stayed until the morning after admission.⁴ While this eliminates some women who were technically admitted to detention, it provides for a population confined for at least a minimal period of time.

All admissions which met the stated time criteria are included in the sampling frame. Since there was only one researcher, it was necessary to establish a time sampling frame that provided for seven days of sampling all admissions, followed by a three day interim period. Women still incarcerated after this three day interim period are included in the sample. Thus, the only admissions that were missed, are those women who were admitted and released within the three day interim period. Since the days of the week varied for the sampling, no systematic exclusion of admissions occurred.

From a total population (N=163) which stayed until the day after admission, 62 percent of the women are included in the sample. A total of 101 female detainees admitted to the House of Corrections during October 1976 to February 1977 and during April 1977 to May 1977 are included in this sample.⁵ Refusal to participate in the study accounted for the loss of 15 percent of all admissions during this time period. Another 12 percent of the population could not be included, due to severe mental problems that made voluntary cooperation impossible.⁶ Only 11 percent of the population was missed during the three day interim periods.

Sources of Data

Institutional records, court records, and focused interviews are the sources of data for this study. In the institutional records, the commitment summary sheet provides data on demographics, personal history and present charge. During the intake process, the admissions officer obtained personal history and demographic information from the women and recorded this on the commitment summary sheets. The admissions officer also copied the present charge from the police reports. These records are available for 99 percent of the sample.

Court records from the Common Pleas and Municipal Courts of Philadelphia are available for 88 percent of the sample. These records provide data on the number and type of prior arrests.

The focused interview is the primary source of information in this study.⁷ Retrieval of specific information is possible by introducing areas of inquiry that then can be followed by more specific questions to obtain necessary information. This method of questioning allows the woman to address a question in an open-ended manner and yet,

if she excludes certain facts a more specific question can then direct the conversation in the desired manner. Major categories of investigation included present arrest data, juvenile delinquency history, criminal justice involvement, drug history, motivational patterns for drug use, childhood family, present family, and perceptions of self. Use of both tape recordings and coding sheets during the interview facilitated the retrieval of this information. A complete outline of the interview format appears in Appendix I.

Interview Procedure--The procedure for the focused interviews was as follows. First, the woman was called off the cell block by the researcher or by a matron. When the woman appeared, the researcher introduced herself, indicated briefly why the woman had been called, and asked for permission to discuss the research further and to conduct an interview. It was made clear that participation was strictly voluntary and the woman was free to leave at any point.

Within the privacy of the interview room, a more complete description of the study was given. There was a general rapport building session that lasted from five to fifteen minutes. During this time, the researcher indicated that the study would not be detrimental or beneficial to her present case. Permission to use a tape recorder was requested and confidentiality of the entire proceedings was assured.

As indicated previously, several major areas were investigated during the course of the interview. For those women reporting illicit drug consumption, the focused interview included motivational patterns for entering the illegal drug scene. Two points of entry were defined: (1) First drug use was defined as the initial consumption

of any illicit drug other than marijuana or hashish; and, (2) regular drug use was defined as the first time the woman consumed illicit drugs on a daily basis for at least one month (excluding marijuana or hashish). For some women these two events were separate and distinct, while others described an initial event followed by an immediate daily drug pattern. Some women who could not recall the events surrounding their beginning daily, so the researcher asked for a description of their lifestyle and events leading to their daily use of drugs. A few women had tried or initiated drug use, but had never developed a daily pattern. For these women, the motivational patterns for only initial drug use were explored.

During the interview, an effort was made to remember all details about the woman's life. This provided a means to check the reliability of the information as the interview proceeded. Conflicting information could be reexamined at various points and clarified. Every effort was made to deal with discrepancies in a nonthreatening manner. While there were inevitably some cases in which the woman knowingly misrepresented the facts, some women had merely confused dates and information over the years. Since the interview lasted from 1 to 2 hours, it would have required great expertise to lie consistently without some conflicting information having arisen. Generally, the women initiated the interview with skepticism, giving brief, unillustrated answers to questions. As it became clear that the researcher was interested in their lives and that there were not going to be any attempts to offer opinions or advice, most women became open, giving numerous details without hesitation. The closeness in age between

many of the women and the researcher may have provided additional advantages in that the women did not relate to the researcher as an authority figure. Further, the researcher's lack of any real power over their lives made the conversations with the women much easier.

Since the women described numerous personal details of their lives, emotional responses were often evident during the interview procedure. To ensure that no one left the interview room in an emotional state, the interviewer ended with questions that led the conversation away from personal concerns and toward more general issues. Women were encouraged to ask the researcher questions, as well.

Data Analysis

The primary emphasis in analyzing the data is placed on determining various motivational patterns for initial and regular drug use. A secondary emphasis concerns aspects of the interrelationships between criminal activity and drug use. Finally, the detailed profiles of these women in detention provide basic information about this largely unresearched population and allow a better understanding of the motivational patterns and interrelationships between crime and drugs.

For those women with a history of drug use, motivational patterns for initial and regular drug use were investigated through content analysis. The procedure involved several steps.⁸ First, approximately one third of the interviews were read and excerpts were extracted. The excerpts involved the stated reasons for and descriptions of the entry into the illegal drug world. Social and environmental influences as reconstructed by the women were included.

All excerpts describing the first drug use were then reexamined for grouping into basic categories, each characterized by a theme that emerged from the data. A theme has been considered a single assertion about some subject matter (Holsti, 1969:116; Berelson, 1952:138). In this research, a theme represented assertions about the impetus for the drug taking behavior. Four thematic patterns emerged from the initial drug use incidents and these themes are discussed in Chapter 6. Dimensions extended the thematic patterns in a specific direction, although not necessarily in the same way for each theme. Dimensions were identified that were common to all themes and provided additional insight into the drug taking incident. A discussion of these dimensions is found in Chapter 6, also.

The same procedure was then followed for determining the motivational patterns for regular use. Although there was no attempt to discern similar thematic patterns for both initial and regular drug use patterns, the data appeared to support the same thematic patterns for regular drug use as had been developed for initial drug use.

The final step of this process was to code each description of the events and circumstances for first illegal drug use and regular drug use into the appropriate motivational pattern. Approximately 10 percent of the descriptions could not be classified into one of the four motivational patterns. However, there was not a common theme to this 10 percent that would suggest an additional motivational pattern.

Some interview excerpts suggested more than one motivational pattern for drug use. For these excerpts both primary and secondary motivational patterns were necessary. From all the events that

characterized the motivational patterns of first drug use, 11 percent had a secondary pattern. A secondary pattern was identified for 18 percent of the regular drug use events.

A similar content analysis procedure was used to determine appropriate categories for coding other subjective data. Interview data on the reasons for juvenile delinquency activity, and on the descriptions of self were coded in this manner. Objective data from both the interview and official record sources were coded according to the given range of responses, combining data into larger categories when necessary.

Frequencies, for all subjective and objective data, provided descriptive information on the sample's characteristics. Two other major purposes in the data analysis were to determine the differences between women with and without extensive drug histories for both personal characteristics and criminality and to identify the differences between motivational patterns for drug use for a range of variables. Frequency distributions, crosstabulations, and comparisons between means appear in these data analyses. Throughout this study, differences equal to or greater than 10 percent were considered significant when comparing groups.

Inter-rater Reliability--A reliability check was conducted with a second rater, for all subjective data coded. For the motivational patterns on drug use, the second rater was given the same excerpts and asked to identify, independently, the motivational themes and dimensions. This procedure resulted in identification of the same thematic patterns and dimensions.

Following this procedure, a second group of fifteen interviews was randomly selected from the interviews with motivational patterns for drug use. In this step the appropriate motivational pattern for both initial and regular drug use was determined by the second rater. If more than one motivational pattern seemed evident, the second rater coded both the primary and secondary patterns. A total of 29 different drug events were classified by the second rater and there was a perfect agreement for 86 percent of these motivational patterns. In 7 percent of the cases, the disagreement occurred in determining which pattern was primary and which pattern was secondary.

The second rater was asked to identify the appropriate coding category for other subjective data coded from the interview: perceptions of self and reasons for juvenile delinquency activity. For the fifteen interviews examined, the inter-rater agreement in determining the appropriate coding was as follows: perceptions of self -- 80 percent agreement, reasons for truancy -- 82 percent agreement, and all other forms of juvenile delinquency -- 100 percent agreement. Perceptions of self were originally rated on a five point scale from extremely negative to extremely positive. The disagreement arose primarily around whether the person expressed extremely positive view of self or merely a positive view of self. These categories were then collapsed into three more distinct categories: positive, negative, and neither positive nor negative.

Comparison of Official Record and Self Report Data--Four variables, available from both official record data and self-report interview data, provide an indication of the agreement between these two data sources: number of children, marital status, education, and offense charged.⁹ Interviews with the detainees by the admissions personnel provide the data for the official records for the first three variables. Official record data for the type of present offense originated from the police records.

Comparison of these data sources for marital status shows agreement for 84 percent of the cases. Half of the disagreement occurred for women reporting a married status in the interview, while record data indicated a separated/divorced status. This discrepancy may have been the result of the different manner in which common-law marriages were recorded. When a woman stated that she was not technically married but considered herself married through a common-law relationship, she was categorized as married for this study.

Agreement between self-report interview and official record data for the variable, number of children, was quite high (89%). Comparison between these data sources for the variable, education level attained, indicated agreement for two thirds of the cases. The majority of this discrepancy was due to a difference of one grade level between the two data sources. For the interview data, the highest grade completed was recorded. This same criterion was supposed to have been applied to the record data, although it is unknown whether it was stringently applied.

The vast majority of the women accurately reported their present arrest charge in the interview with discrepancies occurring for only

four percent of the women. Another fifteen percent provided a more explicit account of their arrest charge than was available from the commitment summary sheet. For example, a violation of probation may have been on the official records, but a woman may have reported an additional charge (e.g., shoplifting), which brought about the violation of probation.

Summary

In examining female drug use among an offender population, three major questions are addressed. First, the personal and demographic characteristics offer descriptive information. Division of the sample based upon their self-reported drug use allows characteristics specific to female drug users to be identified. Second, the interrelationships between crime and drugs for female offenders are analyzed through a comparison of present charge, prior criminal history, and juvenile delinquency history for women who do and do not use illegal drugs. Finally, the study focuses on the motivational patterns for first and regular drug use; the path into the illegal drug scene is depicted by self-report descriptions of these events and their personal and social meanings.

A systematic sampling procedure was followed and a total of 101 female detainees at the Philadelphia House of Corrections were included in the study. Sources of data included official records from the Philadelphia House of Corrections, Municipal Court Records of Philadelphia, and focused interviews. These interviews covered several areas of investigation: present arrest, prior involvement with the criminal justice process, juvenile delinquency, drug history, motivational patterns for drug use, childhood family, present family, and perceptions of self.

A content analysis procedure was employed to determine the motivational pattern for first and regular drug use and to code subjective data. A second rater was used to determine the reliability of these procedures and the inter-rater reliability was high. Relationships between variables and presentation of the sample's characteristics are accomplished through crosstabulations, frequencies, and comparison of means.

In the following chapter, there are comparisons of data for the sample with that from a nationwide sample of female offenders and with data from the population at the House of Corrections, which indicate the characteristics of the sample. In addition, the type and extent of drug use reported by the sample is presented.

FOOTNOTES

¹Goode (1972:27-30) argues for systematic investigation of the reality of drug use from the point of view of the user. According to Goode, accounts of the drug experience measured objectively can provide an understanding of the drug users' perceptions of this reality. For further information, see: E. Goode, Drugs in American Society. N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. (1972).

²From discussions with various officials from Philadelphia Probation Office and the Philadelphia House of Corrections, several problems with interviewing all women arrested became apparent. First, women were arrested throughout the precincts in small numbers. To collect a sizeable sample, many of the precincts would have had to be included in the sample. Arrests occur 24 hours of the day, necessitating a round-the-clock sampling design. Procedures for interviewing would have been much more difficult, due to both the varying amounts of time a woman was held in the precinct and the variety of settings that would be involved. Finally, there are difficulties in interviewing a drug-involved person prior to their medication (methadone).

³Information about extensive drug histories was obtained through official records, social workers, and women already interviewed.

⁴Slightly less than 50 percent of the recorded admissions left by the next morning.

⁵A break in the study occurred, due to an unexpected delay in the funding for this study.

⁶Severe mental problems were defined by (1) initiating interviews and discovering that the woman was unable to respond to the questions; (2) women who were locked in their cell because of bizarre behavior (not for disciplinary action).

⁷For further information on the focused interview, see: Merton, R. The Focused Interview. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1956.

⁸This analytical approach has been used by a variety of researchers. See: H. Toch, Men in Crisis, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co. (1975). In this study a typology was constructed from interview material on personal breakdowns within the prison.

⁹For further information on the reliability and validity of self-reported criminal and drug-taking behaviors, see: Amsel, Mandell, Matthias, Mason, and Hocherman, "Reliability and Validity of Self-reported Illegal Activities and Drug Use Collected from Narcotic Addicts," The International J. of the Addictions, 11(2):324-336 (1976). Also see, Ball, J.C. "The Reliability and Validity of Interview Data Obtained from 59 Narcotic Drug Addicts," American J. of Sociology, 72:650-654.

CHAPTER 3

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND DRUG USE
AMONG WOMEN IN DETENTION

The sample is compared with the total Philadelphia (female) detention population and with a nationwide female offender sample to determine whether this sample is typical of other female offender groups. Personal information, including demographics and arrest data, form the basis for these comparisons.

Self-reported measures of drug use for the sample are also presented; both the extent and types of drugs consumed are shown. Past and present drug patterns are also reported and together these data provide a basis for separating the sample into two groups, high and low drug use, in the next chapter.

The Sample Compared with the Detention Population and a Nationwide Sample

Record data were compiled for the entire female population in the House of Corrections from July 1976 through December 1976, by the Research and Development Department of the Philadelphia Prisons. Information from these records is compared with similar data from this study. Four variables are examined: age, race, number of days in detention, and present arrest charge.¹ For the purposes of these comparisons, all differences equal to or greater than 10 percent are considered significant.

For the sample, demographic characteristics indicate that the average age is 28 years and the vast majority of the women are black (81%) (see Table 3.1). The present arrest charge is most likely to

TABLE 3.1
COMPARISON OF RECORD DATA FOR SAMPLE AND POPULATION*

VARIABLE	SAMPLE		POPULATION	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
AGE				
Below 18	0	0.0	5	0.7
18-21	14	14.0	138	18.9
22-25	29	29.0	168	23.0
26-29	22	22.0	178	24.4
30-33	18	18.0	109	15.0
34+	17	17.0	131	18.0
TOTAL	100	100.0	729	100.0
	\bar{x} =28.2 s=7.6 med=26.5 min/max=18-57		\bar{x} =27.8 s=7.3 med=26.6 min/max=16-66	
RACE	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Black/Minorities	82	81.2	620	84.2
White	19	18.8	117	15.8
TOTAL	101	100.0	737	100.0
PRESENT ARREST CHARGE	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Property, Serious	20	19.8	77	10.9
Property, Less Serious	16	15.8	126	17.8
Person, Serious	5	5.0	33	4.7
Person, Less Serious	16	15.8	80	11.3
Drugs	13	12.9	61	8.6
Public Order	5	5.0	30	4.2
Other	26	25.8	301	42.5
TOTAL	101	100.0	708	100.0
NUMBER OF DAYS IN DETENTION	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
2	10	10.0	161	21.8
3-7	31	31.0	183	24.8
8-30	39	39.0	219	29.7
31-60	7	7.0	72	9.8
61+	13	13.0	102	13.9
TOTAL	100	100.0	737	100.0

*Population data for the women at the House of Corrections was obtained from the Research and Development Department of the Philadelphia Prisons, for admissions from July 1976 through December 1976.

have been for property (35%) or "other" offenses (26%). Nearly three-fourths of the sample are detained between 3 and 30 days. Incarceration or treatment programs rarely followed detention (approximately 15%--not shown in table).

A comparison between the sample and the total population of women in detention in Philadelphia shows similarities in age and race (see Table 3.1). The percent of cases that fall within the seven offense categories are similar for both the sample and population. Only one category, "other," reveals a substantially lower percentage for the sample than for the population. Although both the population and sample data were obtained from official records, some of the discrepancy may have resulted from differences in determining the most serious charge. When a new charge appeared along with a violation of probation charge, the new charge is considered as the more serious for this research. Since the "other" category is composed mainly of violation of probation cases, this may explain the difference.

When the population and sample are compared for the number of days in detention, some differences are apparent. Women in detention for only two days are underrepresented in this sample. One explanation may be the design of the study, which involved interviewing for seven days followed by a three-day interim period. When interviewing resumed, the persons most likely to have left before interviews could be obtained were those detained only two days.

Glick and Neto (1977) conducted a comprehensive study on the characteristics of incarcerated females, sentenced and unsentenced, and on the available services in institutions across the United

TABLE 3.2
COMPARISON OF OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS*
FOR PHILADELPHIA SAMPLE AND NATIONWIDE SAMPLE

CHARACTERISTIC	SAMPLE PERCENTAGE	NATIONWIDE* PERCENTAGE
	(n=101)	
Under 30 years of age	65.0	64.5
Minority status	81.2	63.7
Married	21.2	19.9
Have children	70.0	73.2
Average number of children	2.2	2.5
Care for at least one child (for women with children)	59.7	74.4
Receive welfare	62.2	55.6
Raised by both parents	55.0	50.5
High school education or more	30.0	41.1
Never held a job	13.8	8.5
Present charge:		
Violent	21.0	29.6**
Property	35.6	30.6
Drugs	13.0	22.0
Other	30.0	12.8

*Nationwide sample from National Study of Women's Correctional Programs by R.M. Glick and V.V. Neto (1977). These data include samples from both jails and prisons and represent women who were both sentenced and unsentenced.

**Represents the distribution for only those women who were unsentenced at the time of the Glick and Neto study.

States. Both jails and prisons were included. Comparisons between this sample and the Glick and Neto sample permit some assessment of the similarity between women in detention in Philadelphia and women who are unsentenced and sentenced in other correctional facilities. In addition, characteristics of the sample are further explored.

In Table 3.2, several personal and social characteristics of the sample are given. Most of the women in the sample are not married; only 21 percent are married. Over two-thirds of the women have children (70%) and most of those who have children care for at least one child (60%). Almost half (45%) had not been raised by both parents themselves. Over half (60%) are on welfare, although only a small percent (14%) have never held a job. Only 30 percent report a high school education or more; the average grade completed for the sample is 11 years.

Comparisons with the nationwide sample indicate that women in this research are similar to the women in other parts of the U.S., who are either in detention or in prison (see Table 3.2). Only a few differences can be noted; a higher proportion of minority women are found in the Philadelphia sample. Since the Philadelphia sample is largely from inner-city area, this difference is not unexpected. Another exception is that fewer (among those who had children) women in the Philadelphia population care for at least one child prior to their arrest. Finally, the women in the nationwide sample had achieved a higher educational level and are less likely to have a present charge of "other."

Employment data show that the vast majority (84%) of the sample had a job at the time of their arrest; the majority report that the

the longest job held was either a service (e.g., maid) or factory/laborer job (see Table 3.3). Disregarding children, one fourth of the sample lived alone at the time of their arrest and one fourth lived with a male friend (see Table 3.4). Only 11 percent of the sample lived with their husband. One third of all living arrangements had existed less than a year.

Extent and Type of Drug Use Among the Sample

Six major drug categories are used in the following discussion: heroin, barbiturates/tranquilizers, amphetamines, psychedelics, marijuana, and "other." Categories are chosen to reflect the different physiological reactions as well as the major types of drugs used by this sample. Any consumption of an illegal drug, regardless of quantity, is considered. Regular drug use is defined by daily use of any quantity for at least one month. Drugs used in the last three months are considered to typify the recent drug use patterns of this sample.

To measure extent of drug use among individuals in the sample, two indices are formed from these same six drug categories. One scale indicates the total number of categories ever used for each individual; the other scale provides the total number of drug categories used on a regular basis for each individual (see Table 3.5). Thus, possible scores range from 0 to 6 on each scale. Frequency distributions reveal that only 14 percent of the sample had never tried an illegal drug. The average number of drugs ever used is 3.3 per person. An equal distribution over all possible categories suggests that a large range of drug experiences is represented by women in the sample.

TABLE 3.3
EMPLOYMENT OF SAMPLE*

JOB AT TIME OF PRESENT ARREST			TYPE OF JOB HELD LONGEST		
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	16	16.2	None	13	13.4
No	<u>83</u>	<u>83.8</u>	Factory/laborer	24	24.7
			Service	32	33.0
TOTAL	99	100.0	Office	15	15.5
			Other	<u>13</u>	<u>13.4</u>
			TOTAL	97	100.0

TABLE 3.4
PRESENT LIVING ARRANGEMENT, EXCLUDING CHILDREN

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Living Alone	24	24.0
Mother &/or Father	20	20.0
Other Relative	11	11.0
Husband	11	11.0
Male Friend	24	24.0
Female Friend	7	7.0
Other (e.g., group)	<u>3</u>	<u>3.0</u>
TOTAL	100	100.0

*Data are self report unless otherwise specified, throughout the chapter.

When the extent of regular drug use among the sample is examined, nearly 30 percent of the sample have never used any illegal drug on a regular basis. The average number of drugs used regularly for the entire sample is 1.5 (among those who have used drugs regularly, the average is 2.2). From the frequency distribution it appears that the majority of women confine their regular drug use to one or two drug categories. When marijuana is excluded, 75 percent of the sample have tried an illegal drug at the mean age of 19; 57 percent have regularly used an illegal drug other than marijuana at the mean age of 20.

When examining the types of drugs used, more women have tried marijuana than any other drug (over three-fourths of the sample) (see Table 3.6). The next most commonly used drugs, amphetamines and heroin, were consumed by 70 percent and 62 percent of the sample, respectively. Fewer than half of the sample report use of barbiturates or "other" drugs and fewer than a third have used psychedelic drugs.

When these same drug categories are examined for the percent of the sample that have used each on a regular (daily) basis, heroin becomes the most predominant drug. Over half of the sample (52%) have used heroin on a daily basis, at some point in their lives. While this is a reduction of 10 percent from those who have ever used, all other drug categories show a greater reduction in the percent who have ever used and have regularly used the drug category (30-40% reductions). Thus, a larger percent of those who have ever used heroin proceeded to use heroin on a daily basis, than for any other drug category.²

TABLE 3.5

NUMBER OF DRUGS USED
AND REGULARLY USED BY SAMPLE

NUMBER OF CATEGORIES OF DRUGS USED*

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
0	14	13.9
1	11	10.9
2	11	10.9
3	15	14.9
4	16	15.8
5	17	16.8
6	17	16.8
TOTAL	101	100.0

$$\bar{x} = 3.3$$

$$s = 2.0$$

$$\text{med} = 3.4$$

NUMBER OF CATEGORIES OF REGULARLY USED DRUGS**

	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
0	29	28.7
1	29	28.7
2	19	18.8
3	13	12.9
4	7	6.9
5	2	2.0
6	2	2.0
TOTAL	101	100.0

$$\bar{x} = 1.5$$

$$s = 1.5$$

$$\text{med} = 1.2$$

*Drug categories include heroin, barbiturates/tranquilizers, amphetamines, psychedelics, marijuana, and other.

**Regular use is defined by daily use of any quantity for at least one month.

TABLE 3.6

DRUGS USED, REGULARLY USED, AND RECENTLY USED
BY SAMPLE
(N=101)

DRUG CATEGORY	USED		REGULARLY USED		RECENTLY USED*	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Heroin	63	62.4	53	52.4	42	42.0
Barbiturate/Tranquilizer	42	41.6	11	10.9	14	14.0
Amphetamines	70	69.3	27	26.7	25	25.0
Psychedelics	31	30.7	5	5.0	1	1.0
Marijuana	78	77.2	43	42.6	50	50.0
Other	45	44.6	11	10.9	23	23.0

*N=100 because one woman refused to divulge her recent drug use patterns.
Recent drug use refers to drugs used in the three months prior to arrest.

TABLE 3.7

TYPES OF RECENT DRUG USE GROUPS

DRUG GROUP	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
No drug use	33	33.0
Marijuana only	14	14.0
Heroin only	7	7.0
Heroin and Marijuana	7	7.0
Mixture of Drugs*	39	39.0
Total	100	100.0

*All other combinations of drugs

Recent drug use shows that marijuana (50%) and heroin (42%) are the two most predominant drugs currently being used by the sample (see Table 3.6). Furthermore, these drugs are most likely to have been used on a daily basis during the past three months. However, the most common recent drug use pattern is a combination of drugs, rather than simply heroin or marijuana alone (see Table 3.7).³

Summary

Characteristics of the sample indicate a picture of the female detainee in Philadelphia as young unmarried, black, unemployed women, with children. Few of the women have received a high school education; most are on welfare. Arrested for property and "other" offenses, the majority are detained between 3 and 30 days. Comparisons with the total population suggest that the sample is representative. There are a number of similarities between this detention sample and the nationwide sample conducted by Glick and Neto (1977).

According to the total number of drugs used, there is a wide range of drug experiences within the sample; the vast majority of the women have tried an illegal drug at some point in their life. Heroin and marijuana are the two predominant drugs used by the sample, when examining the following three variables together: drugs used, drugs used regularly, and drugs used recently. Among women who recently have consumed illegal drugs, polydrug use characterizes the patterns of the majority.

In the following chapter, the sample is divided into low and high drug use groups, based on the self-report drug data presented. Characteristics of the sample are explored for these two groups, including differences in criminal and juvenile delinquency history.

FOOTNOTES

¹Data on the present arrest charge are combined into one of seven categories: serious offense against the person, less serious offense against the person, serious property offense, less serious property offenses, drug offenses, public order offenses, and "other" offenses. Choosing only the most serious charge, serious was based on the felony or misdemeanor status according to the Pennsylvania Crimes Code. In those instances where two offenses had the same misdemeanor or felony classification, the offense which involved possible harm to others was chosen as the most serious. Robbery was included within the category, serious property offense.

²Regardless of the drug category, initial experiences with these drugs occurred between the mean ages of 19 and 21. Except for the psychedelic category, which showed an average age of 19 for regular use, the average age for regular drug involvement was between 20 and 21 years of age.

³Despite the extensive drug experiences represented by this sample, little drug treatment had been received, outside of the jail treatment services. Less than 20 percent of the sample had been to a drug detoxification program (outside the jail) and less than 20 percent had been in a drug residential program. A slightly smaller percent had been to alcohol residential treatment (7%) and mental health residential treatment (13%). When the amount of time spent in all types of drug or alcohol treatment programs outside of the jail setting was calculated, the majority of women had received no treatment or less than a week of total treatment (58%) and only 13 percent of the sample received over a year in treatment programs.

CHAPTER 4

COMPARISON OF HIGH AND LOW DRUG USE GROUPS

In this chapter, the characteristics of women offenders who use drugs are explored through a comparison with those who do not use drugs. Demographic, personal history, and present family variables are shown for these two groups to determine what variables are associated with illegal drug use. Through comparison between these two groups, the interrelationships between crime and drugs are examined, also. Present offense charge, prior criminal (official) records, and (self-report) juvenile delinquency history are each examined. Not only does this illustrate some aspects of the criminality among female offenders who use drugs, but also, it reveals the type and extent of criminal involvement that appears to be related to drug use. Prior to the presentation of these data, definitions of the two groups are given.

Definition of High and Low Drug Use Group

Due to the size of the sample, only two groups are formed that reflect, as closely as possible, a drug using group and a group that did not use drugs. While there exists a small group (13%) that have never used any drugs and a larger group (48%) that have used drugs recently and in the past, a sizeable portion of the sample falls into neither of these extremes. Examination of cases that are inbetween reveal that there is a continuum of drug experiences. Closest to the "pure" group of no previous drug experience, is a group that has used only marijuana and has never used marijuana on a regular basis.

Also, there is a group of drug users that can be defined as experimental users. For this study, an experimental user is a woman who has tried one or several drug categories and has never used any of these drugs more than once or twice. Further, the woman has not used any drug (other than marijuana) in the three months prior to arrest. These three categories form the low drug use group.

Some women have used drugs previously but claim no present use of drugs; these women are included with those who have both a prior and recent drug history. While recent drug patterns may indicate an individual who is presently not involved in drugs, the majority have been heavily involved (daily) with at least one drug category other than marijuana.

A breakdown of the two drug groups and the five categories of drug use that comprise these two groups is presented in Table 4.1. A total of 32 percent of the sample is in the low drug use group and 68 percent of the sample is in the high drug use group.

A Comparison of Personal and Social Characteristics

Women in the high drug use group are slightly younger ($\bar{x}=28$), compared to the women in the low drug use group ($\bar{x}=30$). The majority of both groups are minorities. Using a difference of 10 percent or more as significant, a greater percent of the white women (89%) are in the high drug use group as compared to the percent of the minority women in the high drug use group (63%) (see Table 4.2). Thus, white women in detention are nearly always extensively involved in the drug scene. There are no differences between the two groups for marital status.

TABLE 4.1
COMPOSITION OF HIGH AND LOW DRUG USE GROUPS
(Self Report)*

<u>HIGH DRUG USE GROUP</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Past and Present Drug Use	47	47.5
No Present Drug Use/Past Drug Use	20	20.2
<u>LOW DRUG USE GROUP</u>		
Experimental Drug Use Only	9	9.1
Marijuana Use Only	10	10.1
No Drug Use, Past or Present	13	13.1
TOTAL	99	100.0

*All data presented in this chapter are self report unless indicated otherwise.

TABLE 4.2
COMPARISON OF HIGH AND LOW DRUG USE GROUPS:
RACE

	<u>Black/Other*</u>		<u>White</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
High Drug Use Group	51	63.0	16	88.9
Low Drug Use Group	30	37.0	2	11.1
TOTAL	81	100.0	18	100.0

*Official Record Data

TABLE 4.3
COMPARISON OF HIGH AND LOW DRUG USE GROUPS:
EMPLOYMENT

	<u>High Drug Use Group</u>		<u>Low Drug Use Group</u>	
<u>Previous Employment</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Never Had a Job	5	7.6	8	27.6
Some Type of Employment	62	92.4	21	72.4
TOTAL	67	100.0	29	100.0
<u>Length of Longest Job*</u>				
Six Months or Less	14	24.0	8	38.0
More Than Six Months	44	76.0	13	62.0
TOTAL	58	100.0	21	100.0

*Excludes those with no previous job

The vast majority of the women in the sample have been employed and their longest job has lasted more than six months (see Table 4.3). Women in the high drug use group are more likely to have been employed (92%) and more have worked longer than six months (76%), as compared to the women in the low drug use group (72% and 62%, respectively). One possible explanation for this difference is that drug users need more and longer employment to support their substance use. However, women who use drugs may not have other types of economic support systems (e.g., family, traditional relationships), which results in their greater employment record.

Family and living arrangements prior to arrest differ for women in the high and low drug use groups (see Table 4.4). Generally, women in the sample live with relatives, a girlfriend, or a group, rather than alone. These living partners are more common among the low drug use group (50%) than the high drug use group (36%). In contrast, women in the high drug use group are more likely to report living with a husband/male friend (39%) as compared to the low drug use group (28%). Slightly under a quarter of each group report living alone.

When asked whether the present living partner (or closest friend, if living alone) was ever involved in any of three forms of deviance (i.e., illegal drug use alcohol misuse, or prior arrests), the majority of the sample report no involvement for their living partner.¹ However, when the sample is divided into the low and high drug use groups, the majority of the high drug use group (57%) have been living with a person for whom one of these three types of deviance has occurred (see Table 4.4). In contrast, less than a third of the low drug use group report such deviance among their present living partner.

TABLE 4.4
COMPARISON OF HIGH AND LOW DRUG USE GROUPS:
PRESENT FAMILY

VARIABLE	HIGH DRUG USE GROUP		LOW DRUG USE GROUP	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Family Configuration*				
Lives Alone	16	24.2	7	21.9
Lives with Husband or Male Friend	26	39.4	9	28.1
Lives with Relatives, Girlfriend, or Group	24	36.4	16	50.0
TOTAL	66	100.0	32	100.0
Children Living With Woman**	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	28	56.0	15	75.0
No	22	44.0	5	25.0
TOTAL	50	100.0	20	100.0
Living Partner Involved in Illegal Drugs &/or Alcohol Misuse &/or Arrested***	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	38	56.7	10	31.3
No	29	43.3	22	68.7
TOTAL	67	100.0	32	100.0

*Excludes children
**For those with children 16 and younger
***If living alone or with childhood family member, closest friend

Women in the high drug use group are more likely (75%) to have children, compared to women in the low drug use group (65%). Among the women with children, more women in the low drug use group (75%) care for their children prior to arrest, than women in the high drug use group (56%) (see Table 4.4). Several women in the high drug use group, who were not living with their children prior to arrest, report that their drug use interfered with their ability to care for their children and they had voluntarily given control to others. A few women reveal that their children had been taken away from them either by concerned relatives or social agencies.

Information about the women's present perception of themselves reveals that those in the high drug use group are three times more likely to view themselves negatively than those in the low drug use group (see Table 4.5). The loss of the mother role may explain some of these negative perceptions. The greater criminal record and more extensive sanctions, to be described later in this chapter, may also be reflected in these negative assessments of the present lifestyle. Eighty-five percent of the negative perceptions of self occur for the women in the high drug use group. The negative perceptions may also have predated these women's entry into the illegal drug scene.

A Comparison of Family and Childhood Background

Childhood family variables allow examination of the possible interrelationships between early family experiences and the use of illegal drugs. While there is little difference between the high and low drug use groups in the family configuration, the birth order is noteworthy (see Table 4.6). Comparing the percent of the total which is in the high drug use group (67%), women in the oldest third

TABLE 4.5
COMPARISON OF HIGH AND LOW DRUG USE GROUPS:
PRESENT PERCEPTION OF SELF

Perceptions of Self at Present	High Drug Use Group		Low Drug Use Group	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Positive	23	36.5	21	65.6
Negative	23	36.5	4	12.6
Positive and Negative	17	27.0	7	21.9
TOTAL	63	100.0	32	100.0

*Row Percent

of the family are more likely to belong to the high drug use group (80%) and women in the youngest third of the family are more likely to belong to the low drug use group (50%), as compared to the percent of the total represented by the low drug use group (33%). Psychological literature reveals that the oldest child in the family is more likely to place higher values on socializing and adherence to groups, especially to seek social approval. Conversely, it has been found that children born later in the family are more likely to withdraw.² Since drug use has been described as a social phenomena (see the review of the literature), it may be postulated that women in the high drug use group are more likely to identify with the social needs that are met by the drug scene.

As an indicator of disorganization in the childhood family, women were asked to report whether any member of the immediate family (i.e., mother, father, sister, brother) had ever used an illegal drug, had misused alcohol, or had ever been arrested. While the majority of the sample indicate that none of their childhood family members had used an illegal drug, almost all (83%) of those who did report family drug use are in the high drug use group (see Table 4.6). The majority of the sample (59%) describe alcohol misuse by family members and over three fourths are in the high drug use group. Slightly less than half (44%) of the sample report prior arrests for a family member; the percent of each group is comparable (less than 10 percent difference). Examining the family member who is mentioned most often for each of these types of family deviance, drinking problems generally occur among mothers and/or fathers, while drug use and prior arrests occur among sisters and/or brothers (not shown in Table).

TABLE 4.6

COMPARISON OF HIGH AND LOW DRUG USE GROUPS:
CHILDHOOD FAMILY

	Placement in Family							
	Oldest Third		Middle Third		Youngest Third		Only Child	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
High Drug Use Group	28	80.0	19	70.4	16	50.0	2	66.7
Low Drug Use Group	7	20.0	8	29.6	16	50.0	1	33.3
TOTAL	35	100.0	27	100.0	32	100.0	3	100.0

Illegal Drug Use By Family Member*

	Yes		No	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
High Drug Use Group	25	83.3	41	61.2
Low Drug Use Group	5	16.7	25	38.8
TOTAL	30	100.0	67	100.0
		(30.9)**		(69.1)**

Alcohol Misuse By Family Member*

	Yes		No	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>nn</u>	<u>%</u>
High Drug Use Group	44	77.2	22	56.4
Low Drug Use Group	13	22.8	17	43.6
TOTAL	57	100.0	39	100.0
		(59.4)**		(40.6)**

Arrest History For Family Member*

	Yes		No	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
High Drug Use Group	31	73.8	35	64.8
Low Drug Use Group	11	26.2	19	35.2
TOTAL	42	100.0	54	100.0
		(43.8)**		(56.2)

*Includes any family member, mother, father, sister, brother.
**Indicates row percent.

A Comparison of Juvenile Delinquency History

Self-report juvenile delinquency data are examined for both groups to determine if the types of juvenile delinquency differ for women in the high and low drug use group. For three types of delinquency, the reported reasons for the activity are given for both groups. Finally the types of juvenile court dispositions are presented. These data illustrate some of the differences between women in the high and low drug use groups as juveniles. However, due to the relatively small numbers within each of these categories and the self-report nature of the delinquency data, these findings should be viewed as presenting ideas for further consideration rather than conclusive findings.³

In Table 4.7, the ten types of juvenile delinquency mentioned by the women in the sample are presented with the most frequent juvenile delinquency (truancy) listed first and the least frequent juvenile delinquency (prostitution) last. A greater proportion of the high drug use group report all types of juvenile delinquency as compared to the proportion of the low drug use group who report these activities. Over one half of the high drug use group have engaged in truancy (69%), drinking (60%), shoplifting (58%), fighting (58%), running away (51%). While 44 percent of the low drug use group report truancy, only about one-third of the low drug use group report drinking, shoplifting, running away, and fighting. The largest discrepancy occurs in juvenile drug use (including marijuana); nearly one half of the high drug use group and less than 10 percent of the low drug use group report juvenile drug use. For the other four types of juvenile delinquency (other,

TABLE 4.7

COMPARISON OF HIGH AND LOW DRUG USE GROUPS:
TYPES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND STATUS OFFENSES

	High Drug Use Group			Low Drug Use Group		
	(n=67)			(n=32)		
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	
Truancy	46	68.7	(76.6)#	14	43.8	(23.4)#
Drinking	40	59.7	(80.0)	10	31.3	(20.0)
Shoplifting	39	58.2	(81.3)	9	28.1	(18.7)
Fighting*	39	58.2	(81.3)	9	28.1	(18.7)
Running Away	34	50.7	(75.6)	11	34.4	(24.4)
Drugs (inc. Marijuana)	32	47.8	(91.4)	3	9.4	(8.6)
Other**	16	23.9	(94.1)	1	3.1	(5.9)
Vandalism	9	13.4	(81.8)	2	6.3	(18.2)
Other Theft &/or						
Burglary &/or Robbery	8	11.9	(80.0)	2	6.3	(20.0)
Prostitution	8	11.9	(88.9)	1	3.1	(11.1)

*Excludes gang fights

**Other reflects gang fights (n=5), drug sales (n=4), and misc. offenses

#Indicates row percent

vandalism, other theft/burglary/robbery, and prostitution), a greater percent of the high drug use group report these activities than the low drug use group; however, only "other" offenses show a difference in percent greater than 10 percent.

Not only are more women in the high drug use group involved in juvenile delinquency activity, but also, women in the high drug use group report an earlier mean age for all types of juvenile delinquency (see Table 4.8). The greatest difference between mean ages of first involvement for the high and low drug use groups is for drinking and running away. The greater use of alcohol and at an earlier age among those in the high drug use group may have created a greater number of years at which the person is at risk, with substance use in general being a factor which increases the likelihood of later illegal drug use.

In Table 4.9, reasons for truancy and drinking are shown. While the greatest percent of the sample who have been truant report school problems (43%) or influence of friends (28%) as the reasons for their truant behavior, those that have indicated family problems (8%) are all in the high drug use group. For those who report drinking, the most common reasons are the influence of friends (36%) and the wish "to get high" (26%). Interestingly, the low drug use group appears proportionately more likely to indicate "to get high" (31%), as compared to the percent of the total who are in the low drug use group (20%).

Another interesting aspect of the self-report delinquency behaviors is that women in the high drug use group appear more likely to report doing the juvenile delinquency activity alone, except for drinking, as compared to the low drug use group.

TABLE 4.8

COMPARISON OF HIGH AND LOW DRUG USE GROUPS:
MEAN AGE OF BEGINNING INVOLVEMENT IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

	Truancy	Drinking*	Shoplifting	Running Away*	Fighting
HIGH DRUG USE GROUP (n=67)	$\bar{x} = 13.7$ $s = 2.0$ (n = 46)	$\bar{x} = 14.1$ $s = 1.5$ (n = 40)	$\bar{x} = 13.8$ $s = 1.8$ (n = 39)	$\bar{x} = 13.2$ $s = 2.0$ (n = 34)	$\bar{x} = 11.9$ $s = 1.7$ (n = 39)
LOW DRUG USE GROUP (n=32)	$\bar{x} = 13.9$ $s = 1.7$ (n = 14)	$\bar{x} = 15.5$ $s = 1.0$ (n = 10)	$\bar{x} = 14.4$ $s = 1.5$ (n = 9)	$\bar{x} = 14.6$ $s = 1.5$ (n = 11)	$\bar{x} = 12.3$ $s = 2.0$ (n = 9)

*If these groups were chosen randomly, difference between means test would be appropriate here and these means would be significantly different at the $p \leq .05$ level.

TABLE 4.9

COMPARISON OF HIGH AND LOW DRUG USE GROUPS:
REPORTED REASONS FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

	TRUANCY: Influence of Friends		School Problems		Family Problems		Unsure/Unable to Code		Total	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
High Drug Use Group	13	76.5	18	69.2	5	100.0	8	100.0	44	73.3
Low Drug Use Group	4	23.5	8	30.8	0	0.0	3	0.0	16	26.7
TOTAL	17	100.0	26	100.0	5	100.0	11	100.0	60	100.0
		(28.3)*		(43.3)		(8.3)		(18.3)		(100.0)

	DRINKING: Influence of Friends		To Get High		Family Activity		Unsure/Unable to Code		Total	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
High Drug Use Group	24	85.9	9	69.2	3	75.0	4	80.0	40	80.0
Low Drug Use Group	4	14.1	4	30.8	1	25.0	1	20.0	10	20.0
TOTAL	28	100.0	13	100.0	4	100.0	5	100.0	50	100.0
		(56.0)*		(26.0)		(8.0)		(10.0)		(100.0)

	RUNNING AWAY: Family Problems		Excitement		Unsure/Unable to Code		Total	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
High Drug Use Group	26	74.3	5	83.3	3	100.0	34	77.3
Low Drug Use Group	9	25.7	1	16.7	0	0.0	10	22.7
TOTAL	35	100.0	6	100.0	3	100.0	44	100.0
		(79.5)		(13.6)		(6.9)		(100.0)

*Indicates row percent

Finally, when the types of court dispositions for juvenile delinquency activity are examined for the two groups, the women in the high drug use group are proportionately more likely to have been in some type of incarceration as a juvenile. Among those who have been incarcerated, 83 percent have belonged to the high drug use group, as compared to only 67 percent of the sample in the high drug use group (see Table 4.10). Since the women in the high drug use group report more juvenile delinquency activity it is not unexpected that they have incurred more serious consequences and greater involvement with the juvenile justice system. Women in the high drug use group who have received the juvenile dispositions, are more likely to have been incarcerated as their most serious disposition, while women in the low drug use group were evenly divided between probation and incarceration as their most serious type of juvenile disposition.

A Comparison of Criminal History

To determine the interrelationships between crime and drugs, several questions about drug users are addressed through comparisons between the high and low drug use groups. First, the type and extent of criminal activity may be expected to differ for the woman who is extensively involved in the drug scene. Second, the official sanctions, i.e., probation sentences, prison sentences, detention, and fines, may be expected to differ for the two groups, particularly if the nature and extent of criminal activity differs for the two groups.

The present arrest charge shows considerable differences between the high and low drug use groups (see Table 4.11). The high drug use group is more likely to have been arrested for less serious property offenses (21%), as compared to the low drug use group (6%). Serious

CONTINUED

1 OF 3

TABLE 4.10

COMPARISON OF HIGH AND LOW DRUG USE GROUPS:
COURT DISPOSITIONS FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

	No Dispositions		Probation/Fines		Incarceration		Total	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
High Drug Use Group	37	61.7 (58.7)*	7	63.6 (11.1)	19	82.6 (30.2)	63	67.0 (100.0)
Low Drug Use Group	<u>23</u>	<u>38.3</u> (74.2)	<u>4</u>	<u>36.4</u> (12.9)	<u>4</u>	<u>17.4</u> (12.9)	31	<u>33.0</u> (100.0)
TOTAL	60	100.0 (63.8)	11	100.0 (11.7)	23	100.0 (24.5)	94	100.0 (100.0)

*Indicates row percent

TABLE 4.11
COMPARISON OF HIGH AND LOW DRUG USE GROUPS:
PRESENT CHARGE
(Official Record)

Present Charge	High Drug		Low Drug	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Property, Serious	16	23.9	4	12.5
Property, Less Serious	14	20.9	2	6.3
Person, Serious	2	3.0	3	9.4
Person, Less Serious	7	10.4	8	25.0
Possession/sale of Drugs	10	14.9	2	6.3
Public Order	3	4.5	2	6.3
Other	<u>15</u>	<u>22.4</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>34.4</u>
TOTAL	67	100.0	32	100.2*

*Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.

property offenses are also more likely for the high (24%), as compared to the low (13%) drug use group. As may be expected, more women in the high drug use group are arrested for drug offenses. Conversely, the women in the low drug use group are more likely to have been arrested for less serious offenses against the person (25%) and "other" offenses (34%), as compared to the high drug use group (10% and 22%, respectively). From these findings it appears that women offenders involved in illegal drugs are likely to be identified for crimes that result in the acquisition of money and they are not likely to be identified for crimes against the person.

Virtually all (85%) of the women in the high drug use group had a prior arrest, and less than half of the low drug use group (44%) had a prior arrest (see Table 4.12). Women in the high drug use group may have committed more actual offenses, but it is important to note that they may also have been more easily detected due to their drug use.

All offense categories are examined for the presence of a prior arrest for each woman with an arrest history (see Table 4.12). Among those with an arrest history, more women in the high drug use group had a prior arrest for less serious property offenses (75%) than any other category. Further, this is a substantially greater percent than is apparent among the women in the low drug use group with an arrest history for less serious property offenses (50%). Also, prior arrests for drug and public order offenses are much more common among the high drug use group (49% and 45%, respectively), as compared to the low drug use group (17% for each category). In only one category, serious offenses against the person, is there a greater percent of women in the low drug use group (17%), than in the high drug use group (6%).

TABLE 4.12

COMPARISON OF HIGH AND LOW DRUG USE GROUPS:
PRIOR ARREST HISTORY AND NATURE OF PRIOR ARRESTS
(Official Record)

VARIABLE	HIGH DRUG USE GROUP			LOW DRUG USE GROUP			TOTAL	
<u>Prior Arrests</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	51	85.0	(81.0)*	12	44.4	(19.0)	63	72.4 (100.0)
No	<u>9</u>	<u>15.0</u>	(37.5)	<u>15</u>	<u>55.6</u>	(62.5)	<u>24</u>	<u>27.6</u> (100.0)
TOTAL	60	100.0	(69.0)	27	100.0	(31.0)	87	100.0
Average Number of Arrests: $\bar{x} = 5.8$ $s = 6.0$ $\bar{x} = 1.2$ $s = 1.8$								
<u>Nature of Prior Arrests **</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
TOTAL	51	100.0	(69.0)*	12	100.0	(31.0)	63	100.0 (100.0)
Serious, Property	19	37.3	(82.6)	4	33.3	(17.4)	23	36.5 (100.0)
Less Serious, Property	38	74.5	(86.4)	6	50.0	(13.6)	44	69.8 (100.0)
Serious, Person	3	5.9	(60.0)	2	16.7	(40.0)	5	7.9 (100.0)
Less Serious, Person	19	37.3	(82.6)	4	33.3	(17.4)	23	36.5 (100.0)
Drug	25	49.0	(92.6)	2	16.7	(17.4)	27	42.9 (100.0)
Public Order	23	45.1	(92.0)	2	16.7	(18.0)	25	39.7 (100.0)
Other	28	54.9	(82.4)	6	50.0	*17.6)	34	54.0 (100.0)

*Percent for row

**Multiple response question

When first and most recent type of arrest are examined for those women who have an arrest history, three differences are noted for the high and low drug use groups (see Table 4.13). First, the high drug use group is more likely to have had their first and most recent arrest for drugs (22% and 20%, respectively), than the low drug use group (8% for each). The low drug use group is more likely to have had a first arrest for serious property (33%) and the most recent arrest for offenses against the person (33%), as compared to the high drug use group (18 % for each). While the greater proportion of drug offenses for the high drug use group is expected, the higher proportion of serious offenses (i.e., serious property and offenses against the person) offer another indicator of the substantially different nature of the arrest history for these two groups of women. Women in the high drug use group again appear to have been more involved in less serious offenses, especially those related to the acquisition of property.

Finally, the two groups are compared for the percent of each group that had served prior time in detention or a sentence in prison, in jail, or on probation (see Table 4.14). Regardless of the type of sanction, women in the high drug group have had more official sanctions. Probation sentences are over three times more common among the high drug use group (74%) as compared to the low drug use group (22%). Prior detention time has been served by nearly three fourths of the high drug group and less than half of the low drug use group. Nearly a quarter of the high drug use group and less than 10 percent of the low drug use group have served time in jail. There is virtually no difference in the percent of each group that has served time in prison.

TABLE 4.13
COMPARISON OF HIGH AND LOW DRUG USE GROUPS:
TYPE OF FIRST AND MOST RECENT ARREST*
(Official Record)

VARIABLE	HIGH DRUG USE GROUP			LOW DRUG USE GROUP			TOTAL	
Type of First Adult Arrest	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Property, Serious	9	17.6	(69.2)**	4	33.3	(30.8)	13	20.6 (100.0)
Property, Less Serious	13	25.5	(86.7)	2	16.7	(13.3)	15	23.8 (100.0)
Person, Serious & Less								
Serious	14	27.5	(77.8)	4	33.3	(22.2)	18	28.6 (100.0)
Drug	11	21.6	(91.7)	1	8.3	(8.3)	12	19.0 (100.0)
Public Order	2	3.9	(66.7)	1	8.3	(33.3)	3	4.8 (100.0)
Other	2	3.9	(100.0)	0	0.0	(0.0)	2	3.2 (100.0)
TOTAL	51	100.0	(81.0)	12	99.9!	(19.0)	63	100.0
Type of Most Recent Arrest***	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Property, Serious	20	39.2	(83.3)	4	33.3	(16.7)	24	38.1 (100.0)
Property, Less Serious	10	19.6	(83.3)	2	16.7	(16.7)	12	19.0 (100.0)
Person, Serious & Less								
Serious	9	17.6	(69.2)	4	33.3	(30.8)	13	20.6 (100.0)
Drug	10	19.6	(90.9)	1	8.3	(9.1)	11	17.5 (100.0)
Other	1	2.0	(100.0)	0	0.0	(0.0)	1	1.6 (100.0)
TOTAL	51	100.0	(81.0)	12	99.9!	(19.0)	63	100.0

*For those with an arrest history

**Row percent

***Excluding present arrest

!Percent does not equal 100.0 due to rounding.

TABLE 4.14

COMPARISON OF HIGH AND LOW DRUG USE GROUPS:
PRIOR DETENTION AND TYPES OF
SENTENCES SERVED

	HIGH DRUG USE GROUP		LOW DRUG USE GROUP	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
TOTAL*	65	100.0 (67.0)**	32	100.0 (33.0)
Detention Time	46	73.0 (78.0)	13	40.6 (22.0)
Jail Sentence	14	21.2 (82.4)	3	9.4 (17.6)
Prison Sentence	4	6.2 (80.0)	1	3.1 (20.0)
Probation Sentence	48	73.8 (87.3)	7	21.9 (12.7)
Other Sanctions (e.g., fines)	24	36.9 (80.0)	6	18.8 (20.0)

*Multiple response question

**Indicates row percent

Summary

While there are more blacks than whites in the high drug use group, the proportion of whites is greater in the high drug use group than in the low drug use group. Several recent studies on female drug users report substantially greater percent of whites within their samples: nearly equal numbers of whites and blacks were found in a San Francisco street sample (Rosenbaum, 1979a) and in N.Y. treatment centers (Waldorf, 1973) and in Lexington Hospital (Stephens and Slatin, 1974). Mostly whites were found in a sample of prostitutes and addicts arrested (James, Gosh, and Wohl, 1979). Thus, the predominance of blacks in this sample appears to be related more to who is detained rather than who are drug users.

There is some indication that black drug users are more likely than white drug users to be arrested, as well. In a comparative study of blacks and whites in Lexington Hospital, Chambers, Hinesley, and Moldestad (1970) report that 91 percent of the blacks and only 59 percent of the whites had a prior arrest record. Therefore, the detention and arrest patterns appear to disproportionately affect female black drug users.

Another finding revealed that the high drug use group is more likely to have been living with a male friend or husband, prior to arrest. Some explanation for these findings may be found in that the male relationship offers some protection for the female drug user (e.g., File, 1976; James, 1976). Further, the male may have greater access to the male dominated criminal subculture; thus, women drug users who need to convert stolen property to cash, may find that

their male partner has better connections for the disposal of goods (e.g., O'Donnell, 1967).

The majority of women in the high drug use group did not live with their husband or male partner. There has been some suggestion that the female offender is changing her criminal patterns and attitudes (e.g., Adler, 1975; Simon, 1975; File, 1976). If such were the case, she would no longer need the traditional dependency role. Among women in this study who described situations in which they left their male partners, few women expressed a concern for experiencing liberation or freedom from conventional female-male roles. Some depicted themselves as no longer being able to survive with their partners because of the dependence the men had on their money; thus, it was to their advantage to break dependency relationships.

Further, the lack of a marital relationship or partner may be explained by the reduced options among women who use drugs. Fewer men are available to a female drug user because "straight" men will not generally form relationships (such as wife-husband relationships) with women who use drugs (Rosenbaum, 1979a).

Female street addicts reveal intense guilt and a sense of failure concerning their roles as mothers and as women (Rosenbaum, 1979a:167). They fear not only rejection by the children, but also the label of being unfit as women. Given the finding that female drug users are less likely to have their children living with them prior to their arrest, the more negative self perceptions among female drug users may be related to their failures as women and as mothers.

Patterns of drug, alcohol, and criminality in the parental family may bring about the lack of a supportive family environment mentioned

Chein, et al. (1964) The conduct of parents as a predictor of a child's substance use has been both theorized and tested (e.g., Blum, 1972:107; and Bowker, 1977:14-17). While parental separation has been indicated by several previous research works and studies (e.g., Waldorf, 1973; Chambers, 1965; Merry, 1969), this type of family disorganization appears to affect both the low and high drug use groups equally and thus does not appear to be specifically related to drug use.

Women in the high drug use group are more involved in delinquent activities, a finding which has been demonstrated among other female drug use samples. For instance Chambers and Inciardi (1971) reported that 40 percent of the women admitted to a treatment program in N.Y. had a known juvenile record. Rosenbaum (1979a:268) reported that 51 percent of the women street addicts reported juvenile arrests.

The present arrest charge and criminal history reveals that females in the high drug use group are more likely to be charged with property or drug offenses. Further the women in the high drug use group had a much greater criminal history. Both of these findings reveal similarities between this group of high drug use women and earlier studies on the female drug users. Prostitution, property, and drug offenses characterized the patterns found among these earlier studies (e.g., James, 1976; File, McCahill, and Savitz, 1974; Chambers and Inciardi, 1971; Inciardi and Chambers, 1972; Chambers, Hinesley, and Moldestad, 1970). Further the increased risk of arrests following drug use was found by Zahn and Ball (1974) and Weissman, et al. (1974).

¹Women were asked whether their living partner had ever used an illegal drug. Questions concerning alcohol misuse were directed to uncover whether the woman defined the partner as ever having a problem with alcohol. The pilot study showed that women defined alcohol as a problem when there were drinking bouts where the person became incoherent, aggressive, and/or otherwise debilitated. Both infrequent and regular alcohol misuse were considered under this category. Since all three categories (prior arrests, illegal drugs, and alcohol misuse) request self-report information about another person's behavior, it is important to emphasize that these data reflect the woman's perception or knowledge of their partner's deviance, rather than a picture of actual deviance.

²For further information on birth order and a child's subsequent behavior, see: Schachter, S. The Psychology of Affiliation, Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 1959. According to Schachter, the mother does a better job of reducing anxiety of the first born and the child tends to manifest more affiliative needs. First borns were also more capable of being influenced and more susceptible to psychotherapy. Other studies which have investigated the birth order and the reduction of stress have concluded that first borns tend to be more comforted when allowed to affiliate. See: Buck, R. and R. Parke, "Behavioral and physiological response to the presence of a friendly or neutral person in two types of stressful situations," J. of Personality and Social Psychology, 26:143-153 (1972). Also see: Amoroso, D. and R. Walters, "Effects of anxiety and socially mediated anxiety reduction on paired-associate learning," J. of Personality and Social Psychology, 11:388-396 (1969).

³For further information on the validity and reliability of self-report data on offense behavior, see: Erickson, M. and L. Empey, "Court Records, Undetected Delinquency and Decision-making," J. of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 54:456-459 (1963); Voss, H., "Ethnic Differentials in Delinquency in Honolulu," J. of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 54:322-327 (1963); Gold, M., "Undetected Delinquency Behavior," J. of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 3:27-46 (1966); Clark, J. and L. Tifft, "Polygraph and Interview Validation of Self-reported Deviant Behavior," American Sociological Review, 31:516-523 (1966); Dentler, R. and L. Monroe, "Social Correlates of Early Adolescent Theft," American Sociological Review, 26:733-743 (1961); Kulik, J., K. Stein, and T. Sarbin, "Disclosure of Delinquent Behavior under Conditions of Anonymity and Non-anonymity," J. of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 32:506-509 (1968); Hardt, R. and S. Peterson-Hardt, "On Determining the Quality of the Delinquency Self-Report Method," J. of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 14(2):247-261 (1977).

CHAPTER 5

MOTIVATIONAL PATTERNS FOR DRUG USE

The variety of paths into the illegal drug scene, as depicted by women in detention, are described in this chapter. As indicated earlier, a number of causal theories have been formulated to explain drug use and drug addiction. Thus, the interview procedure for this study was designed to obtain a variety of descriptions of the drug use incidents and their meanings to the individual. This also allows exploration of numerous factors that may have contributed to a woman's involvement in the illegal drug scene.

Following the development of the motivational patterns, the frequency distribution for these patterns is presented. Comparisons between motivational patterns for first and regular incidents are then given to demonstrate most frequent combinations of first and regular motivational patterns, as well as, the degree of similarity between first and regular motivational pattern for the women who use drugs in this sample.

Definitional Clarifications and Methodology

Two points in the process of becoming a drug user were chosen to indicate the women's entry into the illegal drug scene: the first use of an illegal drug; and, the initial regular (defined as daily) use of illegal drugs. Both of these points exclude marijuana.¹ These motivational patterns are derived primarily from women in the high drug use group who have both first and regular drug incidents to report.²

Excluding marijuana from the illegal drugs, women were asked to indicate whether they had ever used an illegal drug and whether they had used an illegal drug on a regular (daily) basis. For this sample, 75 percent report using an illegal drug other than marijuana and most could describe an incident that would depict and portray the motivational pattern for first drug use. A slightly smaller percent (60%) of the sample report regular (daily) use of an illegal drug. The average for the first incident is 19 and the regular incident occurred at the average age of 20.

In Chapter 2, the procedures for the data collection and analysis of these motivational patterns are given. Briefly, to reiterate some major points, "motivation" in this context refers to the actor's understanding and explanation of her own conduct. Thus, it is within the context of the social situation and within the description of the event that the motivational patterns are derived. The semi-focused interviews covered broad areas of investigation shown to be important in the existing literature. These areas include the situational context, the social circumstances, women's perceptions of self and others, reasons for drug consumption, and lifestyles at the time. While general questions in these areas initiated and directed the interview, the focused interview allowed the women to describe those aspects of their drug use that they considered most important to their involvement. Restructuring of the first and regular drug events investigate and determine the woman's perspective of how and why these events occurred.

As previously indicated, a content analysis procedure was used to identify the four motivational patterns for drug use. Typescripts

of the interviews were examined in order to locate excerpts that characterize the woman's account of these incidents. Excerpts from first and regular drug incidents were examined separately on the original assumption that different motivational patterns would occur for the two experiences. In point of fact, the same motivational themes evolved from the analyses for both incidents. The four patterns are: Feeling the High, Making it Easier, Part of the Scene, and Tie that Binds.

The content analysis procedure was also used to identify four dimensions: perception of the drug, role of others, social/environmental setting, and planning element. In some instances, women describe their perception of the drug during these events as an extremely positive physical and/or mental experience; the focus of the description is on the drug itself. In other cases, the drug effects are hardly mentioned; the positive experiences are a result of other elements of the situation.

There is a wide divergence in the role of other persons in these motivational patterns; others are both casually and instrumentally involved. Others provide access and information about the drugs and occasionally serve as role models for those in their immediate proximity. For some women, others are more instrumentally involved; they are a major impetus for the drug use, exerting both direct and indirect pressure for the use of drugs.

Closely related to the preceding dimension, the social setting and environmental context took on various meanings for different women, ranging from providing a critical or major part of the drug experience to being merely an element of the total experience. In some

instances, a special context for the drug use is apparent; perhaps, a party or social gathering facilitated the woman's decision to use drugs.

Finally, there is the amount of planning that preceded the drug event; the degree of thought and consideration is considered part of the planning element. In some cases, a spur-of-the-moment, almost spontaneous situation facilitated the drug taking event. Other instances show a process where deliberate and precise steps are taken to bring about the drug taking event.

The four motivation patterns and the four dimensions are presented in Table 7.1. The most important dimension for each pattern is noted in this table.

The reliability of these content analysis procedures was tested, using a second rater who made independent assessments of the central themes and underlying dimensions. In addition, the second-rater independently assigned 29 events into the appropriate motivational patterns. As indicated earlier, the inter-rater reliability was high.

For cases in which a first use of drugs is indicated, 88 percent of the descriptions of initial drug use could be coded into one of the four motivational patterns. From all the cases where regular use of drugs is reported, 90 percent of the events could be coded into one of the four motivational patterns.

TABLE 5.1
SUMMARY OF MOTIVATIONAL PATTERNS FOR DRUG USE AND DESCRIPTIVE DIMENSIONS

MOTIVATIONAL PATTERNS FOR DRUG USE				
<u>DIMENSIONS</u>	<u>FEELING THE HIGH</u>	<u>MAKING IT EASIER</u>	<u>PART OF THE SCENE</u>	<u>TIE THAT BINDS</u>
Perception of the Drug	Desirable Physical/Psych. Effects*	Drugs Negate Negatives in Life*	Unimportant or of lesser importance	Unimportant
Role of Others	Others provide both information and access	Others provide role model	Peer Pressure: Both Indirect and Direct	Drugs viewed as a way to maintain relationship with significant other*
Social Environmental Setting	Incidental to event, variety of settings	Drugs seen as part of the immediate surroundings	Immediate Social Grouping Provides Meaning for Event*	Social/Environmental context of significant other important
Planning Element	Opportunistic, casual attitude	Deliberate action	Both deliberate and spur-of-the moment	Both deliberate and spur-of-the moment

*Indicates most important dimension to the motivational pattern

Feeling the High

The central theme in this pattern is that the women wished to obtain some desired physical effect from the drug itself. For most of the women whose descriptions were coded into this category, the desired effects are relaxation, to feel good for the sake of feeling good, or to keep the body physically awake and/or active. Many of these women were knowledgeable about a "high" in advance of illegal drug use through experiences related by friends or obtained through other chemical substances (e.g., alcohol). Other women, who described their initial drug use incidents in this category, wished to try drugs on a more "experimental" or "curiosity" basis. For these women, the high was the goal that they were seeking as well. However, they were much less specific about what effect they expected the high to produce.

For this motivational pattern, the drug is a desirable element, regarded in a positive manner. The drug is the focus of the attention, throughout the description, rather than the other circumstances and happenings surrounding the event. Throughout their accounts, the women place much respect and value on the effects (and powers) of the drug.

The role that others played is to provide access to drugs and to give information about their effects. The social/environmental setting is incidental to the happening. It is a setting where information and drugs could be obtained but it did not have a specific or special meaning. These events are primarily depicted as spontaneous events, or events that are described as happening to the woman. While their attitude was markedly casual towards the drug use,

previous experiences with other drugs could suggest a more opportunistic mode of planning.

First Drug Use--In the following excerpt, a woman described her first illegal drug incident as a desire to experience the physical effect she had known as a high from marijuana. Previous experiences with being high were important, as well as, the fact that she did not have her usual substance (marijuana) or any money to obtain it. A free gift of heroin was made available for her to try by a young boy (around 17), who she described as, "Someone I was hanging out with in the (street) crowd, more like a drug pusher." The woman was 13 at the time:

A young kid I knew said, "Try this and it will get you super high." I wanted to get high and had no reefer...had no money...just needed to get high. That was the only thing around to get high on, at the time. He happened to come around at the time and I asked him. He looked like he was feeling mighty good, nodding and all.

In a similar situation, another woman described her first illegal drug experience as a continuation of her use of legal drugs. The initial drug experience in this case, however, had a more specific goal than to just get high. In this instance the activity was connected with the desire to stay awake or "to keep going." This woman had already obtained diet pills from doctors' prescriptions and knew their effects. When these prescriptions became hard to obtain, she turned to illegal sources for drugs:

You could take a couple of pills and go out dancing and dance all night. They (the pills) kept me up and going. I was always up.

In the following situation, the woman had a desire to stay awake and enjoy her evening out. The wish to keep going was related to a

specific social event and her initial drug incident was characterized by a relatively short term decision. She was faced with work in the morning and yet wanted to stay out and party. When acquaintances offered a solution in the form of drugs, the woman accepted:

We were out, me and a friend and these two guys, and I said, "We better leave now, I have to go to work tomorrow." So the guy said, "I'll give you something that'll keep you up." I had only gotten a couple hours of sleep that night and I got up the next morning and took it (speed).

A slight variation of the pleasurable effects of drugs was described by two women who pursued a reduction of pain with drugs. In both cases, a friend (male) gave them an illegal drug to counteract some physical pain. Although the person who provided the drug introduced the women to the positive effects and supplied them with the drug, the women indicated that they were after some relief from pain, rather than strictly positive effects in and of themselves:

I had a toothache and this older person put some (heroin) on my tooth and put some up my nose. That's the first time I ever had heroin. I wasn't really thinking about the heroin; I was really concerned about my tooth.

Regular Drug Use--The theme that depicts this motivational pattern is also apparent in some women's accounts of their entry into daily drug use. In the following excerpt, the woman described her immediate entry into the regular drug scene, following first use. The physical effects produced by the drugs are seen as so desirable that a daily pattern emerges. The desire for the physical effects is evident in her account:

I tried it once and I liked it. It made me think fast and it made me move fast. It just made me... faster. Thoughts were forming faster. That's why I used it everyday.

Another woman described her regular drug use as a pursuit of some desirable physical feelings, but daily use did not immediately follow her first drug incident. There was no specific event that triggered her daily use; rather, it happened gradually over a period of time. Sometime after she began to steal prescriptions from doctors' offices, a daily pattern developed:

I just got into it (amphetamines), you know. I really liked it. It would give me energy for running around, do what I had to do. But I was still aware of my surroundings and it was not like I was spaced out or anything.

Others were less specific about the desirability of the physical aspects of the drugs, but they indicated that the high in and of itself was the critical component of their regular involvement. Usually the psychological and physical effects of the drugs were not described; rather, the woman indicated that drug taking behavior provided a total experience that was viewed as desirable. The following excerpt suggests this desire for a euphoria or a high:

I dug the high. Everyone told me about these bags and these bags are really going to make you high. I was chasing after the ultimate high...chasing these bags.

The accessibility of drugs may play a role in encouraging an individual to engage in regular drug use. The woman in the following excerpt described her pilfering from her husband's heroin supply (he was a dealer) when she first engaged in daily drug use. Approximately three years had elapsed between her first illegal drug and her regular drug use. She was unable to mainline the drug herself and she would have her girlfriend give her the drug. She described her feelings about getting into the regular drug scene as follows:

It was the high I liked. It was altogether different than being here. It was a beautiful thing. The drugs were there and I wanted to get high, so I did.

Admitting that she liked the high, the woman in the following excerpt indicated that the high changed her physical self and made her into a better person. The woman was smoking marijuana daily before she began adding opium to the marijuana. She also drank heavily, prior to this use of illegal drugs. The desirable effects of being high are evident in her account:

I liked mixing it (opium) with my joint. I'd get a better high, quicker, it'd last longer. Your high lasted longer and then you don't have to smoke so much joint. And I got kind of a big head and it takes a lot of joint. Being high clears my mind. It makes me stop thinking and quiets me down. When I'm high I do know I like to laugh and I make other people laugh.

Regular use of illegal drugs such as heroin occurred for some women for similar physical or mental changes that appeared desirable and sometimes quickly deteriorated into a need to get high. The following excerpt suggests that the entry into a daily pattern was something that happened without the woman's conscious decision to use drugs on a daily basis; rather, it was something that was perceived as happening to the woman:

W: It made me feel very sweet. It let me loose to express myself. It was freedom to express myself.
 I: How do you explain your daily use of drugs?
 W: It was a thing that happened to me. It was like a thing that was a necessity. I had to do it whether I wanted to or desired to or whatever.
 I: Earlier, you were talking about beginning your daily drug use with feelings that you were creative and more able to express yourself. Did that continue?
 W: No. That didn't last long at all (laughter). That was all a fantasy. But I really wasn't being free. It was just a fantasy--being free. I really wasn't expressing myself.

Making It Easier

In the second motivational pattern, the central theme is that drug use makes the problems and frustrations of life more tolerable. The women describe problems of varied natures, discussing everything from personal feelings to specific events occurring between the woman and another person. Rather than seeking a positive experience, these women engage in illegal drugs to avoid the negatives they perceive in their lives. Unlike the previous pattern, life's problems, not drugs, are the focus of the discussion.

Individuals already in the drug scene often provide role models; they appear to handle their problems and lives more comfortably with drugs. Various persons (e.g., boyfriends, acquaintances, groups of people) serve as these models, but a close relationship with the woman is not necessary. The social/environmental context provides reinforcement for the act in that drugs are generally prevalent. Also, these environments tend to be portrayed as bleak, lacking general positive and hopeful elements.

Generally, the women describe a rather deliberate process that occurs in the decision to use drugs; rarely are these descriptions indicative of a spontaneous event.

First Drug Use--The woman in the excerpt below observed her boyfriend's brother shooting heroin. Having gotten out of jail three weeks earlier, the brother was staying at their home (along with her boyfriend). After watching him shoot drugs for those three weeks, she decided to shoot up and asked him for some drugs. Her boyfriend also decided to try it with her. She described her life as filled

with a variety of problems that were weighing on her mind. These factors combined to culminate in her decision to enter the drug scene:

This guy I was going with, his brother was using it. I used to watch him take off and he would look like he was so relaxed after shooting. He looked like he was in a world of his own, the problems he had--they don't count. He pushed them to the back of his head; his mind was at ease. At that time I had a whole lot of problems. I was separated from my husband. I would sit down and just start thinking about when we were together. All that was running--cause I was shook at the time. I was trying to make up my mind at the time whether I was going in the hospital. The doctor wanted me to go and I told him I wasn't going. Anyway a whole lot of things was going on...plus, my father had just died, I just felt down.

Within a week this same woman was shooting drugs on a daily basis. The same motivational pattern was depicted in her description of her daily drug use. She described her daily lifestyle and the meaning of her drug use as follows:

I didn't have to worry about nothing. I felt happy and relaxed. I quit work.
I: Did it bring about changes in your lifestyle?
W: Yeah. I got lonely. 'Cause other than that I had nowhere else to go; I don't like to run the streets. I like to draw, so I started drawing. That's all I did, clean up, drink my bottle, play cards, sit and watch television, and take off.

The problems a woman had experienced may have been building for some time before the woman decided to engage in illegal drug use. The woman may have had little success in dealing with the complexity of emotions, frustrations, and problems, and drugs appeared to provide a solution that had thus far been unattainable. The following excerpt shows these concerns:

I was having trouble with my family. Mother and father were splitting up. It just seemed like nobody understood me. Through my life, I have never had that much attention from my family. Here and there, you know, they shift me from one house to another. And these are the kinds of things--they can't understand what people mean when they say you can work on a person's mind, especially when they're growing up. I went to school to the 11th grade...and it just seemed like I had no ambition to do anything. I had a lot of hatred in me.

I: When you said there were a lot of problems at home, can you give me an idea of what type of things you were talking about?

W: Yeah. My mother, she's a heavy drinker. Every-time I looked around, she was in hospitals to get off of it and then she would come out and she would keep doing the same thing. Like my love for her, it just didn't mean anything. She'd drink away. I've never known a real closeness. I would keep a lot of things to myself because I feel like I can't talk to them because they wouldn't understand. I can talk to...well, I can talk to you and explain to you better than I can sit down and talk to my mother or my grandmother. Behind the things all going on in my family, my sister got killed, my younger sister. They had a fight and she knocked her off the porch and hit her head. My people didn't know the proper care to take and she wound up with a brain hemorrhage. She went into a coma and never came out. That makes me ill... in the same year I got married. She died July 4th and I got married August 4th, and that didn't work. You know, I'm saying "Maybe I'll get married and get away, things will change." But they didn't.

Later this woman described her suicide attempt that preceded her initiation into illegal drugs. For some time friends had told her to try drugs, implying that she would feel better. Finally, someone gave her a shot of heroin. While her friends provided the information and access to illegal drugs, the family problems and her feelings about her life in general were building over a lengthy period of time. These factors provided the primary influence for her decision to engage in illegal drugs, and she attributed her use to them:

I had known about it (heroin), but I was somewhat scared of it. But this one day, I just said, "Well, I've got to get out of this attitude that I'm in." And I took it.

Regular Drug Use--The woman in the preceding excerpt continued her description of the regular drug event according to the same motivational pattern. The range of feelings that she described as important to her daily use of drugs included the tension and pain that was constantly a part of living and the complete relaxation and ease that drugs brought her. She expressed some awareness that her actions were "wrong" but drugs provided her with a means to cope, which overrode any conscious feelings of wrong doing:

I just felt like I was in this world alone and I had to do something to keep my mind occupied. To keep me from really blowing my top. As long as I was sober, I felt all the anxiety and pain and everything. Drugs would relax me. I wouldn't think about the things I would normally think about. It was....peace of mind. I felt more comfortable. When I found out how drugs made me feel, I just started using them--even though it was wrong. I know it was damage to my body, but I didn't know how to seek any other help.

When she discussed her relationship with others, there was clearly a difference in how she perceived her drug use from others' drug use; she was apart from those who surrounded her at this point:

I had left town, gotten into a new group of people, but they were in the same bag as I was. We'd go out roaming, hustling up some money. They never knew why I was doing it. It seemed like it was a fun thing for them. It's never really been fun for me. It's just like it was a sedative or something. I'm not the type of person that can tell people my problems; the kinds of friends I was hanging around with, they wouldn't understand anyway. They wouldn't have given a damn anyway. So I just kept my problems to myself.

One woman described her entry into a daily pattern as a gradual process that occurred over seven months. When she began her daily drug use, her husband was copping (buying drugs) and she was employed. The central theme of her account was the illegal drugs provided a means to tolerate life's pressures and problems:

It made everything easier--to take in your stride. I'm naturally a very hyper person. Like I was always thinking. I was planning ahead... and I was worrying. When I was following heroin, I don't have those problems. To me Jonesville was nothing but a lot of worries from the time I was 15 on up, because I'd been through a marriage and I'd been through so much. Everything was just a hassle to me, except for when I was on heroin.

In some instances, the problems that the woman described centered on one particular issue. One woman stated that she was the primary caretaker for her elderly grandmother, while she was still a teenager (17). For her, this responsibility seemed oppressive. She began the conversation with a warm picture of her grandmother. When she began to talk about her daily drug use, her feelings about these responsibilities were apparent. To this woman, drug use provided an escape, although temporary, from the daily pressures:

I lived with my grandmother because my mother and I didn't get along. My grandmother would get on my nerves and I'd say I'm going to sleep...instead of punching her in the face. I'd get my grandmother out of bed, get her dressed, get her breakfast... everything. Drugs kept me from losing my mind... I have other things to do than stretch an old lady's legs. I mean I love her but... nobody does anything for her but me. I have to listen to her complain and be responsible for her. She would tell me what she wanted done and I did it. When I do drugs, it relaxes me; that's the only time I have to myself other than when I'm going to the bathroom.

Although drugs were an escape from their life's problems, they were not a solution. Temporary release was considered a highly

desirable and feasible alternative to facing the problems that seemed too difficult to handle:

I like getting high, I mean until I get some of my problems straightened out, I will be getting high. Because sometimes I need the high to escape the problems. While you are high you push the problem aside. I was tired of worrying about it anyway.

Part of the Scene

The central theme in this motivational pattern is that drugs are a part of what is happening. From the perspective of the woman, everyone is engaged in drug use. The environment and social setting are the major part of the encouragement and influence the woman needed to enter the illegal drug scene. Drugs are easily available; they are considered the norm. Others are extremely important in that they establish the social setting in which the drug use occurs; the attitudes and lifestyle of those around the women are important to her decision.

This pattern is more frequently found in accounts of initial drug use rather than accounts of regular drug use. In describing their initial experience, some women emphasize their own desire to be like everyone else. For those who indicate this theme for their regular drug use, there usually is added emphasis on the presence of drugs in the neighborhood or among people with whom they came into regular contact. The women describe these contacts as generating certain pressures, removing barriers, and even, simply providing information that facilitate the drug use on the woman's part.

The impact of the social surrounding is in the form of both direct and indirect pressures generated by individuals who have some ability to suggest or to persuade. This persuasion sometimes

intentional on the part of the other individuals, and sometimes not. Their drug taking is not necessarily planned prior to the initial incident, it is often a spontaneous occurrence. Some women describe their first use of drugs as one of a number of things happening within a group of people.

Within this motivational pattern, the drug itself is not as important to the occasion as the fact that the activity is part of a group scene. The impression given from many of these accounts is that whatever the group is doing for entertainment, pleasure, or excitement, these individuals would have joined the scene. Clearly the drug is not the important component of the event, although it is perceived as a positive experience. It is simply a means to achieve the desired goal, which is to be part of a larger social group or environment.

First Drug Use--The woman quoted below, described her initial entry into the drug scene as a part of the current fad. Clearly, the entire social environment seemed to be accepting and using illegal drugs. By joining the drug scene the woman perceived herself as being more accepted by others:

It seems like everything was happening that year; the flower children--I wanted to be part of it. The whole drug scene was what was happening. If I was in it, I thought it would make me more popular.

The desire to be "in" and part of the group was a strong determinant in these women's first drug incidents. The role of others was emphasized; specifically, indicating that drug use was something that everybody did. In some instances, the immediate situation was more overpowering than any consideration of the consequences:

I thought it was slick and everybody else was doing it. I really wanted to be in with the in crowd and I just thought it was just something really fine, real cute. Everybody else was doing it. It never dawned on me that drugs could get me where it got me.

In some cases the influence of others was more direct. They made a conscious effort to convince the woman to try the drugs. This encouragement, along with the woman's desire to belong, created a situation where drug use appeared to be the logical choice:

They talked me into it. They said how it would make you feel; it makes you feel good and keeps you going. They told me it (speed) wasn't habit forming like dope (heroin). So I said, "Alright, I ain't going to be no square."

For some women the immediate social situation seemed to dictate drug use to maintain newly formed friendships. In the following description of the first drug use event, a young woman (age 13) was partying in the basement of a house with a group of friends that belonged to a gang. Within the context of the party, several activities were occurring. Couples were switching partners for sexual encounters and drugs were flowing freely. Far from being portrayed as an experience that she wanted to avoid, this woman recalls how she wanted to join the fun and action:

My friends were there and they were staying over. We were swapping couples and that is where I first tried it (heroin). Nobody told me to or coaxed me. I was--it was stupid. Everybody was laughing and happy. I said, "Look man, I want some of that to be like you are."

In another incident, drugs were just one of the many things that were happening. The illegal drug was viewed as a part of the social world that everyone was involved with. The woman used marijuana prior to opium and described her entry into illegal drugs as follows:

Everybody just got high, they got wasted. I drank mostly beer. We had like a little party in the park. A friend came to the party and asked me if I wanted some joint. He crushed it (opium) and mixed it with the joint. I got high--the next thing I knew we were beating each other with shoes, not fighting for real, but playing--having a good time.

In one instance, the social peer group presented direct pressure on the woman to engage in illegal drugs by challenging her to trying the illegal drugs. The woman was young (13) and had recently run away from home to New York City where she had developed ties with a motorcycle gang. She found herself making a bet over her susceptibility to a pill. Actually, the bet took the form of a dare; no monetary gains were at stake:

They came in the house and said to me, "I've got a present for you." They handed me this little yellow pill. I said, "This little thing ain't gonna do nothing to me." I had a bet with this guy. He bet me that it was gonna get me messed up; no money, just a bet was made. And I took it.

Regular Drug Use--While more women described the theme for this motivational pattern as indicative of their first drug use, a few women related accounts that suggested this thematic pattern for regular drug use. In these cases, the theme that "everyone does it" was generated less from a specific incident and more from the general social surroundings and environment. Illegal drugs were observed as part of the neighborhood economic and social structure. The easy accessibility and the development of a perception that drug use was a desirable or, at least, acceptable way of life, facilitated the woman's entry into a daily pattern.

One woman described her involvement with the criminal subculture and her adoption of the norms of this subculture. The influence of

these "peers" was described as important to her involvement in drug use. Only 19 at the time, this woman also stated that her constant contact with a variety of drugs and its availability contributed to her actions. She hardly mentioned her reaction to the drug itself, but rather, emphasized the social setting which surrounded her at the time. The following excerpt is her account:

I was a popular girl. I was around it, meaning, I went with a lot of guys that was selling it and had it in their possession. I was given it all the time; I was just introduced to it. I was just a fast girl; I was hanging out in the bars and with fast guys--people who had been in jail, dope fiends, drug addicts. . . I thought I was grown. I was taking it upon myself to do whatever I thought I wanted to do. I just did it because I could get it. It was always, "Here, you can have it--let's shoot it. Let's do it this way or let's do it that way". . . . The atmosphere I was around and involved in was the drug circle. I was with the people that did it; I had seen them do it. I worked with them illegally; I had worked with them legally. I met them by going in different neighborhoods--going to bars that were drug related, meeting guys that were known drug pushers. They liked me or the way I said hello to them or I had a sex relationship with them or something.

Daily drug use was sometimes described as a part of what everyone did together, a part of their daily existence together. The excerpt below gives this picture. The woman was 22 at the time and since she did not work, she hung around with a group of people that not only used speed but also alcohol. Her description of her drug involvement demonstrates this group activity:

I became associated with people that were into it. It was the crowd I was with. It was what they did. I started going to the different places (to shoot) with them and started using monster (amphetamines) everyday too. There was also lots of alcohol.

Tie That Binds

The initiation and regular use of drugs are a result of an attachment to a specific individual for some women. Generally, this significant other is a male partner, either a boyfriend or a husband, with whom they are engaged in a love relationship. The central theme of this pattern is that drugs are a way to bring the two people closer, cementing a relationship that is perceived as highly desirable from the woman's perspective. The effects of the drugs are of lesser importance to these women. In many cases, the effects are not even mentioned.

The significant others are extremely important to the meanings attached to the drug events. All aspects of the life together are seen as desirable to share. In this context, the women are living within social environments of their significant other. As long as drugs are important to their partners, the women also consider drugs important.

While some women describe these events occurring on the spur-of-the-moment, others describe a planning process which involves more deliberate decision-making. When the significant other offers the drug to a woman, these events are generally characterized by a momentary or sudden decision. In cases where the woman's significant other did not directly encourage the drug use, the woman was more likely to report that her own observations led to a deliberate decision-making process.

First Drug Use--In the following excerpt, the woman, who is a prostitute, was married to a pimp who used cocaine. Her first drug incident occurred in her own home with her husband present. This excerpt illustrates her commitment to the relationship and her willingness to participate in all aspects of his lifestyle:

My husband said to go to the bathroom and snort a little teeny bit of coke and see how you like it. I did. I knew he had been doing it and I figured it must be doing something. I wanted to do what he'd been doing, mostly. I was always like that. Anything he was doing, I wanted to be a part of...I had seen him snorting with friends before and they acted like they were enjoying themselves. I suppose I wanted to be a part of everything he was. I really loved him at the time.

Some women described their drug involvement in terms of commitment to the relationship and suggested that there was some persuasion by their partner. Although they perceived the coaxing as persistent, there was some indication of a willingness on their part. This willingness was often portrayed as a product of their love and trust of their partner. A certain naivete about drugs and their effects characterized many of their descriptions.

In the following excerpt, the woman described her boyfriend's persistence and encouragement in her initial drug involvement. In this instance the woman was quite young (15) and she was out with her boyfriend and some friends of his. Although she was unaware of it at the time, her boyfriend had been into the drug scene for three to four years. He was 17 at the time of this incident:

I was with my boyfriend, who later became my husband, and we were at his friend's house. Evidently they had it all planned, because my husband already had the stuff (heroin) and the needle. My husband came out and said he wanted me to do something--wanted me to try it. I said no because I was afraid of the needles. He started to talk me into it. But I was afraid. He kept telling me, "It's not going to hurt." He really wanted me to experience the high and go through it. I guess I'm easy. If he really wanted me to, he could get me to. I really loved the guy. I really trusted him, too.

The relationship was sometimes perceived as faltering or undergoing some changes that were viewed negatively by the woman. While she may have described a series of problems, she suggested that these concerns originated within her relationship with her partner. Drug use was seen as evolving from these stresses and appeared to be a solution to these problems. The following excerpt shows this type of situation:

He stayed home and I would work. I'd come home from work and he had this dope laid out on the table. He'd ask me, "Did I want to get high?" I wanted to know what it was doing for him and I thought it would change our relationship a lot. We didn't talk together much. I did it because it was what he was into and I saw how much he wanted me to do it. And in the beginning--it seemed like we were more relaxed, we got along better.

Engaging in drug use may have followed more direct pressure from a partner. In the following case, the couple had serious problems and the woman had a strong desire to save the relationship. This was followed by her partner's linking of drugs to resolving their problems. Once this was accomplished, drug use appeared to be the appropriate direction. Even if the woman acknowledged that drugs did not solve her problems in the relationship, this linkage provided a sufficient rationalization for her. The following excerpt illustrates one woman's marital stresses and the partner's crucial encouragement:

And my husband and I would fight about his using drugs. I mean physically fighting, verbally fighting, arguing, coming after me. He'd swear to me that he was serious about quitting until I'd find him back into it again. That went on for about nine months. And the whole time he was saying, "If you try it, you'd like it. You'd understand then. You wouldn't fight it. We'd have something in common; we'd have something to do together." I guess I really don't know the reasons why I finally said "Yes" except I was so confused because I knew I had been married before, I felt as though maybe I was failing somewhere as a woman. I felt guilty because I didn't love him--I loved him as a person, but I wasn't in love with him. Eventually, I just broke down and said, "Look, I know what you're gonna do. I'm tired of fighting it, me too."

Regular Drug Use--This motivational pattern also evolved from the data on regular drug use incidents for a few women. Relationships with a significant other provide a setting where daily drug use is seen as a desirable behavior. These women perceive drug use as a way to deal with the social interaction within the relationship. For some women, the drug taking constitutes the majority or a large portion of the social interaction between two people who think of themselves as having a relationship.

As suggested previously, drugs allow the woman to share an important part of her partner's existence. She sometimes suggests that to not engage in this behavior would mean that she would then close herself out of her partner's social world. Again, the underlying emphasis is on the importance of the relationship, keeping it together:

I took it because we had it. Like he was doing it, right. He was doing it so I would do it. Like we would always get high together. We were always together. I didn't want for him to be high at night, driving around, and me not to be high. He got high and he didn't want to do anything but nod and there really wouldn't be much for me to do. Because I remember it would drive me crazy, really crazy. I guess I did it because it was what he would do--so I would do it.

Frequency of the Four Motivational Patterns

The most frequent motivational pattern for first use is Part of the Scene, with 37 percent of those who had an initial drug experience indicating this pattern (see Table 5.2). The remainder of the women described their first use according to the motivational patterns Feeling the High (30%), Tie that Binds (14%) and Making it Easier (7%). Secondary motivational patterns for first use occurs in only 8 cases. The majority of the secondary patterns are Feeling the High (50%) and Part of the Scene (38%).

The most likely motivational pattern for regular use is either Feeling the High (34%) or Making it Easier (33%) (see Table 5.3). Both Part of the Scene and Tie that Binds are motivational patterns for 12 percent of the regular events. The most likely secondary pattern is Making it Easier (46%).

There is little difference in the percent of first and regular events which are characterized by either Feeling the High or Tie that Binds. However, substantial differences between first and regular events are noted for both Making it Easier and Part of the Scene; Part of the Scene is more likely to have been a motivational pattern for first use and Making it Easier is more likely to have been a motivational pattern for regular use. While the theme for Part of the Scene emphasizes the aspects of the social setting which facilitate

TABLE 5.2
MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR FIRST DRUG USE

	<u>Primary</u>		<u>Secondary</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Feeling the High	23	30.3	4	50.0
Making it Easier	5	6.6	0	0.0
Part of the Scene	28	36.8	3	37.5
Tie that Binds	11	14.5	1	12.5
Unable to Code	<u>9</u>	<u>11.8</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>---</u>
TOTAL	76	100.0	8	100.0

TABLE 5.3
MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR REGULAR DRUG USE

	<u>Primary</u>		<u>Secondary</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Feeling the High	21	34.4	2	18.2
Making it Easier	20	32.8	5	45.5
Part of the Scene	7	11.5	2	18.2
Tie that Binds	7	11.5	2	18.2
Unable to Code	<u>6</u>	<u>9.8</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>---</u>
TOTAL	61	100.0	11	100.0

first drug use, regular drug use appears less related to this motivational pattern. The greater percent of regular cases that are identified by Making it Easier may result from learning that problems are masked or seemingly handled through the use of drugs; the act is self-perpetuating.

One question that can be raised by these findings is whether the motivational patterns remain constant for a given individual or whether they change between first and regular drug use. Among those cases which had a first and regular drug use pattern that could be coded, 40 percent have the same motivational pattern for first and regular drug use. Therefore, it did not take a substantially different set of circumstances for the individual to move from initial use to regular drug use. Although there are relatively few cases that described Making it Easier for the first motivational pattern, all of these cases reported the same motivational pattern for regular drug use.

Among those cases that had different motivational patterns for first and regular drug use, the most common combinations for first/regular drug use are Part of the Scene Feeling the High and Feeling the High/Making it Easier (21% and 14% of total cases, respectively). In contrast, some first motivational patterns appear to be unlikely to be followed by a specific regular motivational pattern; while 35 percent of the regular motivational patterns are Making it Easier, only 19 percent of those whose first motivational pattern is Part of the Scene have Making it Easier as a regular pattern. It would appear that certain individuals may be more likely to move from motivational pattern to motivational pattern throughout their career as a drug user, while others may have a fairly stable set of circumstances that facilitate their drug use. Identification of these changing motivational patterns may have an impact on both treatment and prevention of drug use.

TABLE 5.4
 MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR FIRST DRUG USE BY MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR REGULAR DRUG USE

MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR REGULAR USE	MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR FIRST DRUG USE				
	Feeling the High	Making It Easier	Part of the Scene	Tie that Binds	Total
Feeling the High	7 43.8%* (13.5%)**	0 0.0 (0.0%)	11 52.4% (21.2%)	2 18.2% (3.8%)	20 (38.5%)
Making It Easier	7 43.8% (13.5%)	4 100.0% (7.7%)	4 19.0% (7.7%)	3 27.3% (5.8%)	18 (34.6%)
Part of the Scene	1 6.3% (1.9%)	0 0.0% (0.0%)	5 23.8% (9.6%)	1 9.1% (1.9%)	7 (13.5%)
Tie that Binds	1 6.3% (1.9%)	0 0.0% (0.0%)	1 4.8% (1.9%)	5 45.5% (9.6%)	7 (13.5%)
TOTAL	16 (30.8%)	4 (7.7%)	21 (40.4%)	11 (21.2%)	52 (100.0%)

*Indicates column percent
 **Indicates percent of total

Summary

From the focused interviews, four different paths into the illegal drug scene have emerged. Excerpts from the motivational pattern, Feeling the High, reveals a central theme of using drugs for the positive impact of the physical changes or "the high." Women who express the motivational pattern, Making it Easier, also seek an impact from the drug itself but are centered on the psychological relief which made life in general more tolerable. The central theme in Part of the Scene emphasizes the importance of others or the social context in which the drugs are taken. Finally, women who describe Tie that Binds indicate that drug use is viewed as a means to save a personal relationship, a way to draw themselves closer to a loved one.

Although the same motivational patterns emerge for both first and regular drug use, the frequency distribution is somewhat different. Making it Easier is rarely indicated as a pattern for first drug use but accounts for a much greater percent of the descriptions of regular drug use. The opposite trend is noted for Part of the Scene; a much larger percent of the first, as compared to the regular, events are depicted by this motivational pattern. The number of cases in the pattern, Feeling the High, is large for both first and regular events. In contrast, the motivational pattern, Tie that Binds, is indicated by a smaller number of both first and regular cases.

In describing the paths into the illegal drug scene, most women illustrate scenarios that may well have described legal or socially proscribed activities. The apparent lack of concern about the illegal nature of the activity of drug use reveals that the criminalization of these drugs is not a predominant issue; rebellion against the existing drug laws is rarely if ever mentioned.

Further, the descriptions lead one to conclude that drug taking activity is viewed as a logical behavior, given the set of circumstances; the behavior is viewed as appropriate, rather than deviant.

Still another implication that can be drawn from these data is that the use of drugs is not dependent solely upon the internal factors of the individual. There are numerous outside influences that the individual actors describe as relevant to the events. While the particular methodology emphasized in this study maximized the opportunity to reveal such influences, the recurring and lengthy descriptions of both external and internal dimensions emphasize the importance of a multi-faceted investigation of the causes of drug use.

Finally, these findings are congruent with much of the existing literature on drug use. Feeling the High appears to support those theories which emphasize the individual's pursuit of pleasure (e.g., Rado, 1957; Crowley, 1972). The emphasis on drugs as a means to reduce tensions created by problems and stresses indicated in the motivational pattern, Making it Easier, is congruent with those theories which describe drug use as a method of coping with one's problems (e.g., Chein, et al., 1964; Khantzian, et al., 1974). Other theoretical perspectives related to this motivational pattern include those which examine the role of the social structure in limiting the way out of these situations (e.g., Chein, et al., 1964; Finestone, 1957) and those which examine specific problems related to drug use (e.g., Family problems, Blum, 1972; Salmon and Salmon, 1977a).

The importance of the reference groups in the motivational pattern, Part of the Scene, has also been indicated by previous literature (e.g., Becker, 1963; Alksne, et al., 1967). The last motivational

pattern, Tie that Binds, represents a pattern that has never been fully explored in the literature. While previous studies have hinted at the importance of personal relationships for women using drugs (e.g., Waldorf, 1973; O'Donnell, et al., 1967), these findings indicate that there is a pattern for entering the drug scene which emphasizes that drug use is a way to maintain these relationships.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Marijuana is treated independently of other illegal drugs, and, as noted, is not included in data generated on the first drug use incident and the regular drug use incident. The decision to exclude marijuana from these analyses was based on special characteristics of marijuana use in the United States. For a number of years there have been organized attempts to legalize or decriminalize the smoking of marijuana; national efforts have been made by the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML). Thus the social acceptability appears to differ in some respects from other types of illegal drugs. This suggests that the meanings attached to first and regular use of marijuana may differ and that it should be treated separately from other drugs. For further information on marijuana, see: E. Goode, Drugs in American Society, N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf (1972). Also see: National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse, Drug Use in America: Problem in Perspective, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing (1973).

² Basically, these motivational patterns for drug use describe only the high drug use group. Nine persons who were identified as experimental users, had first drug events to report. However, these women did not have a motivational pattern for regular drug use.

CHAPTER 6

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MOTIVATIONAL PATTERNS AND OTHER VARIABLES

To further the understanding of how and why women become involved in the illegal drug scene, it is necessary to determine the inter-relationships between the motivational patterns of drug use and demographic, personal, present offense, criminal and juvenile delinquency history, and other drug variables. First, drug variables related to the first drug event and regular drug use are presented for the motivational patterns. In addition, recent patterns of drug use are noted for each of the motivational patterns. Finally, family and childhood background variables are compared with the motivational patterns for drug use. These three groups of comparisons provide additional insight into the differences and similarities that exist between these motivational patterns.

Relationships between Motivational Patterns and Variables Related to First and Regular Drug Use

Several questions were asked with regard to the first and regular drug use events. First, the type of drug used for each of these events is compared with the motivational pattern for the event. From these data, a determination can be made as to whether motivational patterns are tied to the type of drug that was used. In general, it is apparent that those drugs which were most commonly used for the first drug event were not connected with any specific motivational pattern; heroin and amphetamines were used as the first drug by the

majority of women in the sample who used drugs (49% and 22%, respectively) and neither drug appeared to be related to the motivational pattern for first drug use (see Table 6.1).

Among those who used barbiturates as the first drug (12%), the motivational pattern, Feeling the High is most likely to have emerged; 30 percent of the total first events are classified by Feeling the High and 89 percent of the first events that involve barbiturates are in this pattern (see Table 6.1). When other drugs were used on the first occasion (17%), Part of the Scene is the most predominant motivational pattern; over two thirds of the first events which involve other drugs are characterized by Part of the Scene, as compared to 37 percent of the total events.

For regular patterns of drug use and type of drugs, the majority of cases (72%) used heroin as the regular drug and relationships are difficult to ascertain because of the small number of cases that used the other three drug categories (see Table 6.2). Briefly, amphetamines appear more likely to be associated with the pattern, Feeling the High, and barbiturates with Making it Easier when compared to the percent of the total within these patterns.

From the data on first and regular drug events combined, there does not appear to be any consistent relationship between type of drug and motivational pattern, although the number of cases involving drugs other than heroin is quite small for any conclusions to be drawn. Since it appears that availability of a specific type of drug will not determine the motivational pattern, this entry into the illegal drug scene must be examined for a variety of other factors that may be related to the motivational path chosen.

TABLE 6.1
TYPE OF FIRST DRUG BY MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR FIRST DRUG USE
(Self Report Data)*

MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR FIRST DRUG USE	TYPE OF FIRST DRUG USE							
	Heroin		Amphetamines		Barbiturates		Other	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Feeling The High	8	21.6	6	35.3	8	88.8	1	7.7
Making It Easier	4	10.8	1	5.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
Part Of The Scene	11	29.7	7	41.2	1	11.2	9	69.2
Tie That Binds	8	21.6	1	5.9	0	0.0	2	15.4
Unable To Code	<u>6</u>	<u>16.2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>11.8</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7.7</u>
TOTAL	37	99.9**	17	100.1*	9	100.0	13	100.0
		(48.7)***		(22.4)		(11.8)		(17.1)
								(100.0)

*All data presented in this chapter are self report, unless otherwise noted.
 **Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.
 ***Row Percent

TABLE 6.2

TYPE OF REGULAR DRUG USE BY MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR REGULAR DRUG USE

MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR REGULAR DRUG USE	TYPE OF REGULAR DRUG USE									
	Heroin		Amphetamines		Barbiturates		Other		Total	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Feeling The High	12	29.3	5	55.6	0	0.0	2	40.0	19	33.3
Making It Easier	16	39.0	1	11.1	2	100.0	1	20.0	20	35.1
Part Of The Scene	3	7.3	2	22.2	0	0.0	1	20.0	6	10.5
Tie That Binds	5	12.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	20.0	6	10.5
Unable To Code	<u>5</u>	<u>12.2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10.5</u>
TOTAL	41	100.0	9	100.0	2	100.0	5	100.0	57	99.9*
		(71.9)**		(15.8)		(3.5)		(8.8)		(100.0)

*Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding

**Row Percent

If social setting has an impact on the type of motivational pattern, the locations for the first drug incident may be expected to vary. Among those whose first incident occurred in their own home, a greater percent of cases are characterized by Making it Easier (17%) and Tie that Binds (26%), when compared to the total percent of cases in each of these categories (7% and 15%, respectively) (see Table 6.3). The home environment may provide personal and familiar settings in which these motivational patterns are most likely to operate. In contrast, among women who indicated a friend's home or on the streets as the setting for the first drug event, the motivational pattern, Part of the Scene is more likely (47% and 60%, respectively), as compared to the percent of the total in this pattern (39%). These settings denote the social atmosphere that is considered important to the theme of this motivational pattern.

As another indicator of the differences in the social setting, the person with whom the first drug incident was shared and the motivational pattern for drug use is compared. Nearly equal numbers of women who had a first drug incident reported the presence of a group as the presence of a male friend (see Table 6.4). Among those who reported a group setting, the motivational pattern for first drug use is more likely to have been Part of the Scene (50%), when compared to the total classified by this pattern (39%). Few women reported that a female friend was the person with whom the first incident occurred (18%). For those who did, over half revealed the motivational pattern, Part of the Scene. Thus, social environments that are important to the theme of this motivational pattern include female-dominated as well as mixed or mostly male-dominated

TABLE 6.3

LOCATION OF FIRST DRUG USE BY MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR FIRST DRUG USE

MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR FIRST DRUG USE	LOCATION OF FIRST DRUG USE							
	Own Home		Friend's Home		On The Streets		Total	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Feeling The High	8	34.8	10	29.4	4	26.7	22	30.6
Making It Easier	4	17.4	1	2.9	0	0.0	5	6.9
Part Of The Scene	3	13.0	16	47.1	9	60.0	28	38.9
Tie That Binds	6	26.1	5	14.7	0	0.0	11	15.3
Unable To Code	<u>2</u>	<u>8.7</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5.9</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>13.3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8.3</u>
TOTAL	23	100.0 (31.9)**	34	100.1* (47.2)	15	100.0 (20.8)	72	100.0 (99.9)*

*Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding

**Row percent

TABLE 6.4

PERSON WITH WHOM FIRST DRUG USE OCCURRED BY MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR FIRST DRUG USE

MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR FIRST DRUG USE	<u>Person</u>							
	Male Friend/ Husband		Female Friend		Group		Total	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Feeling The High	12	38.7	4	30.8	7	25.0	23	31.9
Making It Easier	3	9.7	0	0.0	2	7.1	5	6.9
Part Of The Scene	7	22.6	7	53.8	14	50.0	28	38.9
Tie That Binds	7	22.6	1	7.7	3	10.7	11	15.3
Unable To Code	2	6.5	1	7.7	2	7.1	5	6.9
TOTAL	31	100.1* (43.1)**	13	100.0 (18.1)	28	99.9* (38.9)	72	99.9* (100.1)*

*Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.

**Row Percent

environments. This wide variety of social settings reveal that as the number of female drug users increases, opportunities for a wider variety of social settings to occur may increase the frequency of this motivational pattern.

Using a similar indicator for regular drug use, the women who reported a regular drug use pattern were asked with whom their regular drug use patterns were established (see Table 6.5). Nearly two thirds of the sample report a group of people were their regular drug partners, or no one specific individual is important to their regular drug use. While only a quarter of the sample report a male friend/husband, it appears that this category is disproportionately indicated by the women in Tie that Binds (29%), when compared to the total percent of women in this pattern (11%).

Both the social setting and person with whom the event occurred were determined a priori to be of importance to the first and regular drug events. The content analysis procedure (Chapter 5) identifies specific social settings or persons with whom the event occurred as important to specific motivational patterns. This objective data analysis provides additional support for the content analysis findings.

Indications of involvement in traditional activities, such as school or employment, are examined to determine whether any specific pattern of drug use is associated with these occupations outside the home. The majority (62%) of the first drug incidents took place when these activities were evident (see Table 6.6). Those working or in school are more likely to have expressed the motivational pattern, Feeling the High (41%), when compared to the percent of the total in

TABLE 6.5
PERSON WITH WHOM USED DRUGS REGULARLY BY MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR REGULAR DRUG USE

MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR REGULAR DRUG USE	Male Friend/ Husband		Female Friend		PERSON Group		Total	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Feeling The High	5	35.7	3	42.9	12	34.3	20	35.7
Making It Easier	4	28.6	2	28.6	14	40.0	20	35.7
Part Of The Scene	1	7.1	1	14.3	5	14.3	7	12.5
Tie That Binds	4	28.6	0	0.0	2	5.7	6	10.7
Unable To Code	0	0.0	1	14.3	2	5.7	3	5.4
TOTAL	14	100.0 (25.0)**	7	100.1* (12.5)	35	100.0 (62.5)	56	100.0 (100.0)

*Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.
**Row percent

TABLE 6.6
EMPLOYMENT AND/OR SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BY MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR FIRST DRUG USE

MOTIVATIONAL PATTERNS FOR FIRST DRUG USE	EMPLOYMENT OR ATTENDED SCHOOL					
	Yes		No		Total	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Feeling The High	17	40.5	4	15.4	21	30.9
Making It Easier	3	7.1	2	7.7	5	7.4
Part Of The Scene	13	31.0	13	50.0	26	38.2
Tie That Binds	6	14.3	5	19.2	11	16.2
Unable To Code	3	7.1	2	7.7	5	7.4
TOTAL	42	100.0 (61.8)**	26	100.0 (38.2)	68	100.1* (100.0)

*Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.
**Row Percent

this pattern (31%). One possible explanation for this finding is that these traditional activities can provide opportunities for individuals to learn about different highs. None of the other patterns show significantly fewer working or attending school, although those in Part of the Scene are slightly less likely to have reported either activity.

Relationships Between Motivational Patterns and Recent Drug Use Patterns

If the type of motivational pattern for first and/or regular drug use can be shown to relate to subsequent drug use patterns, the specific motivational pattern for these events may be useful for deciding upon appropriate intervention for persons who have entered the drug scene. For those motivational patterns followed by little or no recent drug use, intervention may be unnecessary. Rather resources could be concentrated on those motivational patterns most likely to result in continued use.

Using definitions of recent drug use (defined in Chapter 3), 73 percent of those who had a first drug use incident are also identified as recently using drugs (excluding marijuana) (see Table 6.7). Those in the motivational pattern, Feeling the High, are much more likely to report recent drug use (86%), when compared to the percent of the total who had recently used drugs. In contrast, the women in Part of the Scene are much less likely to report recent drug use (63%), than the total. Assuming recent drug use is an important indicator of serious drug involvement, less serious results appear to occur as a result of the motivational pattern Part of the Scene. In contrast, women who report Feeling the High have a greater

TABLE 6.7
MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR FIRST DRUG USE BY RECENT USE OF DRUGS*

<u>MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR FIRST DRUG USE</u>												
<u>RECENT DRUG USE</u>	<u>Feeling The High</u>		<u>Making It Easier</u>		<u>Part Of The Scene</u>		<u>Tie That Binds</u>		<u>Unable To Code</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	18	85.7	4	80.0	17	63.0	8	72.7	6	66.7	53	72.6
No	<u>3</u>	<u>14.3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>20.0</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>37.0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>27.3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>33.3</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>27.4</u>
TOTAL	21	100.0	5	100.0	27	100.0	11	100.0	9	100.0	73	100.0

*Recent drug use excludes marijuana.

TABLE 6.8
MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR REGULAR DRUG USE BY RECENT USE OF DRUGS*

MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR REGULAR DRUG USE												
	Feeling The High		Making It Easier		Part Of The Scene		Tie That Binds		Unable To Code		Total	
RECENT DRUG USE	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	19	100.0	15	75.0	4	57.1	4	57.1	5	83.3	47	79.7
No	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>25.0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>42.9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>42.9</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>16.7</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>20.3</u>
TOTAL	19	100.0	20	100.0	7	100.0	7	100.0	6	100.0	59	100.0

*Recent drug use excludes marijuana.

probability of remaining in the drug scene, with the corresponding social and personal consequences of the drug lifestyle.

When the motivational pattern for regular drug use is compared to the recent drug use, 80 percent of those with a regular drug use pattern reported recent drug use (excluding marijuana) (see Table 6.8). Thus, regular drug use at any point in time is likely to have resulted in recent drug use as well. A dramatic relationship is noted between Feeling the High (regular) and recent drug use; all of the cases in Feeling the High reported recent drug use. Both Part of the Scene and Tie that Binds show less recent drug use (57%, each) than the total.

Regardless of whether first or regular motivational patterns are considered, those who expressed the motivational pattern, Feeling the High are more likely to have indicated recent drug use. The theme for this motivational pattern reveals pursuit of the drug experience for the effects of the drugs in and of themselves. Clearly, the intricate mixture of desired effects the drugs have on a person, as described by the incidents in this pattern, have increased the probability of continued drug use. Perhaps, when the effects of the drugs are described as highly desirable, it is difficult to change this perception. In contrast, those who report that the importance of the drug taking rests on the social structure, as in Part of the Scene, have a greater likelihood of being exposed to a different social environment. As the peer influences change and as a new activity becomes the center of the groups activity, the drug use is no longer seen as desirable.

Relationships of Motivational Patterns with Family and Background Variables

As previously indicated in Chapter 4, deviance among childhood family members was more likely among women who used drugs extensively. To determine whether family members' deviance had an impact on the type of motivational pattern for first or regular drug use, each type of deviance (drugs, alcohol, arrests) is shown for each motivational pattern (see Tables 6.9 and 6.10).

Drug use among family members is disproportionately found among those whose first drug use pattern was Feeling the High; 43 percent of the persons with a family member who used drugs were in this pattern, as compared to 30 percent of the total cases in this motivational pattern (see Table 6.9). Neither alcohol nor arrests among family members appear to be related to the motivational patterns for first use.

This same relationships exists among those whose regular motivational pattern is Feeling the High; 46 percent of the women who had family members who used drugs, are in the motivational pattern for regular drug use of Feeling the High, even though this pattern accounts for only one third of the total cases (see Table 6.10). For half of those who reported arrests among family members, the motivational pattern for regular drug use is Feeling the High, indicating a proportionately greater number of cases for those in this pattern. In contrast, alcohol misuse and arrest are less likely among family members for the motivational pattern Making it Easier (26% and 25%, respectively) as compared to the percent of total cases in this motivational pattern (35%).

Considering the data for both first and regular drug use, an association between Feeling the High and the family's deviance is

TABLE 6.9

DEVIANCE IN CHILDHOOD FAMILY BY MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR FIRST DRUG USE

MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR FIRST DRUG USE	DEVIANCE IN CHILDHOOD FAMILY							
	Alcohol		Drug		Arrests		Total	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Feeling The High	13	27.7	12	42.9	14	37.8	23	30.3
Making It Easier	3	6.4	0	0.0	2	5.4	5	6.6
Part Of The Scene	20	42.6	10	35.7	16	43.2	28	36.8
Tie That Binds	7	14.9	4	14.3	3	8.1	11	14.5
Unable To Code	4	8.5	2	7.1	2	5.4	9	11.8
TOTAL	47	100.1*	28	100.0	37	99.9*	76	100.0*

*Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.

TABLE 6.10
 DEVIANCE IN CHILDHOOD FAMILY BY MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR REGULAR DRUG USE

MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR REGULAR DRUG USE	DEVIANCE IN CHILDHOOD FAMILY							
	Alcohol		Drug		Arrests		Total	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Feeling The High	16	41.0	10	45.5	14	50.0	19	33.3
Making It Easier	10	25.6	7	31.8	7	25.0	20	35.1
Part Of The Scene	4	10.3	0	0.0	2	7.1	6	10.5
Tie That Binds	5	12.8	3	13.6	2	7.1	6	10.5
Unable To Code	4	10.3	2	9.1	3	10.7	6	10.5
TOTAL	39	100.0	22	100.0	28	99.9*	57	99.9*

*Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding

noted. The behavior of the parental family members is especially conducive to the woman's own search for the high in the illegitimate world. While it is impossible to determine if the motivational pattern for seeking a high would disappear if the family is not involved in deviance, it is possible that these women would have chosen a more legitimate and socially approved means to seek a high if family members are not deviating themselves. Thus, family deviance appears to operate differently among the women involved in drugs. While it may make certain paths of entry into the illegal drug scene more accessible, it appears unrelated to other women's entry into the illegal drug scene.

In Chapter 4, a greater amount of delinquent activity is found among women who use drugs, compared to women with little or no drug use. By comparing the motivational patterns with types of delinquent activity, certain delinquent activities are disproportionately represented among women whose first pattern is Part of the Scene and among women whose regular pattern is Feeling the High. Approximately one-half to two-thirds of those who report vandalism, running away, property, and drinking, describe Part of the Scene as their first motivational pattern for drug use (see Table 6.11). Approximately one-half to two-thirds of those who report vandalism, drinking, and prostitution, reveal that Feeling the High is their motivational pattern for regular drug use (see Table 6.12).

As reported in Chapter 5, 22 percent of the drug users have this combination of motivational patterns for drug use (first--Part of the Scene and regular--Feeling the High). The larger amount of delinquency among drug users, as compared to women with little or no drug use, may be due to this subgroup within the high drug use group.

TABLE 6.11

TYPE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY BY MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR FIRST DRUG USE

	TYPE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY											
MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR FIRST DRUG USE	Vandalism		Running Away		Property**		Drinking		Prostitution		Total***	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Feeling The High	2	22.2	8	21.1	1	11.1	13	29.5	2	25.0	23	30.3
Making It Easier	1	11.1	4	10.5	1	11.1	3	6.8	0	0.0	5	6.6
Part Of The Scene	5	55.6	18	47.4	6	66.7	21	47.7	3	37.5	28	36.8
Tie That Binds	0	0.0	5	13.2	0	0.0	4	9.1	3	37.5	11	14.5
Unable To Code	<u>1</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7.9</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6.8</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11.8</u>
TOTAL	9	100.0	38	100.1*	9	100.0	47	99.9*	8	100.0	76	100.0

*Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.

**Does not include shoplifting.

***This total represents the total number of cases found in each motivational pattern and not the total across categories.

TABLE 6.12

TYPE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY BY MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR REGULAR DRUG USE

MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN FOR REGULAR DRUG USE	TYPE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY							
	Vandalism		Drinking		Prostitution		Total **	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Feeling The High	4	50.0	16	44.4	4	66.7	21	34.4
Making It Easier	2	25.0	10	27.8	1	16.7	20	32.8
Part Of The Scene	2	25.0	5	13.9	0	0.0	7	11.5
Tie That Binds	0	0.0	1	2.8	1	16.7	7	11.5
Unable To Code	0	0.0	4	11.1	0	0.0	6	9.8
TOTAL	8	100.0	36	100.0	6	100.1*	61	100.0

*Percent does not equal 100 due to rounding.

**This total represents the total number of cases found in each motivational pattern and not the total across categories.

For the women in the motivational patterns Part of the Scene and Feeling the High, drug use may be only one of the delinquent or illegal activities that the individual engages in. Perhaps the involvement in a variety of juvenile delinquency activities makes these paths into the illegal drug scene more probable, or, perhaps these motivational patterns for drug use make subsequent delinquent activity more likely.

Summary

Motivational patterns are related to background and drug variables, as well as to the central themes and dimensions identified in the preceding chapters. The different paths indicated by the content analysis procedure gained additional clarity in examining the differences in related variables. Briefly some comments about each motivational pattern can be made.

Some relationships are noted for the type of drug used and the motivational pattern, Feeling the High; for those who report barbiturates as the first drug the motivational pattern is most likely to be Feeling the High. For those who report amphetamines as the regular drug, Feeling the High is more likely to be the motivational pattern. The first drug experience is more likely to have occurred at a time when women were either attending school or working, suggesting that atypical activities were not evident. For women who have either the first or regular motivational pattern, Feeling the High, recent drug use is evident; all of the women who report regular drug use for this motivational pattern have used drugs recently.

Compared to the other patterns, women who report Feeling the High as the first motivational pattern are more likely to have family members who used illegal drugs. All three types of deviant activities

(illegal drug use, misuse of alcohol, and prior arrests) are more evident in the families of those whose motivational pattern for regular drug use is Feeling the High. While there are no delinquent activities that are more evident among women whose first motivational pattern is Feeling the High, vandalism, drinking, and prostitution are all more evident as delinquent activities among women whose regular motivational pattern is Feeling the High.

In contrast to Feeling the High, Making it Easier, as the motivational pattern for either first or regular drug use, shows no special relationships with any of the variables examined here except for one. The location of the first drug event is more likely to have been in the home for women in this pattern. As indicated earlier, the home environment may provide a more personal setting conducive to the use of drugs for this motivational pattern.

Among the few who used "other drugs" (e.g., psychedelics) for the first drug incident, the motivational pattern, Part of the Scene is evident. Among the women who used amphetamines as the regular drug, this pattern is more likely. A more dramatic relationship is found in the conditions of the first drug use; among those in the motivational pattern, Part of the Scene, the first experience is more likely to have occurred on the streets and with a female friend or a group. These women are less likely to have been in school or working. Recent drug use is less likely for those who report either first or regular drug use in this pattern. Several types of juvenile activities are also related to this motivational pattern for first drug use.

While the total number of first and regular incidents that belong within the motivational pattern, Tie that Binds is small, there are

some relationships noted. The regular incident is likely to have occurred with their husband (or male living partner). For women whose regular motivational pattern is Tie that Binds, recent drug use is less likely. Prostitution is more likely to characterize women whose motivational pattern for first drug use is Tie that Binds.

The relationships between motivational patterns and different variables related to first, regular, and recent drug use, and family variables enhance the understanding of the patterns. Considering both the family background and the recent drug use data, Feeling the High may reflect a path into the drug scene that correspondingly occurs when there is acceptance of deviant lifestyles. Drug use may not be seen, then, as an aberrant or deviant activity. The theme from this motivational pattern reflects this sense, with drugs perceived as a desirable experience, not personally destructive.

For the motivational pattern, Part of the Scene, drug use may be an activity that is equated with a variety of other delinquent activities that are sought during early years, along with a group of peers. The fewer number of women who reported this as a regular pattern and the fewer people who continued drugs (as measured by recent drug use) suggest that this is a pattern that is not likely to remain. As situations and peer activities change, the use of drugs is based on other motivational patterns or discontinued.

CHAPTER 7

DRUGS AND CRIME AMONG WOMEN IN DETENTION: SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

This exploratory study gathered both baseline and indepth information about women in the criminal justice process who use drugs. Given the lack of comprehensive and diversified knowledge about women drug users in general, and the female offender who uses drugs, in particular, these data provide insight into an unresearched area and indicate additional areas of research.

Three major areas are addressed in this study: (1) the characteristics of women offenders who use drugs; (2) the interrelationships between crime and drugs; and (3) the motivational patterns for illegal drug use. Both focused interviews and official record data are employed in this investigation of female detainees in Philadelphia's House of Corrections. Data analyses include a comparative picture between women with little or no drug use and women with extensive drug use in order to demonstrate the differences and similarities between the two groups in personal and social characteristics. Differences in criminal and juvenile delinquency records are also examined for the two groups. Among those identified as illegal drug users, a content analysis procedure of the interviews allowed determination of the motivational patterns for drug use.

Numerous findings regarding the woman offender who uses drugs are presented in the first six chapters of this study. A brief

comment on the limitations of this study, precedes an examination of four major groups of findings. First, the prevalence of women drug users in the criminal justice process is discussed. Following this, the types of crimes committed by women in the high drug use group (referred to as the drug users throughout the remainder of this chapter) are considered. Third, the motivational patterns for entering the illegal drug scene are summarized and compared to the existing theoretical and empirical literature on drug use and female crime. Fourth, personal and social characteristics that are specific to the drug users and show a relationship with the motivational patterns are presented.

Limitations of the Study

While the site for this study provided a large, urban setting with a sizeable population of female offenders who used drugs, the generalizability from detention settings to other criminal justice stages is limited. Thus subsequent research is indicated that would investigate different offender populations (e.g., male-female differences, rural, urban, and suburban differences, treatment settings).

Second, the use of indepth interviews and the limited funding for this research necessitated a small sample size. More cases, randomly selected, would have allowed more discriminating analyses to be employed for comparisons between the high and low drug use groups and the comparisons between motivational patterns. Although an increase in the size of sample should not be expected to change the themes or related dimensions of the four motivational patterns identified in this study, additional motivational patterns might emerge with different types of offender populations.

Third, motivational patterns might change throughout the career of a drug user. As more knowledge is gained about these motivational patterns, intervention might be more appropriately coordinated with the given motivational pattern.

Finally, the range of inquiry is limited to only illegal drugs. Comparisons between motivational patterns for illegal and legal substances would offer additional insights into the use of substances and further define the impact of criminalizing certain types of drug use. While all illegal substances are included within this study, heroin is the predominant drug for both first and regular drug use events. Therefore, the motivational patterns are especially suited to describing entry into the heroin drug scene.

Implications of the Major Findings

The extent to which the criminal justice process identifies women who are in the drug lifestyle is demonstrated by three findings in this study. First, the vast majority (86%) of the women in detention have used illegal drugs; excluding marijuana, 75 percent of the sample report use of an illegal drug and 60 percent report regular (daily) use of illegal drugs. Second, compared to the women in the low drug use group, the women in the high drug use group are much more likely to have had an extensive arrest history for all categories except serious offenses against the person and "other" offenses. Third, the women in the high drug use group are more likely to have been negatively sanctioned (i.e., detention, jail sentence, probation, and "other" sanctions).

One reason that drug users represent a large proportion of those in the detention setting and receive a greater number of prior arrests and negative sanctions could be the amount of crime committed by drug users. Perhaps, the arrest history reflects the true differences in crime committed by drug users and nondrug users. Further, if more crimes are committed by drug users, the probability of being detected may increase (although not necessarily). As indicated previously, the criminal activity of drug users has primarily been portrayed as offenses that procure money (e.g., Pres. T.F.R. on Narcotics and Drugs, 1967; Eckerman, et al., 1971). Examining various studies on the average daily costs for the heroin user, the National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse (1973:174) reports that daily cost estimates range from \$20-\$100 per day per user. If property offenses are the major means of obtaining sufficient funds to cover these costs, an even larger amount of goods must be stolen each day because of the street resale value. Some estimates indicate that an addict must steal between \$25,000-\$50,000 worth of merchandise each year to support a habit (e.g., Joseph and Dole, 1970; DuPont, 1972).

Another explanation could be that drug users take substantially greater risks in carrying out their drug activity and therefore are more likely to get caught. James (1976) indicates that addict-prostitutes are much more risk-taking, pursuing men in cars at intersections, while prostitutes (without drug use) are much more cautious and discerning about whom they approach. Further, James (1976) indicates that addict-prostitutes are much less willing to move to a new territory when they have reason to believe that the police are watching them. Primarily, this is due to the fear that they would lose their drug contacts.

The drug user also has a recognizable appearance that might facilitate her identification. Police training manuals emphasize the various physical identifiers (e.g., marks, tracks, constricted pupils, dilated pupils, staggering walk, etc.) that will identify the drug user (e.g., State of California, Department of Justice, Advanced Training Center, 1973). Female drug user that had been in the drug scene for several years are noted for a "worn out" look; scars, missing teeth and a general disregard for appearance are observable among many of the drug women interviewed for this study. In her study of San Francisco street addicts, Rosenbaum (1979:233) observes that many had serious health problems and that women addicts in general "look and seem tired beyond their years" (emphasis in original).

Finally the relationships between drug users appear to increase risks, since they are used as informants against each other by the police (e.g., Waldorf, 1973:76). Women in this study reported that various members of the drug scene exchange information about other drug users for freedom, to eliminate competition, and/or to get even.

The second major finding is that female detainees who use drugs have fairly consistent patterns of property and drug offenses, with a notable arrest history for public order offenses. These findings are consistent with earlier studies that cite prostitution, property, (especially petty theft), and drug offenses as the most common methods of supporting drug use among women (e.g., Chambers and Inciardi, 1971; Inciardi and Chambers, 1972; Chambers, Hinesley, and Moldestad, 1970; Rosenbaum, 1979; James, Gosh, and Wohl, 1979; Waldorf, 1973; File, McCahill, and Savitz, 1974). Klein and Kress (1976) argue that female

crime can be understood, in part, by the economic conditions of poor women. While economic needs may explain the type of offenses committed by drug users, the economics of the black market for drugs can not be ignored. Thus, illegalization of drugs, which greatly increases their costs, contributes to the amount and type of crimes that must be committed to support the drug use.

Present charge of serious property crimes (e.g., burglary, robbery) are found for a sizeable group (25%) of the drug women; nearly 40 percent of the drug user have been arrested for serious property offenses as well. These percentages appear somewhat high to be congruent with theories of female deviance that portray female crime as an illegitimate expression of the female role; few female crimes that reflect masculine-type aggression are to be expected (e.g., Hoffman-Bustamante, 1973; Weis, 1976). Other studies on female drug users have shown findings similar to the data of this study; a survey by Chambers and Inciardi (1971) reveals that one third of the women in a treatment setting had committed burglary and one third had committed armed robberies or muggings. Studying female arrestees in Philadelphia and Denver, Weissman, and File (1974) report that a sizeable percent (23%) of women had a prior arrest for burglary. Prior arrest records for robbery show a low of 4.7 percent of the whites in Philadelphia and a high of 25 percent of the blacks in Denver had a prior arrest of robbery on their records.

Possibly, criminal activity among female drug users can not be explained by the same theoretical perspectives used to explain female criminality. Usual female roles followed in criminal activity may be

disrupted by drug use in much the same way that female relationship roles (e.g., maternal supervision), are disrupted by drug use. In contrast to both Simon (1975) and Adler (1975) who predicted an increase in masculine type crime as social roles change and provide more opportunities for women, the masculine type of crime may be resorted to when there is less opportunity to commit crimes that fit into the female role. For instance, the deterioration of the physical appearance reduces market value for the prostitute; the status of being a female drug user reduces opportunities to form dependency relationships with most males. Thus, more masculine types of crime may be resorted to out of necessity, rather than the expansion of some opportunities for women.

Another consideration is that female drug user with serious property offenses carry out these nontraditional female crimes in a very traditional female role. For instance, some women in the sample with robbery charges had been prostituting when a dispute over money emerged (some claimed they tried to get more money, others claimed that the trick was not going to pay).

A third group of major findings concern the motivational patterns for illegal drug use. As described earlier, these motivational patterns indicate a diversity of paths into the illegal drug scene that suggest that no one theoretical approach to illegal drug use can fully explain drug use. Further, the motivational patterns can be related to previous theoretical works and prior empirical studies. Briefly, these patterns are reiterated here.

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The first motivational pattern is Feeling the High. This pattern emphasizes the pursuit of the illegal drug scene largely because of the positive physical effects of the drugs themselves. Other individuals provide both information and access to the drugs and drug scene. However, the social-environmental setting is incidental to the event and is not an important dimension in establishing the major theme for drug use. Little planning is necessary and the decision to engage in the drug taking appears to be largely opportunistic.

As indicated in the review of the literature on drug use theories, several psychological theories emphasize the pursuit of pleasure as an underlying basis of a person's character that leads to a hedonistic pursuit of drugs (e.g., Rado, 1957). According to Rado (1957), the fear of pain and dependency needs which indicate a lack of emotional maturity and security lead to the desire for miraculous help (through drugs). While it is possible that the need for miraculous help is part of other motivational patterns (e.g., Making it Easier), it would appear that the superpleasure is sufficient on its own to lead this group of women into the drug scene. This perspective is supported by Weil (1972), who indicates that the pleasure of drugs is sufficient explanation for their use. According to Weil, the pursuit of a "high" is a natural part of being human; the benefits of the higher consciousness can actually facilitate the development of the mind and self.

Some individuals in this study did specify the use of drugs as functional, a desire for a different mental, emotional, and physical experience. Others are unable to verbalize extensive descriptions of the experience that they are seeking. Perhaps the explanation for this inability to describe the benefits of the higher consciousness

must be understood in light of the limitations brought on by their environment. Finestone's (1957) study of black, inter-city, economically deprived community of hustlers and drug users indicates that the "kick" of using drugs in an otherwise limited and limiting existence was the primary motivation for its initial use. Thus, drug use does not have to offer the same higher consciousness or experience to everyone; it must simply be a higher consciousness or experience according to one's own experiences or alternatives.

Since the majority of earlier studies have not developed the drug user's stated reasons for pursuing drugs beyond a brief, few words of description, the comparisons between motivational patterns and reasons given in these earlier studies are somewhat speculative. However, several studies appear to have found similar themes among their samples. Brown, et al. (1971:638) reveals that first drug use is explained in part by females seeking a high. Ellinwood, et al. (1966:39) found that "kicks" and pleasure are cited as reasons for initial drug use. Friedman and Peer (1968:289) report that prostitutes mention deriving pleasure from drugs as one of their primary motivations.

The second motivational pattern depicted in this study is Making it Easier. Drugs are viewed as a way out of problems or troubles; they make things better. Others provide a role model, often appearing as if they have found a desirable way to solve their own problems. Many times drugs are a part of the immediate social or neighborhood environments and thus it is easy to find the role models and the drugs. The decision to engage in illegal drug is deliberate; some planning and consideration have usually taken place.

As reviewed earlier, theoretical explanations for drug use include depictions of drug use as a means to cope with one's environment and

drug use as a result of an individual's inability to handle ordinary human problems and tensions (e.g., Khantzian, et al., 1974; Chein, et al., 1964). An interesting addition by this study to this theoretical position is that women did not view their problems as ordinary; they view their situations as unique and lonely. Chein (1964) defined drug use as functional, relieving anxiety. Expressions by the women in this sample suggest that drugs serve a clear function--to relieve anxiety and tension.

To some extent this motivational pattern is similar to the retreatist pattern described by Cloward and Ohlin (1960); drugs are taken to obliterate the immediate existence, or to escape. However, there is not evidence to support or refute the notion that these women had been unable to gain status in the illegitimate world (or at least that they were denied access any more than other females). There are several indications that access to status in the legitimate world is blocked; descriptions carry pictures of bleak, unpromising lives with little opportunity for success. Previous studies have shown that the social structure limits the abilities and opportunities for some individuals to cope with their own problems; thus, drug use tends to be located in rundown, socially disrupted neighborhoods (e.g., Chein, et al., 1964; Finestone, 1957).

Several empirical studies mentioned earlier provide some further support for this motivational pattern among women. According to Friedman and Peer (1968:289), some prostitutes indicate that drugs are a means to forget their troubles. Rosenbaum (1979) notes that various problems precede drug use for female addicts, including

reduced options, economic hardships, and disruptive family backgrounds; these factors may produce tensions and stresses, as well as limit the opportunities for coping. Not only is the relief of personal disturbances cited in the reasons for adopting the drug use, it is also given as reason for failing to withdraw from the drug scene (e.g., Brown, et al., 1971:638).

The third motivational pattern found in these interviews is Part of the Scene. As the name suggests, drug use is primarily engaged in to become part of a larger social group. In this instance the social group is of paramount importance in setting the stage for the illegal drug use. The perception of what the drug itself did is of lesser importance; the social environment made the drug experience. Others provide peer pressure both indirectly and directly. Both spur-of-the-moment and well planned decisions characterize this motivational pattern.

Several theories on drug use describe the importance of the social context or peer groups in the pursuit of drugs; status achievement and belonging are possible through drug use groups (e.g., Alksne, Lieberman, and Brill, 1967:225). While status achievement and belonging are noted, the defiance of the law is less frequently mentioned as a concern among the women in this motivational pattern. The group is often portrayed as the context in which the woman lived and other social groups are either ignored or not known.

Further, the social group provides the context in which the drug process can be learned and the effects of the drugs interpreted (e.g., Lindesmith, 1947; Becker, 1963; Levine, et al., 1975). For women in this motivational pattern the learning process is evident

in a similar context (e.g., what drugs are taken, how drugs are experienced, and what effects are expected). However, women in Part of the Scene also indicate that the learning process is important in removing the psychological barriers (e.g., straight thinking that drugs are unacceptable), in providing access beyond information or sales (e.g., giving the woman the drug), and generally in creating psychological and social pressures for drug use (e.g., equating refusal with being different).

Among studies which examine drug users' own statements about their entry into the illegal drug scene, the theme for this motivational pattern is depicted. The influence of friends is the most predominant reason for drug use found for both adult males and females by Brown, et al., (1971:638). Weinstein (1976) found that social conformity is seen by drug users as one of the reasons for drug use. Ellinwood, et al., (1966:39) reports that women cite being "part of the gang" as one of the reasons for their initial use. Friedman and Peer (1968:289) report that pimps are more likely to cite belonging to the gang or doing what the gang does more often than prostitutes.

The last motivational pattern, Tie that Binds, may be unique to women in the illegal drug scene. Women who describe this pattern emphasize that drugs are a way to maintain the relationship they have with a male friend or husband. The perception of the drug is generally not described, or it is of minor importance. The social-environmental context of the significant other is of obvious importance and both deliberate and spur-of-the-moment decisions typify this pattern.

While the preceding motivational patterns appear to be supported by the existing theories of drug use, the last motivational pattern is more directly tied to theories of female deviance. Explanations of female crime which suggest that it is an illegitimate expression of the sex-role seem most adequate in offering some understanding of drug use (e.g., Hoffman-Bustamante, 1973). Weis (1976) suggests that female crime is an alternative means of female role validation. First, drug use may be an illegitimate expression of the female role; their willingness to engage in drug use is tied to their perception of carrying out their roles in their relationships with men. Literature on sexual role supports such a notion; women tend not to seek roles that will alienate them from their personal relationships, because it is in these roles that they derive their identity and their self esteem (e.g., Bardwick and Douvan, 1971). This would suggest that carrying out their perceived role as a female is more important than adhering to the legal code.

Rather than rebelling against their sexual roles, these women appear to have conformed too well. The strength of the bond that they suggest in their descriptions and the conventional nature of the relationship bond that they describe make this pattern difficult to explain in light of control theory, which suggests that conventional relationships decrease the likelihood of criminal activity (e.g., Hirschi, 1969).

A similar discrepancy has been discussed by Pollak (1950), who notes that amount of crime committed by married women seems higher than the amount of crime committed by single women, while the reverse is true for men. Pollak (1950:157) questions whether "...in our culture marriage may help men to settle down while it may cause women to become disturbed and on occasions violators of the law." Perhaps traditional

sexual role expectations place too much emphasis on the woman's relationships with others, particularly men. Women who use drugs in this motivational pattern, appear to emphasize this relationship bond to the exclusion of other conventional bonds.

While this motivational pattern has not been noted in the theoretical literature on drug use, numerous studies have implicated the male-female relationship and its importance to understanding the female drug user. Both Bowker (1977) and Bullington (1974) found that females are introduced to drugs as a part of the relationship experience. Other studies note the tendency for males to introduce females to the drug scene and the more frequent pattern of female drug users living with male drug users, while the reverse is not as likely (e.g., Kron, 1965; Yablonsky, 1965; Eldred and Washington, 1975; Robinson, 1960; Maglin, 1974; Waldorf, 1973; O'Donnell, et al., 1967; Cuskey, et al., 1972).

Finally, the last major finding to be reviewed here, the personal social characteristics of the high drug use group that appear useful in considering the paths into the illegal drug scene and the factors which may provide settings conducive to drug use. As is indicated in Chapter 4, women who are in the high drug use group are more likely to report that some family member deviated, either through illegal drug use, alcohol misuse, or prior arrests. When the high drug use group is categorized on the basis of motivational patterns and family deviance is examined for each motivational pattern, the family deviance appears particularly evident for those in Feeling the High and considerably less evident for those in Making it Easier. While parental behavior has been shown previously to be a predictor of a youth's drug use (e.g., Blum, 1972:107; Bowker, 1977:14-17), it has not been tied to a youth's subsequent motivational pattern for drug use.

One possible interpretation for those in Feeling the High is that the deviance through drugs is acceptable because the family environment, by example, is conducive to deviance in general.

The more frequent self-report juvenile delinquency noted among women in the high drug use group is specifically tied to women in two motivational patterns, Feeling the High and Part of the Scene. For those women in Part of the Scene, the greater involvement in juvenile delinquency activity may reflect that the peer pressure is not specific to drug use but is generalized to types of deviant group activities. For those in Feeling the High, the more parental family deviance may influence juvenile delinquency activity in general, as well as drug use.

Thus, no one set of factors appears to influence entry into the illegal drug scene, but rather, different sets of factors operate in such a fashion as to open pathways into the illegal drug scene. Since this is so, multiple approaches are needed to respond to illegal drug use in our society.

Conclusion

Governmental policies established to impact the use of illegal drugs in our society have focused on prevention via the deterrent effect of the law itself, the establishment of various drug education programs, and various approaches which pursue enhancing personal and social development as a means to combat potential, harmful pursuit of drugs (e.g., National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse, 1973; Swisher, 1979; Brecher, et al., 1972). The motivational patterns found in this study indicate that any prevention program will have to acknowledge the diversity of paths into the illegal drug scene. Successful prevention programs for some individuals may enhance the vulnerability of other individuals toward illegal drug use. For instance, drug education programs might be found to reduce the number of individuals who would pursue a path into illegal drugs through the motivational pattern, Part of the Scene, but increase the number of individuals who would pursue illegal drug use through Feeling the High.¹

Also, the goals of prevention and treatment of illegal drug use are in opposition to each other at times. By using the law as a deterrent force, the social and personal consequences women offenders experience make emergence from this double deviant status difficult, if not impossible. As evidenced by the arrest histories of the women drug users in this sample, getting out of the drug scene is complicated by one's involvement in the criminal scene. The identification of self as criminal is an important psychological border for women drug users to cross; the path back into the mainstream of society means that changes in self definitions must occur at both the drug and crime levels (e.g., Rosenbaum, 1979:141).

Treatment of drug users should acknowledge the diversity of paths into the illegal drug scene and the dual deviant status of being criminal and drug user. Given these findings, the way out of the drug scene may be expected to differ among this group of women drug users.² Perhaps the motivational patterns change throughout the career of the drug user. If so, the women may be more susceptible when pursuing drug use for certain motivational pattern than for others. For example, the woman who uses drugs to maintain the relationship (Tie that Binds) may be particularly amenable to treatment when the relationship dissolves.

While further research is needed on the lifestyles and careers of women drug users and their special concerns and needs, findings of this study offer insight into female offenders who use drugs, particularly her entry into the drug scene, the interrelationships between crime and drugs, and her personal characteristics.

¹There are numerous arguments against prevention programs, including the position that prevention is an impossible task (e.g., Brecher, et al., 1972; Goode, 1972) and that prevention does more harm than good. Also some advocate the position that the government should not prevent the use of drugs because drugs are a desirable part of our society (e.g., Weil, 1972), and a part of our culture.

²For further information on the success of matching female offenders with appropriate treatment strategies, see: Warren, M.Q., "The Female Offender" in Psychology of Crime and Criminal Justice ed. by Toch, H. N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1979 (Chapter 13).

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APPENDIX I

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW FORMAT

Brief discussion of the study and the woman's role in the study.

What happened that you are here at the House of Corrections?

- type of arrest--description of the offense/arrest
- number of codefendants
- detainers/bail amount
- description of adjustment to the jail/incarceration

What types of previous difficulties have you had with the police or courts?

- type of first arrest and age
- previous dispositions or sanctions as an adult
 - detention
 - jail sentence
 - prison
 - probation/parole
 - other

Were you ever into any types of activities as a juvenile for which you were ever in trouble or for which you might have gotten in trouble if you were caught?

- truancy
- vandalism
- running away
- fighting
- shoplifting
- other property
- drinking
- drugs
- prostitution
- other
- juvenile dispositions

Could you describe your family when you were growing up?

- family configuration
- number of siblings
- placement of woman
- age first left home one month or longer
- presence of alcohol, illegal drugs, or arrests of family members

Before you were arrested, were you living alone or with someone else?

- configuration and its duration
- marital status
- number of children
- age range of children
- with whom do the children live
- presence of alcohol, illegal drugs, or prior arrests for living partner

What types of employment have you had?

- longest job
- duration of longest job
- employment at time of arrest
- highest grade completed

Can you describe to me the first time you ever used an illegal drug, other than marijuana?

- type of drug/knowledge about drug/perceived effects
- age
- with whom/their role/relationship
- where/recall of event/social interactions
- lifestyle at time
- state reasons for using drugs/what was happening
- general perceptions of what was happening

Can you describe to me the first time you began using illegal drugs (other than marijuana) on a daily basis for at least one month?

(same as preceding)

How would you describe yourself? What kind of person are you?

- positive/negative feelings
- changes desired in self/life
- future orientation
- similarity to other drug women

Closing focus was on the jail experience and the types of changes that she saw as most needed within the jail setting.

END