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Drugs and Crime

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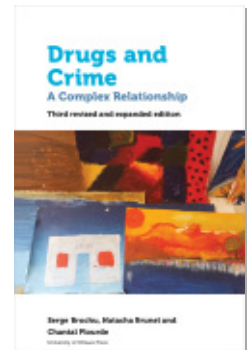
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Links Between Drugs and Crime in Facts and Figures

Although awareness raising and prevention are appropriate responses to the current state of drug use within the general population and for youth in particular, there is greater cause for concern when it comes to youth and adults involved in the legal system. The proportion of drug users and drug-dependent individuals in adult and youth detention facilities is generally considered to be very large. According to some corrections professionals, up to 80 percent of people in custody have psychoactive substance use problems.

Every year, plenty of studies are published on the prevalence of illegal psychoactive substance use among people involved in the legal system, but it is difficult for conclusions drawn from empirical research to sway unbending opinions about the relationship between drugs and crime. Study results published in scientific journals typically attract far less attention than local media headlines about the latest record-setting drug seizure or a violent crime committed by a drug addict on parole. What conclusions can we draw from the recent scientific findings? Let us begin with a review of prevalence studies involving adolescents in custody and young people with drug dependencies in treatment programs.

Youth

We examine the prevalence of links between drug use and criminal behaviour among youth for two main subpopulations: (1) youth in custody, and (2) youth with serious psychoactive substance use problems accessing addiction treatment centre services. The same individuals may be represented in both subpopulations because, as we will see, a youth who abuses drugs may spend time in custody at some point in his or her trajectory. It is nevertheless important to note that minors who commit offences do not all end up in custody. Jail time is the rarest and most severe penalty and is typically reserved for the extremely violent and for recidivists, those most entrenched in criminal activity (Fortin-Dufour et al. 2015). Then there is the dark figure of crime, crimes that are unknown and lead to neither arrest nor conviction. Nevertheless, authors such as Palamar (2014) show that problems with the police increase in step with frequency of cannabis use. Studies on incarcerated youth therefore do not represent all offenders. On the other hand, young users and those with serious drug use problems are not all in addiction rehabilitation centres. The treatment penetration rate is relatively low for youth with psychoactive substance dependence. For example, although regional variations exist, Quebec's average penetration rate is 22 percent (Tremblay et al. 2014). A number of reasons may account for this: youth deny there is a problem, they lack the motivation to change or accept treatment, front-line services have inadequate screening and detection practices, and so on. Lastly, we must also consider the fact that sample groups in the majority of the studies in this section included only or mostly boys. We must be extremely careful about including the female population in general pronouncements about the results of such studies. On the whole, prevalence findings must be interpreted cautiously because they are mere snapshots of the relationship between drugs and crime.

A brief survey of the studies immediately reveals that the prevalence of psychoactive substance use is much higher among adolescents in custody than among those in the general population (Sedlak and McPherson 2010; Neff and Waite 2007). A 2002–03 American study by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention showed that 84 percent of juvenile offenders in custody had used cannabis, compared to 30 percent of their peers in the general population (Sedlak and McPherson 2010).

Similarly, if we compare Quebec studies of young offenders in custody in youth centres (Lambert et al. 2012; Laventure, Pauzé, and Déry 2008) with Institut de la statistique du Québec data on adolescents in the general population (Cazale, Fournier, and Dubé 2009; Laprise et al. 2012), we can estimate that at least four times more of the former (42 percent: Laventure, Pauzé, and Déry 2008) than of the latter (9 percent: Cazale, Fournier, and Dubé 2009) reported having used cannabis at least once a week during the previous year. There is also a significant gap between the two groups with respect to costlier drugs such as cocaine (3 percent of the general population, 11 percent of the youth centre population) (Laprise et al. 2012). We should note that Quebec studies of adolescents in youth centres generally include not only young offenders detained under the *Youth Criminal Justice Act* (YCJA),¹ but also youth in custody under the *Youth Protection Act* (YPA) and the *Act Respecting Health Services and Social Services*, who are in custody in the same youth centres. The proportion of individuals using various psychoactive substances is higher among young offenders under the authority of the YCJA.

A Quebec study of 401 male offenders aged fourteen to eighteen in youth centres showed that more than nine out of ten Montreal youth had used cannabis at least once in their lives. In addition, 69 percent of them reported having used hallucinogens (mescaline, magic mushrooms, LSD), and over half had tried amphetamines (56 percent) and even cocaine (49 percent), the latter a much costlier drug (Brochu et al. 2010).

Similarly, Neff and Waite (2007) conducted a study in the United States using data compiled by the Virginia Department of Justice on incarcerated youth in Virginia from 1998 to 2003 inclusively. Their study results showed that 82 percent of incarcerated youth had consumed cannabis, 16 percent had consumed cocaine, and 16 percent had consumed hallucinogens.

It is important to note that these high rates of illicit drug use among adolescents involved in the legal system may not exist among all youth who commit crimes. Offenders who use drugs are at increased risk of becoming involved with the legal system because drug possession is grounds for arrest and detention (Braithwaite et al. 2003).

With respect to severity of use, incarcerated youth generally have a high rate of psychoactive substance use and dependence (Gretton and Clift 2011; Ahmad and Mazlan 2014). It is difficult to compare

data from youth in the general population and from those in custody because of the different measurement tools used. We can nevertheless suggest that, in general, detained youth are much more likely to have significant psychoactive substance use problems (Ahmad and Mazlan 2014; Frappier et al. 2015).

In a Quebec study of 890 young users in addiction treatment centres, Tremblay, Brunelle, and Blanchette-Martin (2007) showed that drug use problems among youth centre inmates sentenced under the YCJA were more severe than among those in custody under the YPA and individuals not in youth centres. The proportion of young people who use cocaine at least once a week is higher among young people under YCJA jurisdiction (12 percent) than among those under YPA jurisdiction (5 percent) and individuals not in youth centres (7 percent). Similarly, in a study of 726 drug-dependent youths in addiction treatment centres, Brunelle and her co-investigators (2014) showed that the most delinquent individuals had the most severe drug use problems. For example, severity scores for alcohol, cannabis, and other drugs are higher in the high-delinquency group than in the low-delinquency group. One of the indicators is frequency of cannabis use, with significantly more of the former group (80 percent) using it at least three times a week compared to the latter (69 percent).

With a number of studies (Chassin et al. 2009; Tripodi, Springer, and Corcoran 2007) showing a directly proportional relationship between drug use problems and levels of delinquency, let us now turn to the link between drugs and crime among youth with psychoactive substance dependence. Myriad studies have shown that delinquency is common among young people being treated for psychoactive substance abuse (D'Amico et al. 2008; Pepler et al. 2010; Reynolds et al. 2011; Van Der Geest, Blokland, and Bijleveld 2009).

A study conducted by Hser and her fellow researchers (2001) showed that 67 percent of young people entering specialized addiction treatment admitted to having committed crimes over the previous year, or they were awaiting trial, on probation, or on parole. Similarly, the U.S. Cannabis Youth Treatment study of 600 young users in treatment who were abusing cannabis showed that 83 percent of them had already committed a crime other than illegal drug possession (Dennis et al. 2004).

A Quebec study showed that nearly a third (29 percent) of youth in addiction treatment in the Quebec City region had been convicted of a crime (Tremblay, Brunelle, and Blanchette-Martin 2007). More

recently, Brunelle and her associates (2013) carried out a study involving 199 youth in treatment in Quebec. Their results showed that a high proportion (89 percent) of the participants had committed at least one delinquent act before beginning treatment, and that 43 percent had been arrested by the police. The most common offences were possession and sale of drugs (67 percent), theft (52 percent), and assault (29 percent).

Adults

There are clearly links between drugs and crime among teenagers in custody in youth centres and those in addiction rehabilitation facilities, but do similar patterns exist among adults, including those involved in the justice system? To what extent do adult offenders use drugs?

Justice-involved Individuals

In the United States, the National Institute of Justice introduced the Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring² (ADAM) program to better gauge illegal drug use among male arrestees in major urban centres (ONDCP 2014). Reimplemented in 2007 as ADAM II, the program initially included ten U.S. cities, but 2012 budget cuts shrank the number of data collection sites to five (Atlanta, Chicago, Denver, New York, and Sacramento). For two fourteen-day periods a year, specially trained staff collected urine specimens from a random sample of individuals who were arrested in the evening or at night and asked them a series of questions. Participation was strictly confidential and voluntary.³ The purpose was not to collect additional evidence that could lead to conviction but to gauge trends in illegal drug use among arrestees in the major U.S. cities participating in the program. The response rate for the 2013 ADAM II survey was 62 percent for the interviews and 55 percent for the urine tests (ONDCP 2014).

The urine test used in the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) survey detected the presence of ten different drugs. The proportion of participants testing positive for at least one of the drugs in 2013 “ranged from 63 percent in Atlanta to 83 percent in Chicago and Sacramento” (ONDCP 2014, xi). In Sacramento, 50 percent of the participants tested positive for multiple drugs. Not surprisingly, cannabis was the most commonly detected drug, ranging from 34 percent in Atlanta to 59 percent in Sacramento. Self-reported cannabis

use ranged from 39 percent in Atlanta to 58 percent in Sacramento. Congruence between urine test results and self-reported use is generally very high (84 percent for cannabis and 95 percent for methamphetamine) across all five survey sites (ONDCP 2014). The 2013 ADAM II survey did not investigate the severity of drug use.

Urinalysis may be perceived as more methodologically sound than self-reporting, but test results may be imprecise because the period of time during which different drugs can be detected varies dramatically. For example, cannabis can be detected up to a month after use (for frequent, heavy users), but the window for cocaine and heroin is just forty-eight hours. As a result, the prevalence of cannabis use compared to cocaine and heroin use is often overstated. Moreover, urine tests cannot confirm whether an individual was intoxicated when committing a crime or at the time of arrest, nor can they reveal a serious drug use problem. Regardless, the results show that the vast majority of arrestees had used at least one drug in the days preceding their arrest.

Research on prison and penitentiary inmates reveals a very high prevalence of illegal psychoactive substance use prior to incarceration (Brochu and Plourde 2012; Plourde et al. 2012; Plourde et al. 2013; Zakaria et al. 2010).⁴ For example, Fazel, Bains, and Doll (2006) conducted a systematic review of studies on drug use and dependence among inmates. They selected thirteen studies with a total of 7,563 prisoners and found that drug abuse and dependence affected between 10 percent and 48 percent of the men and between 30 percent and 60 percent of the women. Despite there being fewer studies involving women, it is clear that incarcerated women use drugs as much as or more than their male counterparts (Fazel, Bains, and Doll 2006; Johnson 2006; Zakaria et al. 2010). This is especially true for heroin, cocaine, methadone, and psychotropic prescription drugs (Butler et al. 2003; Plourde et al. 2013), which are considered highly addictive.

In a province-wide study set in Quebec prisons, more than half (54 percent) of the inmates surveyed admitted to having used at least one illegal substance during the year prior to their incarceration (Robitaille, Guay, and Savard 2002, 52):

A significant proportion (48.5%) of individuals who reported using drugs were daily users. Approximately 15% used drugs a few or several times a week. Just 11.3% used drugs only on special occasions. In other words, the vast majority of the subjects used drugs relatively frequently.⁵

A recent study (Plourde et al. 2015) of 292 Quebec inmates with drug use problems using the Assessment and Screening of Assistance Needs – Alcohol/Drug instrument (Tremblay, Rouillard, and Sirois 2004) indicated that 78 percent of participants were in the “red” zone and in need of specialized second-line dependence services. According to the study, 73 percent of the inmates reported regular use of alcohol, 76 percent of cannabis, 63 percent of cocaine, 60 percent of amphetamines, and 15 percent of opiates.

Despite using somewhat different methodology, data from penitentiaries display some similarities. The data showed that half (52 percent) of the inmates used cannabis, a quarter (26 percent) used cocaine, and a tenth (13 percent) used opiates during the twelve months preceding their incarceration (Kunic and Grant 2006).

These statistics stand in stark contrast to the results of major nationwide surveys (Health Canada’s Canadian Alcohol and Drug Use Monitoring Surveys 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012), which indicate that, within Quebec’s general adult population, approximately one in ten had consumed an illegal psychoactive substance, typically cannabis, in the year preceding the survey (Health Canada 2012). This marked disparity in usage prevalence among offenders and within the general population is even more dramatic in the case of cocaine. A quarter of the inmates surveyed admitted to having consumed cocaine in the twelve months prior to incarceration, whereas the prevalence in the Canadian population is only about 1 percent (Brochu et al. 2001; Health Canada 2012). Though impressive, these results do not establish a causal relationship between drug use and the commission of criminal acts.

Additional data about male offenders’ drug use can help us better understand it. According to some of our research team’s studies, between a third and half of Canadian offenders are moderately to severely dependent on illegal drugs (Brochu, Guyon, and Desjardins 2001; Pernanen et al. 2002).⁶ According to Correctional Service Canada’s much less conservative figures, nearly 80 percent of the inmates under its jurisdiction had substance use problems requiring intervention (Weekes et al. 2009). That includes inmates who needed only low-intensity intervention (prevention). When asked if they had a drug use problem before incarceration, a significant proportion of the inmates, both male (56 percent) and female (58 percent), reported that they did (Plourde et al. 2012).

One-fifth of the prison and penitentiary inmates interviewed by Pernanen’s team (Pernanen et al. 2002) committed crimes to pay for

illegal drugs for personal use. Theft was the crime most frequently committed to acquire drugs. Forty-three percent of penitentiary inmates convicted of theft and 37 percent of those convicted of robbery reported committing their crimes specifically to get drugs. However, when asking offenders to briefly explain why they were arrested, it is important to keep in mind that their answers may very well have more to do with satisfying social acceptability criteria than providing a faithful account of the dynamics involved.⁷ Although some degree of circumspection is called for, recidivism statistics offer interesting insights. According to Weekes and his fellow researchers (2009), “offenders with the most serious substance abuse problems are twice as likely to re-offend as others” (recidivism rate = 38 percent versus 19 percent), even though half (54 percent) of federal “offenders on release participated in at least one substance abuse program while incarcerated.” Some researchers therefore believe that illegal drug use and dependence are very good predictors of future criminal activity (Benda, Corwyn, and Toombs 2001), particularly for people also suffering from mental illness (Bonta, Blais, and Wilson 2013; O’Keefe and Schnell 2007).

Data for the adult offender population are consistent with data for adolescents in the sense that a significant proportion of them began using illegal psychoactive substances following the onset of criminal activity (Makkai and Payne 2003).

Drugs in Prison

The majority of offenders have a history of heavy drug use prior to serving time, and incarceration certainly does not put a stop to the behaviour. Drugs of all kinds get into prisons and penitentiaries, where they are distributed and consumed.

Drugs are not only easy to get, they are part of prison life (Butler et al. 2013; EMCDDA 2001; Small et al. 2005; Strang et al. 2006). The prison environment is ideally suited to the drug trade because of its population of drug dealers who are, of course, intimately familiar with the ins and outs of the illegal drug distribution network, and the ratio of users to dealers is certainly higher behind bars than on the street: “Substance abuse amongst our offender population creates a high demand that the dealers will undertake significant efforts that ensure a supply” (McVie 2001, 7).⁸

Moreover, day-to-day living conditions in jail are so unpleasant that ex-users have plenty of good reasons to fall back on old habits.

It is natural for inmates to seek freedom and an escape from the miserable prison environment, if only in their minds. Some drugs that produce anaesthetic or euphoric effects serve as an adaptive response for the user (Plourde et al. 2012; Plourde and Brochu 2002; Plourde, Brochu, and Lemire 2001). A 2004 qualitative study of inmates by Seal and his fellow researchers pointed to four main reasons why people use drugs during incarceration: the need to escape their unbearable reality; celebration; addiction; and a more external factor, the many opportunities available. Other external factors associated with psychoactive substance use while incarcerated include gang membership and length of incarceration (Andia et al. 2005).

According to the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA) (2002), "All contacts with the outside world are occasions for smuggling drugs into prison" (p. 48). Inmates use ingenious strategies to turn temporary leave, private visitations, and contact in visiting areas, all of which help inmates maintain social ties, into opportunities to bring drugs into prison.

Ion detectors, sniffer dogs, and manual searches are used routinely, but it is harder to implement mandatory body cavity searches of visitors and of inmates who have been on temporary leave.

When goods are prohibited, their monetary value rises. The cost of street drugs goes up depending on how difficult they are to get in prison.⁹ Inmates have very limited access to cash because it is forbidden and confiscated by prison authorities, so users find other ways to pay for illicit drugs. They trade items purchased at the canteen, pay using money deposited in their account by family members or friends, or hand over gifts received from outside (Plourde and Brochu 2002). It seems that a minority of users, unable to cover the cost of their drugs, incur debt that can result in unfortunate consequences (needing correctional authorities' protection [18 percent], smuggling drugs into a penitentiary [15 percent], and inter-prisoner violence [10 percent]; see Plourde and Brochu 2002). A report by McVie (2001) indicates that a quarter of inmates experienced pressure to smuggle drugs into the institution:

When supply is reduced, sometimes through effective interdiction efforts, prices are increased and offenders and their families and visitors are pressured to pack drugs into our facilities, perpetuating an underground economic cycle characterized by threats, intimidation and, too often, violence. (McVie 2001, 7)

In addition to consuming illicit psychoactive substances, inmates seek temporary escape using a variety of other products, such as glue, aftershave lotion, shoe polish, paint, “pruno” (prison wine) made with fermented fruits and vegetables, and alcohol distilled using various creative processes. Then there are the psychotropic medications prescribed by institutional doctors to treat specific conditions, which inmates sometimes stockpile so they can take higher doses, or sell in the prison black market.

Putting illicit drug users behind bars does not necessarily resolve their drug use problems. In fact, drug use during incarceration is relatively common (Cope 2000; Strang et al. 2006). In Canada, a third of men and 12 percent of women in penitentiaries report having consumed a drug at least once during a three-month period of incarceration (Plourde et al. 2012; Plourde et al. 2014).¹⁰ However, frequency and quantity of drug use decline dramatically during incarceration (Plourde et al. 2012; Strang et al. 2006; Zakaria et al. 2010). When asked why drug use declines, most inmates (81 percent) said they chose to use less while incarcerated. A third (36 percent) of the respondents said it was because drugs are expensive in prison (Plourde and Brochu 2002).

The majority of inmates reported switching to different drugs. Most cocaine users switched to cannabis (Plourde et al. 2012; Plourde and Brochu 2002; Zakaria et al. 2010). It is important to understand that cocaine and other stimulant cocktails heighten the user’s awareness of reality and that very few inmates seek this kind of experience, preferring a high that is more compatible with their circumstances. Cannabis produces a feeling of euphoria, helps users relax, and passes time (Cope 2000; Plourde and Brochu 2002). It is nevertheless a somewhat surprising choice considering its pungent smell and given that it can be detected in the user’s urine a long time after use. When asked about this, the vast majority of inmates, particularly those who reported having used drugs, said that guards know prisoners use cannabis but tolerate it. In fact, cannabis is considered more acceptable than alcohol and other drugs that can have a negative effect on the prison climate (Plourde and Brochu 2002).¹¹

Surprisingly, at first glance, the highest levels of drug use occur in maximum and medium security institutions (Plourde 2001), although illicit drugs are seemingly easier to obtain in minimum security institutions. A partial explanation for this apparent paradox may be that inmates in minimum security institutions have greater contact

with the outside world, which makes it easier to bring drugs into the facility. Still, constant contact with the outside world is considered a privilege that inmates fear losing if they are caught using drugs.

Younger inmates, those who have been incarcerated several times, and people with pre-incarceration drug use problems are among the heaviest users during incarceration (Plourde and Brochu 2002).

According to a study by Zakaria and her colleagues (2010), “the proportion of inmates who reported injecting drugs in prison compared to the community declined by about 30% for men (16% vs. 22%) and 50% for women (15% vs. 29%)” (p. 13). More specifically, the proportion of injection cocaine users dropped considerably compared to pre-incarceration rates, but the proportion of opiate users who continued to use while incarcerated remained fairly stable. It is thought that their level of dependence explains this relative stability (Strang et al. 2006). Although injection is not the most frequent route of administration during incarceration, the fact that the distribution of new needles is prohibited makes injection equipment a rare commodity that is often shared, doctored, and reused, with the attendant health risks (Farrell et al. 2010; Small et al. 2005). According to Zakaria and her colleagues (2010), 36 percent of injection drug users reported sharing a needle in the community, while 44 percent of them reported doing so in prison.

The use of psychoactive substances in penal institutions is not exclusive to North America. A report by the EMCDDA indicates that between 8 percent and 60 percent of offenders report having used illegal drugs while incarcerated, while between 10 percent and 36 percent report regular drug use. Most users tend to consume less while incarcerated and to prefer cannabis (EMCDDA 2002). However, heroin use in Europe (close to 50 percent of the inmates or more in some cases) appears to be more popular and of greater concern from a public health perspective than in Canada. Numerous cases of initiation to drug use in prison have also been documented (EMCDDA 2002).

Substance-dependent Individuals

We can consider the drug–crime relationship from another angle by examining criminal activity among substance-dependent adults receiving treatment, but little research exists on the subject, especially in a Canadian context. McIntosh, Bloor, and Robertson (2007)

report that 35 percent of the participants ($n = 653$) in their Scottish study had committed at least one gainful offence during the three months preceding entry into treatment for substance use. In England, the National Treatment Agency for Substance Misuse (2012) reported that the average number of financially motivated offences committed by 1,698 drug users in the month prior to treatment was 10.24. A Swedish study by Fridell and his fellow researchers (2008) involving 1,052 adults in treatment for substance use showed that at least 43 percent of them had been convicted of a violent offence, at least 76 percent of a property offence, and at least 61 percent of a drug-related offence.

In Quebec, Brunelle (1994) demonstrated that no less than 74 percent of the clients in three publicly funded rehabilitation centres had been arrested and convicted at least once for a criminal offence prior to entering treatment. That study inspired two complementary studies that focused on justice-involved individuals in a number of drug rehabilitation centres in Quebec (Brochu et al. 2002; Brochu et al. 2006). A study by Brochu et al. (2002) on the criminality of 149 substance-dependent individuals receiving treatment (thirty in a general treatment program and 119 in a specialized drug treatment court program) showed that 47.4 percent had been arrested for theft and 42.8 percent for assault prior to entering treatment. In a second study that focused specifically on offenders in treatment, Brochu and his fellow researchers (2006) showed that 55.6 percent of the participants ($n = 124$) were awaiting trial or sentencing and that legal proceedings had been undertaken with respect to 71 percent of them upon entering a rehabilitation centre.

* * *

This chapter focused on the results of prevalence studies, which clearly show that the majority of offenders, be they adolescent or adult, female or male, use illicit drugs. In addition, it appears that a significant proportion of individuals in treatment for substance use problems have committed at least one crime or been involved with the justice system. In light of these results, it would be easy to believe that drug use motivates them to commit crimes. However, these studies reveal little about the nature of the relationship between drugs and crime because they present only associative statistics. We must therefore refrain from jumping to conclusions.

Clearly, justice-involved individuals constitute a subpopulation that deserves the attention of public health authorities with respect to the use of illegal drugs. These people, especially female offenders, use drugs much more than the general population. Incarceration may reduce their consumption, but it does not address their drug use problems. Drug use in correctional settings must be interpreted in light of the inmate's history. Regular users tend to use drugs in prison. However, they adapt their usage patterns to their circumstances, much as they do on the street. Choices and decisions are key to understanding offenders' drug use in general, including in correctional settings.

Before concluding this chapter, we must emphasize that this is only a partial portrayal of the phenomena. By nature, crime statistics take into account only individuals who are caught and convicted. This raises more questions about our understanding of drug-crime dynamics for all offenders. Many offences are never reported or detected.¹² Many lawbreakers against whom complaints are filed are never caught, and those who do get involved in the justice system are typically from underprivileged socio-economic classes. Some arrestees are released for lack of evidence. It is likely that drug-dependent individuals who are not involved with the justice system have a different relationship with illicit drugs than their peers who get caught. As such, it is reasonable to believe that the relationship we have described between illicit drug use and individuals caught by the criminal justice system cannot be generalized to all offenders, and even less so to the majority of people who use or are dependent on drugs.

A thorough understanding of the nature of the relationships between drugs and crime requires a more in-depth examination than the brief statistical overview provided in this chapter. As far back as 1981, Zinberg articulated a seminal observation about drugs: knowledge of the properties of a substance does not fully explain its effects; one must also take into account characteristics of the user and the context. This word of caution is particularly apt when we are trying to tease out the relationships between two events (drug use and crime). In the following chapters, we examine the potential criminogenic properties of drugs, analyze the impact of repression on the relationships between drugs and crime, and strive to better understand the nature and development of those relationships.

Notes

1. Canadian federal law on juvenile delinquency.
2. Previously the Drug Use Forecasting System.
3. The obvious concern is that participation may not be truly voluntary, given that the survey takes place in a police station and involves individuals who have just been arrested. Subjects may well be concerned about the possible repercussions of refusing to collaborate.
4. Prisons are for individuals serving sentences of up to two years less a day; penitentiaries are for inmates serving longer sentences.
5. Translation of "Parmi les personnes qui ont déclaré faire usage de drogues, une proportion très importante (48,5 %) en consomment tous les jours. Environ 15 % en prennent quelques fois, voire plusieurs fois par semaine. Seulement 11,3 % des consommateurs en font usage uniquement lors d'occasions spéciales. C'est donc dire que pour la très grande majorité des sujets, l'usage de drogues est, somme toute, plutôt fréquent."
6. Multiple dependence is a common problem because offenders who abuse illegal drugs often consume alcohol to excess (Pernanen et al. 2002; Robitaille et al. 2002).
7. This is the case for alcohol, with men who engage in intimate-partner violence preferring to blame their actions on intoxication rather than a more complex gender/power dynamic (Pernanen 2001).
8. Nearly a quarter of offenders serving time in a penitentiary were convicted of a drug-related offence (Motiuk and Vuong 2006).
9. A gram of cannabis that may cost between \$10 and \$20 in Montreal can sell for \$100 to \$200 in a maximum security institution (Plourde and Brochu 2002). However, prices vary greatly from one facility to another and may depend on the user and his network (Cope 2000).
10. In penitentiaries, the use of illegal drugs is more prevalent than that of alcohol (Plourde and Brochu 2002).
11. This observation is consistent with the results of studies by Cope (2000).
12. This may include tax evasion, employee theft, or any number of victimless or consensual crimes, such as buying and selling drugs.