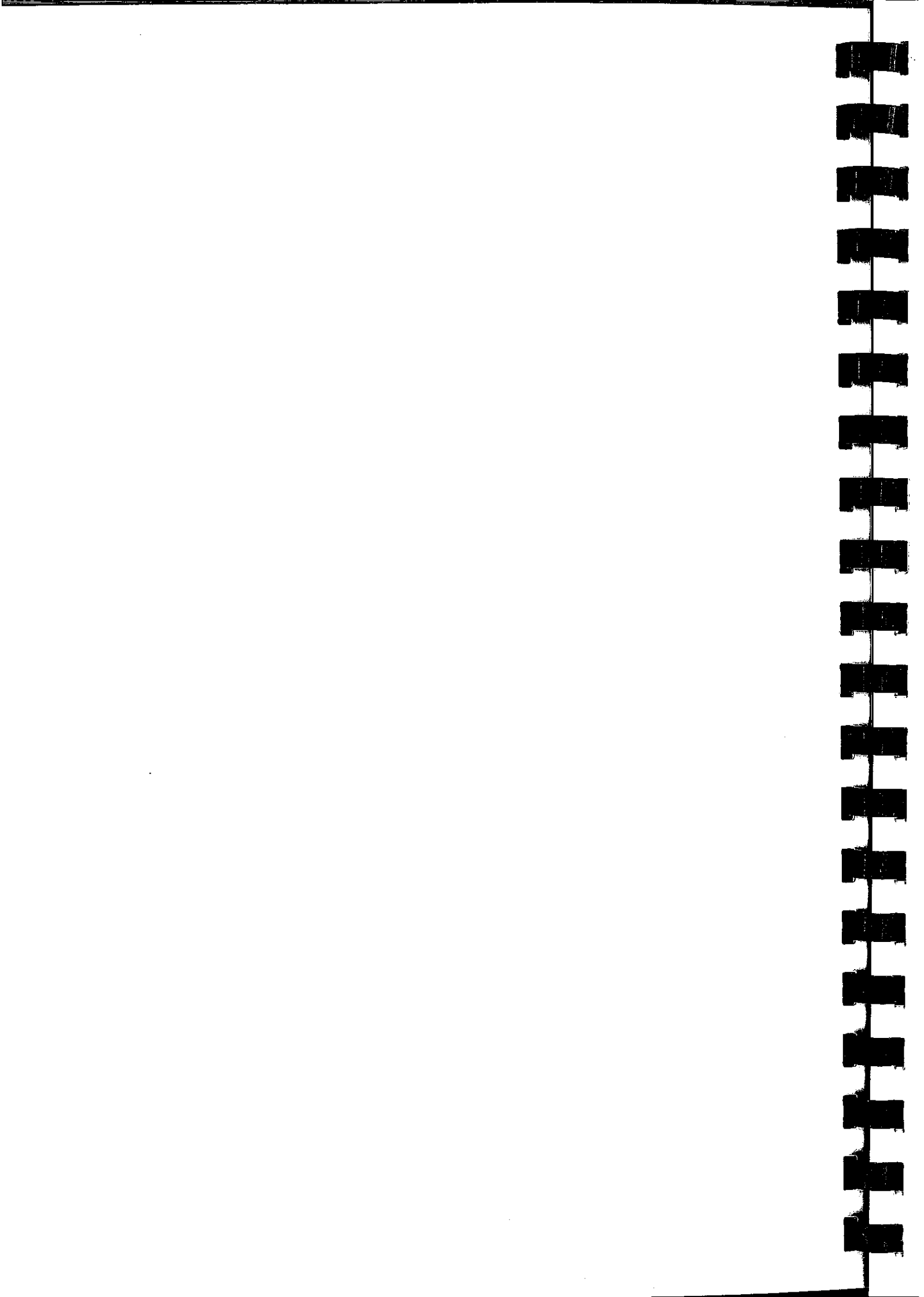

BUYING —AND— SELLING HEROIN

A Study of Heroin User/Dealers

by
**Ian Dobinson
Patrizia Poletti**

**NSW Bureau of
Crime Statistics and Research
Attorney-General's Department**



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Research into Drug Abuse program of the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse.*



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PREFACE

This is the final report in a series of three produced by the Bureau and concerned with the relationship between heroin use and crime. The first two reports examined the criminal activities, respectively of a group of imprisoned property offenders and a group of individuals seeking treatment for drug dependence. The present report explores the criminal activities of a group of heroin user/dealers active within the community.

The results shed considerable light on the complex interrelationship between drug use, drug supply and the commission of property crime. As with the earlier reports there is clear evidence that, for many individuals, involvement in drug crime antedates their involvement in property crime. The effect of drug dependence would seem in these cases to escalate rather than initiate involvement in property crime.

Perhaps the most interesting finding in the report, though, concerns the pattern of involvement in the supply of illegal drugs. The common distinction between users and dealers in heroin is not borne out by the results of the present study. Active users seem to be drawn into the chain of drug supply and distribution as a means of funding their own addiction. The result is that, although the cash turnover of these user/dealers is often very high (an average of \$5,000/week), their 'profits' are almost entirely absorbed in funding their addiction.

The report also provides a model of heroin distribution showing the pathways through which a kilogram of heroin is likely to pass on its way to the 'street'. The report, dealing as it does with the lower strata of this distribution network, suggests that these levels may be more vulnerable to intervention and disruption by law enforcement than those higher up the chain. Such a finding has great relevance to current drug law enforcement policy and possible alternative strategies.

The report, overall, is one of the most interesting yet produced by the Bureau. I am sure it will foster greater community understanding of the drug problem and new alternate strategies to combat it.

Dr Don Weatherburn
Director

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project was funded as part of the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse. Apart from the authors, many other people assisted in its completion. Very special thanks go to Alan Winchester who was employed as the fieldwork co-ordinator for the project.

Acknowledgement is also made of the invaluable support provided by the Commissioner of Police, as well as the input provided by the New South Wales State Drug Group, the Commonwealth/State Joint Drug Task Force and the Australian Bureau of Criminal Intelligence. Special thanks, in particular, go to Detective Sergeant Frank Hansen who provided much assistance in his role as the Police Department's liaison officer to the project.

In addition, we would like to thank all our colleagues at the Bureau who provided assistance in completing this project, especially Dr. Tom Robb and Julie Stubbs for their expert comments on the early drafts of the report and advice on data analysis, Carmel Byrne, who did the word processing, and Johnny Bruce who designed the graphics. Finally, we would like to thank all those individuals who took part in the interviews, for without them the project would not have been possible.

NOTE

This report is the third in a series. Copies of "Drugs and Crime" (Dobinson and Ward 1985) and "Drugs and Crime - Phase II" (Dobinson and Ward 1987) are available on request from the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Between August and October 1987, 143 individuals were interviewed at a field office established in the Kings Cross/Darlinghurst area of Sydney. These individuals were selected on the basis that they were active regular heroin user/sellers. Regular using and selling were defined as having occurred on at least three days per week. The interview schedule was divided into two sections: (1) Life history; and (2) the Seven day diary. Finally, information was also collected from a number of drug law enforcement agencies. This, together with information supplied by respondents, has been used to describe heroin distribution networks.

Life history

- * Males (104) outnumbered females (39) by nearly 3 to 1.
- * A typical respondent was likely to be male, single and aged in his 20's. He had left school between the ages of 15 and 16 and had either done so on or before obtaining the School Certificate.
- * Almost all (94.4%) respondents were either unemployed (30.1%) or on a pension (64.3%), usually sickness. When employed they reported that their usual occupations were either unskilled (25.5%) or in a skilled trade (26.3%).
- * The mean ages of first and regular heroin use were 18.4 and 19.5 years respectively. Curiosity was the most mentioned reason for initial heroin use. Their first heroin use episode had usually taken place at a friend's place with friends who had used before. It was often reported that it was these same friends who 'introduced' the respondent to heroin. Most respondents (76.2%) reported that they injected heroin on this first occasion.
- * The most common reason for progressing to regular heroin use was because they liked the physical effects of the heroin. This was followed by its use 'to escape emotional pressures and to cope' and that in some cases 'heroin was readily available'.
- * Apart from heroin, many respondents had also used cannabis (61.5%), alcohol (43.4%), barbiturates (37.8%) and other opiates (34.3%) regularly during the six months prior to being interviewed.
- * Since the onset of regular heroin use, respondents, on average, had abstained from drug use on 3.31 occasions. A majority (61.3%) reported a longest period of abstinence of between one and twenty-six weeks. The most common reason for this period of abstinence was being 'fed-up' or 'sick of the lifestyle'.

On some occasions respondents 'moved away to escape the situation'. They re-used, however, because they often 'got back into the scene' or 'they were depressed' or they considered that they never really wanted to stop.

- * Respondents reported numerous treatment experiences, the most common being inpatient detoxification followed by therapeutic communities. The most common reason for seeking treatment (i.e. in relation to their longest episode) was being 'fed-up' or 'sick of the lifestyle'. Another common reason was 'pressure from authorities/police'. The major reasons for re-use after treatment were 'just wanted to use again', 'got back into the scene' and 'couldn't cope with the program'. Nearly one-quarter (22.8%) also said that they had been using throughout the program.
- * Nearly 80 per cent (78.3%) of respondents reported at least one episode of regular property crime in the past. The same number also reported an episode of the regular sale of drugs (other than heroin). Not surprisingly, therefore, nearly 90 per cent (87.4%) reported at least one conviction, usually for a property crime followed by drug offences. More than half (55.9%) also reported at least one period of incarceration (including juvenile institutions).
- * At the time of the interview more than half (53.8%) were either on bail, a bond, probation or parole. The most common offences were use/possess heroin (27.3%), break, enter and steal (18.2%), and supply heroin (16.9%).
- * By using the temporal sequence of drug use and crime it was found that 42.0 per cent reported being regularly involved in property crime before their first heroin episode. Exactly half reported such an involvement before the onset of regular heroin use. A similar pattern was also found for a reported regular involvement in the sale of other drugs; 43.8 per cent reporting that it had occurred before first heroin use and 59.8 per cent before regular heroin use.

The seven day diary

- * On average respondents spent \$4,481.82 on heroin over the seven days, with a range of between \$660 and \$24,500. A proportion of this was used, and the remainder sold.
- * They had used on average \$1,494.02. This resulted in an average ratio of 3:1 between the amount obtained and the amount used.
- * Other drugs commonly used during the seven days were cannabis, alcohol, barbiturates and other opiates (including methadone).

- * On average respondents had sold heroin with a reported value of \$4,526.12, with a range of between \$350 and \$24,650. Sales, therefore, only just covered expenditure.
- * Heroin was most commonly sold in \$50, \$75, \$100 and \$150 deals.
- * A majority of respondents (61.2%) had only one supplier. They described this person as a full time dealer who sold, on average, more than an ounce of heroin per day. The average period of time that respondents had been dealing with their main supplier was nearly two years. They had maintained this relationship mainly due to the quality, reliability and price of the heroin.
- * Many, sometimes elaborate, precautions were taken when 'doing business' with one's supplier. These included pre-arranging times and locations, keeping a lookout, transacting behind 'closed doors' and using code over the telephone.
- * On average, respondents had nearly 14 customers in the week preceding the interview. These were described as regulars, occasional or new. There was a preference for regular and occasional customers and a desire to avoid dealing with strangers. On average, three of the 14 customers were prostitutes.
- * Many respondents had dealt with their most regular customer for more than six months. The benefits of regular customers were security, reliability and that they paid on time.
- * When dealing with their customers, respondents often reported exchanging in private, 'stashing' their heroin, and pre-arranging locations and times for sale. The most common precaution taken when dealing with new customers was to check their 'bona fides' either by them having been 'referred' or by 'pinned' eyes or 'track marks'.
- * Only 46 respondents reported any property crime in the seven days. This was most commonly shoplifting, often for personal use, not resale.

Distribution networks

- * Between 1984 and 1987, 268 heroin seizures were made at the 'customers barrier'. Common methods of importation were baggage, cargo, secreted either on or within the person, or the mail.

- * It is estimated that, where amounts of a kilogram or more are imported, heroin will pass through five levels before it reaches the 'street'. These levels include importer, wholesaler, ounce dealer, user/dealer and small time user/dealer. It is not suggested that this is always the case.

- * While substantial profits are made by the top three levels, user/dealers and small time user/dealers usually only 'break even' in monetary terms, profits being used mainly to finance further drug purchases and use.

INTRODUCTION

There is no doubt that the use of illicit drugs is perceived as being one of the most significant problems facing society in the 1980's. The Australian Drug Summit of 1985 has resulted in the largest anti-drug campaign in this country's history, the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse (NCADA). One of the primary concerns of the campaign is the relationship between drugs and crime, and in this regard heroin is seen as the drug of major concern. In a recent national public opinion poll, for example, heroin trafficking was seen as second only to murder by stabbing as the most serious crime in our community today (Australian Institute of Criminology, 1986).

Given this concern, it is surprising that there is an alarming shortage of reliable information on this topic in Australia. In recognition of this the Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research commenced a series of studies in 1983. To date, two studies have been completed which have explored aspects of the relationship between drug use and crime as well as yielding information on the behaviour of regular heroin users (see Dobinson and Ward, 1985 and 1987).

The study reported here is the third in this series and explores the lives and activities of a group of active heroin user/sellers. By targeting this group it was hoped not only to collect information on the economics of their heroin use, but also to observe individual networks created by the distribution of heroin, including data on a respondent's dealings and relationships with both suppliers and customers.

Because the group targeted is at the so-called 'street' level, it is recognised that the interviews only provide detailed information on the lower strata of the heroin distribution 'chain'. By combining this information, however, with that collected from drug law enforcement officers and criminal intelligence agencies, this report also attempts to describe the most common networks (or levels) through which heroin passes, from importation to 'street' use.

In Dobinson and Ward (1985), it was suggested that great caution should be exercised in attributing data from one such study to an overall user population. Multiplying one study's results by an estimated user population and the resulting errors (see Singer, 1971) create a number of problems in generalising the study's results. These may be overcome, argues Potteiger (1981), and a more reliable description of the user population obtained, by gathering data from multiple samples drawn from both active and captive heroin user groups.

By describing the lifestyles and activities of another group of regular heroin users and an overview of the ways in which heroin is distributed in the Sydney Metropolitan area, this study, in conjunction with Phases I and II, has important implications for both drug law enforcement and treatment policy.

This trilogy stands as an unique approach to the study of drug use in one geographical area, in this case New South Wales. Apart from this, the current study also represents a new direction in the criminological research of drug use in this country. Although considerable research has been done on the behaviour of active drug users in the US, and to a lesser extent in Great Britain, similar research, in Australia, has only been of a limited nature (see Davies, 1986 and his study of a small group of heroin users in the Kings Cross area and Mugford on the lifestyles of active cocaine users).

The present study draws on the experience of overseas research, especially that in the ethnographic tradition. The US, in particular, has a history of ethnographic research into drug use. One of the first and most famous of these studies was undertaken by Preble and Casey in 1967 (Preble and Casey, 1969). The report described the life and activities of lower class heroin users in New York City "in the context of their street environment" (1969: 1). As with many of these studies the research was primarily concerned with the economics of regular heroin use and, in particular, how this related to the commission of crime.

In 1979 Goldstein (Goldstein, 1981) reported on the multi-faceted behaviour of street heroin users directed at sustaining their drug use. This study portrayed these users as being involved in various income generating activities including legitimate employment, property crime and drug distribution.

The most detailed study undertaken to date on the behaviour of active heroin users is that completed by Johnson and his colleagues in 1985 (in fact, Goldstein's paper was an early report of this project). The focus was New York (Harlem) heroin and cocaine users and the economic determinants of their drug use. A similar methodology was used in all three studies. A 'storefront' or 'field-office' was centrally located within the neighbourhoods that were being studied. Respondents were recruited from the local user population and subsequently interviewed.

Although it is impossible to compare the results of this study with what is occurring in the Sydney Metropolitan area, it is important to note some of the conclusions reached by the authors. "Heroin abusers live a chaotic lifestyle that is highly resistant to change. Most exhibit a wide variety of social, medical and criminal problems" (Johnson et al, 1985: 181). Central to this lifestyle is the heroin-distribution system. Respondents in this study were involved at low levels in the distribution chain but even so "(p)erforming these low-level roles is the bread-and-butter of their drug subsistence." (Johnson et. al., 1985: 183) Although respondents were unproductive in terms of the legitimate economic system, they had produced above average (i.e. in comparison to the average minority household in the area) incomes made up of monies from property and drug crime.

To a lesser degree some ethnographic drug research has also been carried out in Great Britain. The most notable has been that carried out by Angela Burr in her descriptions of the Piccadilly drug scene (Burr, 1983) and Kensington Market (Burr, 1984). Both studies were based on participant observation of the activities of drug sellers and buyers within these two locations. In Piccadilly, for example, Burr was able to identify a substantial distribution network in the overflow from legitimately prescribed drugs. In her Kensington study Burr also considered how her findings related to public health and their relevance to current estimates of addiction prevalence.

Burr was able to identify a number of policy implications (eg. the provision of local health facilities) that flowed from her research. Johnson (1979: 31) also reported that "(e)thnography and street anthropology can provide quality information about the social organisations and behavioural patterns of drug users and the drug scene." It can, as Johnson reports, provide information on current levels of drug use in particular areas and also provide for 'early warning systems' as to drug use in those areas. Accordingly such research has implications for the allocation of both treatment and law enforcement resources. Johnson and his colleagues (1985, p. 185) suggest five policy alternatives as possible responses to their findings. These were, "(1) incarcerating all heroin abusers, (2) incarcerating the most seriously criminal, (3) mandatory treatment of convicted heroin abusers, (4) providing incentives to reform lifestyles, and (5) maintaining the status quo." The benefits and drawbacks of each are outlined with the authors concluding that "only time and experimentation can tell what the consequences of pursuing the alternative policies outlined here would be." (1985, p. 194)

















Heroin distribution

As part of their research on the economics of regular heroin use, data was also collected by Preble and Casey, Goldstein, and Johnson and his colleagues on the drug distribution activities of low level heroin users in New York City.

Preble and Casey, however, went further and attempted to describe the general levels through which heroin would pass from importation to the street. They also described the possible 'cuts' (adulterations) made to the heroin and the profit margins generated at each level.

This distribution network was shown diagrammatically:

THE HEROIN MARKET
Chain of Supply, Adulteration Process and Profit

DISTRIBUTOR	TYPE OF CUT	ADULTERATION	% HEROIN	RATE OF RETURN ON INVESTMENT
IMPORTER	-		 80%	 300%
KILO CONNECTION	1 & 1		 40%	 100%
CONNECTION	1 & 1		 20%	 145%
WEIGHT DEALER	2 & 1		 6.7%	 114%
STREET DEALER	1 & 1		 3.3%	 124%
JUGGLER	?	?	?	 56%

(Preble and Casey, 1969, p. 12)

The authors used, as their information sources, data from narrative user case studies as well as specific case and other information obtained from various drug law enforcement and other criminal justice agencies.

Mark Moore, in his book Buy and Bust, has also attempted to describe certain models of heroin distribution. Through the use of narrative case studies and prior research (for example Preble and Casey) he outlines four models which might operate at the lower levels of the distribution ladder. Such descriptions provide details on the amounts purchased, the cost, their cutting, repackaging, resale, and the estimated number of customers. By utilising this information together with price and quantity data obtained by drug law enforcement he further attempts to quantify the New York heroin distribution system. Although Moore accepts that there are methodological problems with this approach (not the least of which is its reliance on law enforcement data) he feels it is nevertheless very important.

(T)he distribution system operating in New York City accounts for a reasonably large fraction of the total volume distributed in the United States. Consequently, if one can successfully describe the system in New York, one will have succeeded in describing a large proportion of the domestic-heroin system.

(1977, p. 67)

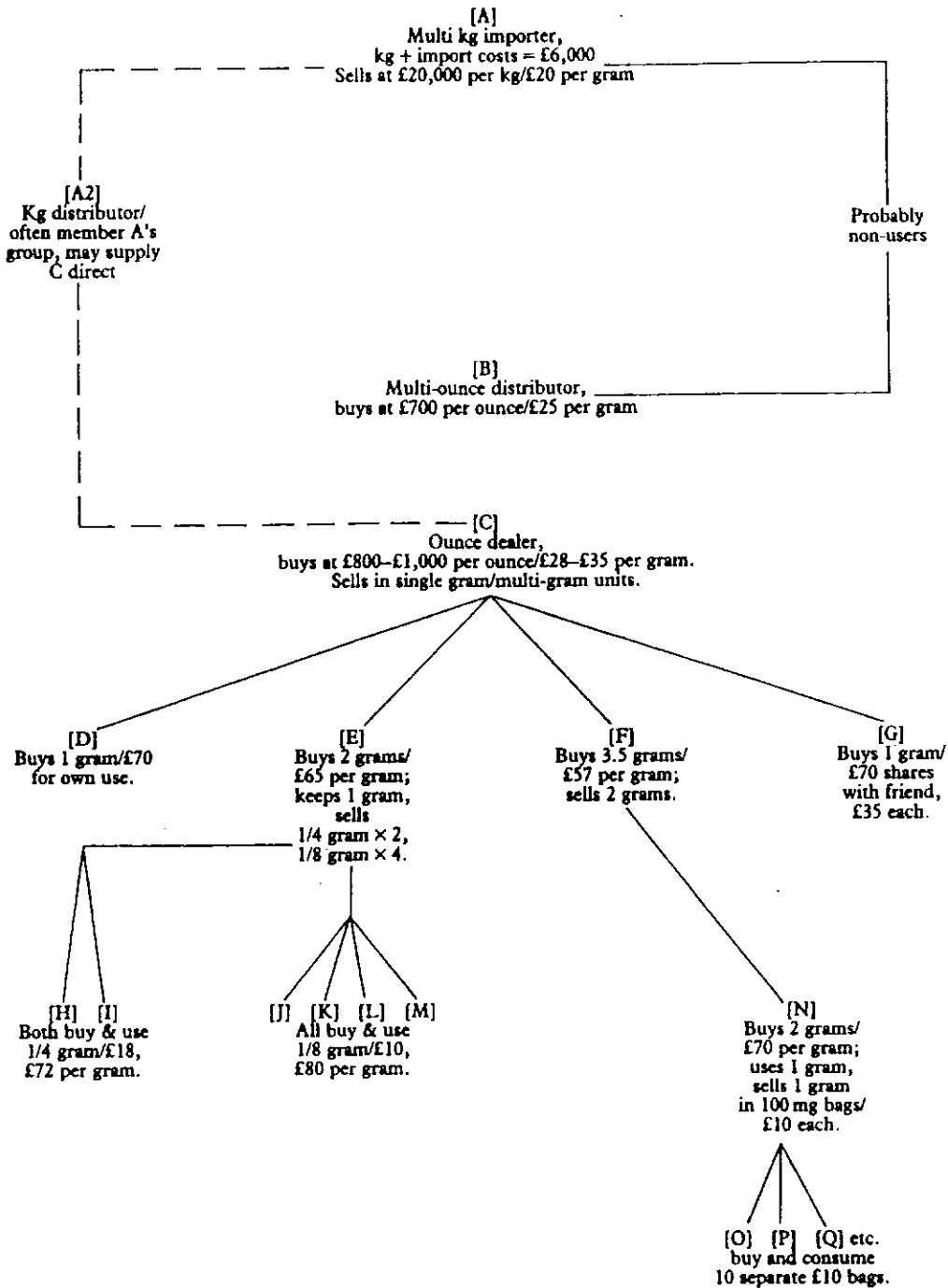
Given the similarly dominant position of Sydney in the distribution of heroin in Australia, the current study is of equal importance.

Goldstein (1981, pp. 71-74) has also described in detail the network surrounding the street-dealer. This included individuals who he described as holders - they 'held' the drug whilst arrangements were made between buyer and seller, and received drugs as payment; touts - who spread the word as to a dealer's activities and quality of heroin; cop men - or middlemen who would 'score' on someone else's behalf and again receive drugs as payment; and testers, who tested drugs for those dealers who were not users thus estimating purity and the number of cuts that could be made so as to increase the quantity.

Johnson and his team (1985, pp. 61-72) described a variety of drug distribution levels as well as ancillary workers. These included house-connections (dealers) and jugglers (street-dealers), and the ancillary roles of 'steering', 'touting' and 'copping'. They also concluded that "(t)he analysis of drug distribution by Preble and Casey (1969) remains one of the best descriptions of this illegal industry." (Johnson et al, 1985, p. 3).

In 1985, as part of the Drug Indicators Project (Lewis et al, 1985), an attempt was made to describe the illicit heroin market in London (note that there is a difference between the illicit/imported heroin and the licit/prescribed heroin blackmarkets in England). Based on fieldwork data and law enforcement reports a hypothetical outline of the 'heroin delivery system' was developed.

The Illicit Heroin Market in London



(Lewis et al, 1985, p. 283)

As with Preble and Casey, distribution levels were differentiated by the quantities involved e.g. kilos, ounces and grams, and the prices for these amounts.

Some researchers, however, have gone even further in their efforts to study and observe drug distribution. In 1985 Adler reported on the six years of fieldwork she and her husband spent as participant observers of a cocaine and marijuana dealing and smuggling community on the west coast of America. As she states:

I strongly believe that investigative field research (Douglas 1976), with emphasis on direct personal observation, interaction, and experience is the only way to acquire accurate knowledge about deviant behaviour. Investigative techniques are especially necessary for studying groups such as drug dealers...

(Adler, 1985, p. 11)

Heroin distribution in Sydney

As stated, there would appear to be little if any transferability of the results from studies carried out in the US and Great Britain to the local situation. Consequently, as has been previously emphasised (Dobinson and Ward, 1985 and 1987), there is a need for locally based research.

To date, nothing has been done which has attempted to describe the lifestyles of active heroin user/dealers in this country nor has there been an attempt to systematically describe how heroin is distributed from the 'customs barrier' to the streets.

Although this may paint a gloomy picture with regard to our understanding of the so-called 'drugs problem', some recently completed research, as well as other studies currently underway should be noted. Davies (1986), for example, in his expose on heroin use in Australia describes a three week period he lived with a group of regular heroin users in Kings Cross. By observing in great detail their activities over this period, he provided a very interesting insight into the lives of five people as it related to their buying and using of drugs, their incomes and their leisure time.

As part of a Drug Indicators study in Canberra, the Australian Institute of Criminology is also proposing to undertake fieldwork investigation of the illicit drug scene. Also in conjunction with the Institute, Dr Stephen Mugford is continuing to collect data from active cocaine users in Sydney, Canberra and Melbourne.

The type of information that can be collected by fieldwork investigation (or ethnography) has been outlined above, together with some of the policy implications of this information. The present project is an attempt to emulate some of the methodologies adopted in overseas research. In this regard the study by Johnson and his colleagues is of particular relevance. The current study group, as it relates to their roles as heroin sellers, may also be similar to those individuals the New York researchers call 'house connections' and 'jugglers' (Johnson et al, 1985, pp. 62-63).

Apart from describing the behaviour of a group of active heroin user/sellers, this study also attempts to outline the general pathways through which heroin passes from importation to the street. Once more overseas research, although of some guidance methodologically, has little relevance to the local 'scene'. To date, our understanding of drug distribution in Australia has been restricted to that collected by Royal Commissions (see for example the Woodward, Williams and Stewart Royal Commissions) and investigative journalists (such as Bob Bottom) who have concentrated more on crime syndicates and their members than on an overview of how a drug such as heroin reaches our streets. McCoy (1980) and Hall (1981), for example, have described in detail the drug operations of such organised crime syndicates as Mr Asia, the Windsor Castle set and the Double Bay 'mob', together with associated examples of gangland murder.

By utilising data from the user/seller interviews and interviews with selected undercover drug law enforcement officers as well as other law enforcement agencies, this study seeks to provide an overview of the most common levels through which heroin passes once it has 'breached' the customs barrier. As with the work done by Preble and Casey (1969) and the London Drug Indicators Project (1985), this study also differentiates between levels by way of quantity, price, and (where possible) purity.

The following chapter outlines the project design phase and the methodologies adopted. This is followed by Chapters 2 and 3 which set out the results. The report concludes with a discussion of these results as well as their implications for local drug policy.

CHAPTER I DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The objectives of this study were twofold, being to:

- (a) obtain detailed information about the activities of a group of active heroin user/sellers; and
- (b) describe the most common pathways through which heroin passes once it has crossed the customs barrier.

Heroin user/sellers

The fact that this study was the third in a series proved highly advantageous. Much of the interview instrument had been previously tested and subsequently fine tuned since the first study (Dobinson and Ward, 1985) began in 1983. Although one member of the research team (Pat Ward) left at the completion of phase two (Dobinson and Ward 1987) a great deal of experience had been built up in terms of research expertise and insight into the lifestyles of regular heroin users and the drug sub-culture.

The current study, however, did involve a new direction in the Bureau's research on heroin use. Whereas the previous studies gathered data on usage, crime and income during pre-arrest and pre-treatment periods from so-called captive samples, this project sought to obtain such information from active users relating to a seven day period prior to the interview. By not drawing from 'captive' samples, such as treatment agencies and gaols, it was also hoped to avoid the reporting bias that may result from such sample selection (for a fuller discussion of this bias see for example Datesman and Inciardi, 1979 and Gould, 1974).

Although certain problems are overcome by accessing an active user group it must still be appreciated that this study group is typical only of those who live largely off the streets and who are intrinsically involved in the drug network. Once again, therefore, the findings from this study should not be generalised to any larger user population.

The design stage

As mentioned, the design of the project was greatly assisted by the fact that two heroin user studies had already been successfully completed by the Bureau. Early decisions on the data to be collected, especially as it related to demographics, history of drug and alcohol use and historical involvement in crime, were based upon the results of the earlier work. The fact that common data has now been collected in these areas for three distinct study groups has also allowed for some interesting comparisons.

Although this part of the design was easily settled the same was not true for that part of the interview instrument which sought to collect information on current drug usage and selling behaviour. Further important decisions also needed to be made in relation to the methods of accessing this user/seller group and their recruitment as possible respondents. With regard to the latter it was also evident that certain selection criteria (in terms of amounts used and sold) would have to be set.

The New York study (Johnson et al, 1985), together with earlier American research (Preble and Casey, 1969), formed the basis for the overall methodology adopted. The establishment of a field office, methods of contact with user/sellers and the style of questionnaire adopted mirrored much of that utilised by the New York team. Although the New York study concentrated on the economics of low level street heroin use it also sought to collect information on the drug distribution activities of its respondents. This was particularly influential in the early design of those questions that related to drug selling in the current study.

The present study, however, aimed to access individuals somewhat higher in the distribution chain than had Johnson. Further, the current study was also seeking to describe drug distribution in far more detail than did the New York team. Individuals we wished to contact were to act as a focal point in terms of their dealings and relationships with the people they bought their heroin from, as well as their dealings and relationships with the people they sold to.

Having made these decisions a series of questionnaires was drafted. At the same time, a working party was established to confer both on early drafts and on the operational facet of the project. This process took two forms. The first involved liaison with other research officers at the Bureau. Once items had passed this stage they were then referred to a group which involved the authors, a social worker with the Rankin Court Methadone Program and a senior drug counsellor from Bourke Street Drug Advisory Centre. These two agencies represent the government's major inner city drug treatment centres. Notification of the study and its objectives was also communicated to the Wayside Chapel (providing drug and alcohol treatment and education services), Odyssey House (a reception centre for a major non-government therapeutic community) and the Australian

Prostitutes Collective (providing counselling and other support services). Such contacts, it was felt, would facilitate both the credibility of the project in the local area as well as possible recruitment locations for the local user population.

It was also imperative that the police be consulted on the operational facets of the project. In this regard, initial meetings were had with two officers of the Drug Law Enforcement Bureau. The purposes of these meetings were to inform the police of the project and to seek their support. From the project's inception, it was accepted that the possible arrest or questioning of subjects in the vicinity of the field office, or police surveillance of this location, could be very detrimental to the study's chances of success. The project received the support of the Commissioner and an officer of the Drug Law Enforcement Bureau was appointed as the Police liaison officer for the project. Through this officer a meeting was also arranged with the Superintendent of A Division, which took in the area where the field office was located. To the researchers' knowledge, no arrest or questioning of suspects ever occurred in the vicinity of the field office during the life of its operations.

The field office or 'storefront'

The 'storefront methodology' was originally pioneered by Preble (see Preble and Casey, 1969) in New York. It involved the establishment of a field office in an area where users were likely to congregate and to which subjects would come and undertake a formal interview. Given the specificity of the data to be collected, such an approach was far more efficient than, say, approaching people in the streets and/or observing their behaviour (for a fuller discussion of the storefront methodology see Johnson et al., 1983: Appendix A).

Having adopted this technique, the next step was to find a suitable location. Before describing this process it is important to provide some details about the geographical area from which the bulk of respondents were to be drawn. Kings Cross, Darlinghurst and East Sydney have, for many decades, been the centres for vice in the Sydney Metropolitan area. They have been, and continue to be, the centres for prostitution but, most importantly, they have a long history as major locations for drug distribution. Since the 1960's when, as Davies points out, "more than a quarter of a million serviceman spent eighty million dollars - principally in the Kings Cross district" (Davies, 1986, p. 47) the area has remained as the major street distribution location for heroin. What started in the 1960's with enterprising Australians selling all manner of drugs to US soldiers on Rest and Recreation leave from Vietnam has continued

to this day. Certainly it is the area with the most visible heroin user population. Also located within the area are a number of major drug and alcohol treatment agencies as well as other social welfare and community centres.

Although the area in which the field office was to be located was never in question, problems were encountered in finding suitable office space. These problems included: (i) a shortage of suitable premises; (ii) the high cost of commercial rents; (iii) a 12 month minimum lease requirement; and (iv) an unwillingness of landlords to rent premises for such a project. Enquiries as to the availability of space from local government, government departments, treatment agencies and community welfare centres also proved fruitless.

Approximately two months before the end of Stage 1 of the project (six months was allocated for project design, establishing the field office and piloting), information was received that office space might be available in the most unlikely of locations. In March 1987 the Darlinghurst Police Station was closed (its operation being incorporated within the Sydney Police Centre). The building was subsequently taken over by Inner City Health Services and plans were set in motion for internal refurbishment. During the interim (six months) the building was to be vacant. First impressions were that such a study as this could not possibly be located in an old police station, especially one as notorious as Darlinghurst. It was, however, ideally situated, being only walking distance from Kings Cross, Darlinghurst, East Sydney and also Surry Hills (the suburb directly south of the main target area and one which also was known to have a substantial user population). The station was also located at a major stopping point for bus services from Sydney's eastern beach suburbs (again areas known to be major locations for heroin distribution). The previous occupancy of the premises was a problem but, after consultation with the working party, Bureau staff and other individuals, it was thought that it may even have a positive impact on respondents. In fact this impression was borne out by a number of respondents, who took great delight in wandering about the old cell area reminiscing about the times they had been 'busted'. Others were also impressed by the fact that the premises were now going to be put to far 'better' use.

Having gained the approval of Inner City Health, the project team occupied a fairly large office adjacent to the main entrance to the station. This area was divided so as to accommodate two interviewers (the authors). Relevant posters and information on drug use and health (especially AIDS) were obtained, the latter being distributed on request. Free condoms, needles and syringes were also provided, all of which served to enhance the credibility of the project and the rapport between interviewer and respondent.

The interview schedule

A structured questionnaire was once again used as the basis for the interview. Unlike the two previous studies (Dobinson and Ward, 1985 and 1987), however, this study sought to collect substantially more information and provide far more detail about heroin buying, using and selling. Following the New York example, two distinct questionnaires were developed. The first related to the subjects' demographic background and life history of drug and alcohol use, as well as their involvement in crime. The second was based on the seven days prior to interview and attempted to obtain a diarised account of events during this period. Unlike Johnson and his colleagues, however, only one interview was scheduled, with both sections being administered at this time. Johnson, in the final report, refers to many problems that resulted from utilising two interview times to collect this information. Due to varying reasons, such as non-attendance for appointments, some respondents who completed the weekly interview did not complete the subsequent life history section (Johnson et al, 1983, Appendix A, pp. 267-268). Apart from the fact that time was not available to undertake two separate interviews per respondent, it was felt that the problem could be overcome by combining both the life history and diarised parts. By commencing with the life history section it was felt that respondents would be put at ease in terms of answering questions concerning illicit drug use and other criminal behaviour before being questioned on very recent drug selling activities and other incriminating details.

Like the previous study (Dobinson and Ward, 1987), the life history section sought to collect information on:

- (a) demographic background;
- (b) history of drug and alcohol use;
- (c) circumstances of first heroin use;
- (d) overall criminal history; and
- (e) treatment and abstinence.

Certain additional information, however, was collected. This included data on criminal convictions, terms of imprisonment (both adult and juvenile) and current legal status (eg. bail, bond, parole etc.). The last of these was of particular relevance given the recent concerns of police that drug offenders on bail were continuing to offend.

Whereas the life history section was easily administered, the seven day diary proved far more complicated. Respondents were asked to provide daily information about the drugs they obtained, what they used and what they sold. A 'day' was defined as from the time they awoke to the time they went to bed. Other daily information included numbers of transactions and the size and cost of 'deals'. In many cases much time was spent collecting daily information as well as correcting certain inconsistencies when they occurred. Some respondents would also remember things 'they had forgotten' and those

would have to be subsequently 'added' usually after a particular question or series of questions had concluded. A description of the information collected is set out below. This included:

- (a) alcohol and drugs obtained;
- (b) alcohol and drugs used;
- (c) drugs sold;
- (d) drugs distributed in other ways (eg. gifts, services);
- (e) number of suppliers;
- (f) description of suppliers (eg. part-time, full-time, friend, acquaintance;
- (g) quantities distributed by suppliers;
- (h) suburban location where heroin bought and sold;
- (i) number of customers;
- (j) description of customers (eg. regular, occasional, new strangers, friends, acquaintances);
- (k) income (eg. social security, employment, property crime, loans etc.);
- (l) expenditure (eg. rent, food, travel etc.);
- (m) precautions taken when buying and selling; and
- (n) an understanding of heroin distribution.

It should be noted that this list is not exhaustive (copies of both sections of the interview schedule are available from the Bureau on request).

Recruitment of subjects

Prior to setting up the field office, the working party had to consider the employment of a field work co-ordinator. As with the New York study (Johnson et al, 1983, p. 246) such a person needed to have close contacts with the local user population. Efforts were therefore made to identify an individual who was most likely to be an ex-user, who had most probably sold heroin in the past, and who had the necessary contacts with a fair cross section of the local user population. The fact that a government methadone program was located in the target area provided a large pool of possible applicants.

Approximately two months before the opening of the field office a suitable person was found who, after being satisfied with the bona fides of the project, agreed to the offer of employment. This person had been on methadone for nearly three years and prior to this had been a regular heroin user for five years. He was also a voluntary worker with the Australian Prostitutes Collective and therefore had close contacts with many of the street 'workers'. Apart from this he had been actively involved in attempts to establish an organisation called ADIC (Aids Drug Information Collective) which, amongst other objectives, was seeking to combat Aids amongst intravenous drug users through a liberal needle and syringe exchange. Accordingly, he had access to existing distribution networks and a good reputation amongst the treatment and welfare agencies in the area which were seen as possible recruitment points for the study.

His initial tasks were to firstly spread the word about the study (a two page brochure was produced for circulation) to user/sellers he knew personally, as well as to locations where possible respondents might congregate, for example treatment agencies, chemists and certain doctors' surgeries. As to the recruitment of actual subjects, his initial responsibility was to seek out a small number of individuals to pilot test the questionnaire, this being of particular relevance to the diary section of the interview instrument. Due mainly to time constraints, however, only two pilot interviews were carried out. In normal circumstances this would have been less than satisfactory except for two major facts. Firstly, the first part of the questionnaire (life history) was almost identical to those parts used in the previous two studies and had been adequately tested and fine tuned. Secondly, the diarised section had borrowed heavily from those questions and format used by Johnson and his team and as such we were very confident of their applicability.

It should also be noted that no problems at all resulted from the pilot interviews. As with Johnson (1983, Appendix A) it was also decided that, if necessary, changes could be made during the course of the data collection. Fortunately, no changes to the questionnaire were necessary.

Sample selection criteria

Prior to the piloting it was necessary to fix the eligibility criteria for the study. Although it was clear from the outset that we wanted to interview active heroin user/sellers, problems arose in fixing a 'bottom line' for eligibility. Certain characteristics were fixed as the minimum requirements. Respondents had to be both regular sellers as well as regular users. We wanted to avoid users who might have sold drugs infrequently on an opportunistic basis. Such regular activity would also provide information on particular networks in terms of the number of suppliers, the number of clientele and the relationship between the respondent and these other individuals.

At first it was considered that a benchmark in terms of heroin quantity would ensure that we attracted regular sellers. In this regard it was stipulated that an individual must obtain at least one weight gram of street heroin per day, a proportion of which was used and the remainder sold. Within the first week of interviewing, however, this was found to be too rigid. For example some individuals did not buy every day, but bought large amounts every second day. Others did not sell every day, especially on Sunday and Monday. There were also respondents who were both regular users and sellers but were obtaining amounts of less than one gram, or who might have obtained one gram two days of the week and smaller amounts on the remaining days. It was felt that to exclude them would be to miss valuable information about this level of heroin distribution. Similarly other subjects were predominantly middlemen or runners between supplier and customer. They were also included so as to provide some insight into these activities.

Accordingly, we finally settled on a criteria whereby individuals had to have:

- (a) obtained heroin on at least three days during the week prior to the interview; and
- (b) sold heroin on at least three days of this week.

Although the criteria of one gram per day was dropped preference was given to subjects who had obtained seven or more grams of heroin in the week prior to the interview, a proportion of which they used and the remainder of which they sold. Even so there were a few exceptions to the three day requirement. In three cases respondents had either not obtained heroin on at least three days or had not sold for at least this period. Two subjects had obtained large amounts of heroin on two days but had used and sold on more than three of the seven days. One subject who had used every day and had obtained heroin on three days had sold on only two days (large amounts). They have been included because they still provided details of what was regular activity.

The interviews

Interviewing was commenced in the first week of August 1987 with two interviews completed over the first four days. This slow start caused some alarm but was attributed to the introductory phase of any interview study. In fact, the second week saw a dramatic turnaround, with 21 subjects being interviewed. This high rate of turnover was to continue, with the result that the target number of interviews (150) was completed in approximately half the allocated time (seven weeks instead of three to four months). This also meant a change of role for the fieldwork co-ordinator, who spent almost all of his time vetting prospective respondents.

It was quite obvious that the monetary incentive of \$30 per interview was the major 'drawcard'. Apart from this subjects were also encouraged (a \$20 referral fee) to bring other user/sellers to the field office. They were paid this amount because it was their responsibility to physically accompany them, provide them with an outline of the project's objectives, the types of questions to be answered and reassure them as to the non-involvement of the police and the confidentiality of their answers (the confidentiality issue will be covered more fully later). At first sight one might envisage that referrals could have been 'worded up' (or primed with what to say by previous interviewees) as to the contents of the questionnaire, but certain safeguards were used. Firstly, prospective subjects underwent a fairly rigorous questioning by the fieldwork co-ordinator. Subjects were initially questioned as to their heroin usage. In most cases, the fact that they were regular users was easily discernible by physical traits, for example, 'pinned' eyes and 'track' marks. Some respondents even attended the field office soon after they had used. These people sometimes had to

be re-scheduled for appointment as they were either too 'stoned' or kept 'nodding off'.

Once the co-ordinator was satisfied as to their usage, they were then questioned about their selling activities in relation to their level of consumption. If this did not 'add up' they were asked to reconcile such inconsistencies. In many of these cases it often became obvious that the individual was not suitable and was politely asked to leave. The fieldwork co-ordinator has estimated that approximately one in ten subjects was rejected, either because of such inconsistencies or in some case, outright, as it was obvious that they did not meet the eligibility criteria. In a few cases this resulted in heated argument but at no stage was there any violence.

Having been deemed eligible by the co-ordinator, applicants were again questioned by the interviewers as to general usage and selling levels prior to the questionnaire being administered. In only four cases did this show up inconsistencies. These respondents completed only the life history part of the interview for which they were paid \$10. The major problem here was that these individuals related information about the past (in some cases this was only a matter of a few weeks, in others many months) rather than what had occurred in the previous seven days, and as they had not sold at all in the previous week they were deemed ineligible.

The other method of checking credibility was the use of cross-checks within the questionnaire itself. Where dollar amounts expended on heroin and other outgoings did not correspond to income levels, respondents were asked to explain these inconsistencies. In the majority of cases subjects were able to remember further details which accounted for any such differences. Even so, some respondents did not seem to be particularly credible or were unable to provide sufficient detail due to poor memory or being too 'stoned'. Their questionnaires were marked in this regard and during the editorial phase were closely checked. Efforts were also made to determine their level of involvement through 'street' contacts. Fifteen subjects and their questionnaires were subsequently 'culled' as a result of this process. This left a final study group of 143, seven of which were couples i.e. they bought and sold as a single unit and accordingly completed separate life histories but only one diarised section of the questionnaire.

Although there will always be a question mark as to the reliability of such self-report information, certain actions and statements provided some degree of external verification about the truthfulness of the data obtained. It was noted that approximately six respondents were very active in referring other subjects, in fact one utilised the referral process as a regular source of income for the duration of the interview phase. Such individuals related to us many hours of tracking down other sellers that they knew and would often make appointments days in advance to fit these subjects in.

Information was also received from an outside source that one of these 'de-facto' field workers was making quite a nuisance of himself by pestering some fairly big dealers in the Kings Cross area. Some of these referrals also related to us that they had been approached many times by such individuals finally deciding to attend the field office. In some cases arguments arose between these 'de-facto' field workers as to who had actually made the initial contact and done the referring. Although these six respondents referred many others it is felt that they did not bias the results in any way.

In some cases respondents were also encouraged to approach their own suppliers about, themselves, becoming involved. Although the vast majority felt that there would be 'no chance' or knew that their suppliers weren't users (and therefore not eligible anyway), some subjects were able to refer their major supplier to the field office. Finally, in the last week of the interview phase a highly trusted and credible respondent, who had referred a few other subjects, informed the team that most user/sellers in the area had very likely been interviewed as everyone he had recently asked about doing the study had already done so.

Before continuing, some justification for the payment of subjects should be given. Firstly, it was considered fair to pay respondents for their time. As it was estimated that each interview would take at least one and a half hours, \$30 was seen as adequate compensation. Secondly, in order to attract the right sort of individual and for them to divulge very confidential and incriminating information, both the interview and referral payments needed to be a sufficient incentive. Questions may also be raised about this group's need for money given the often sizeable amounts earned and expended. As will be seen from the results, however, very few respondents made a net profit and, as one stated, 'every little bit helps'. Finally, on the issue of respondent payment, Bruce Johnson has this to say:

Ed Preble's (1980) observation has come true. What originally seems to be a mean motive, an addict's desire for money, has been transformed into a rewarding research relationship that will contribute to society for many years to come, and possibly improve the future social response to both drug abuse and crime.

(Johnson et al., 1985: xxi)

Confidentiality

The confidentiality of self-report information has always been an important consideration for researchers. Unfortunately, however, there is virtually no legislative protection for either researchers or subjects available in Australia. In Phases I and II of the drugs and crime project the research team was able to offer only verbal assurances as to the confidentiality of the information and the exclusion of access by law enforcement or treatment agencies. It was acknowledged that if a court ordered the original questionnaires to be made available to police, or that an interviewer divulge specific information, then there was no legal justification for refusal.

Although data was not required on specific criminal episodes, i.e. where and when etc., subjects of the current study were identifying themselves as active heroin sellers. Given the perceived seriousness of this activity, recently evidenced by an increase in penalties (see Drug Misuse and Trafficking Act NSW 1985), such an admission was not to be taken lightly. More than ever, confidentiality was crucial to this study. Mere verbal assurances of, no names, no specifics, no addresses and no access by police or treatment agencies (it should be noted that heroin selling meant instant expulsion from government methadone programs) were considered insufficient, especially if we hoped to obtain the reliable data desired. Explicit guarantees of confidentiality could only be made once it was established that researchers, or research data, could not be subpoenaed or otherwise demanded by criminal justice agencies.

By contrast, the Johnson study was able to protect the confidentiality of its subjects by a Federal Certificate. Under federal US legislation such a certificate insured that all employees of the project and all project documents were protected from subpoena in civil or criminal court actions. The certificate also stated that researchers assumed a responsibility not to divulge confidential material (Johnson et al, 1983, Appendix A, p. 256). At the beginning of 1986, however, a piece of little used Commonwealth legislation was brought to the Bureau's attention. The Epidemiological Studies (Confidentiality) Act 1981 provided much the same protection as the US legislation. As part of the overall study proposal to the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse it was decided to seek inclusion of the current study under the legislative protection of the Epidemiological Studies (Confidentiality) Act. The Act not only provided protection against producing documentation or giving verbal evidence in court (see Sections 8(1) and 8(2)) but also made it a criminal offence for an employee of the project to divulge or communicate specific information provided by a respondent or otherwise obtained as a result of the study (see Section 4).

Only 'prescribed studies', however, were subject to protection of the Act and, as at the beginning of 1986, only the Vietnam Veterans and Commonwealth Aids studies were included by way of regulation. Certain legal confusion existed, therefore, as to the applicability of the legislation to a study about heroin use in Sydney and carried out by a sub-department of the NSW Attorney General's Department. In fact, it was not until 12 months later that any decision was made. At this time there was a decision in principle that the current study could be covered as a Commonwealth epidemiological study due to fact that it was funded by the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse. Finally, on 22nd July 1987, approximately two weeks before the first interview, regulations were proclaimed adding the current study, as well as others, to those covered by the Act.

This legal protection was initially communicated to prospective respondents by way of the information pamphlet. Subjects were more fully informed of the Act and its protection on attendance at the field office. For many, this assurance of confidentiality was

influential in their decision to take part in the study. Apart from the legal guarantee of confidentiality, subjects were also informed that they would not be required to disclose: (a) their name; (b) their address; or (c) the names and addresses of any other persons. In fact they were told that the interview would cease if they began to mention other names. This, as we said, was for our protection as well as theirs. Respondents were, however, required to sign a receipt for either the interview fee or for a referral. The decision as to what name they used was left entirely to their discretion. They were also encouraged to retain their interview receipts, which, they were informed, might be used for possible follow-up research.

Apart from the use of anonymity to protect confidentiality the extra precaution was taken of not leaving completed questionnaires on the premises. This was also a safeguard against their possible destruction (fire, flood etc.) or possible theft. As to the latter, our decision was justified when after approximately three weeks of operation the field office was broken into and ransacked. It seemed odd at the time that, although there were items of value (typewriter and radio) on the premises, together with nearly 100 needles and syringes, nothing was stolen.

Heroin distribution systems

Chapter 3 of this report provides an analysis of the possible heroin distribution networks that operate in New South Wales. Reference has already been made to the American (Preble and Casey, 1969; Moore 1977) and British (Lewis et al, 1985) projects which attempted to provide hypothetical descriptions of likely heroin distribution systems. It was considered to be an essential part of the current study to provide local descriptions of such systems. Accordingly, similar data sources were accessed by the project team. The major source was drug law enforcement reports, especially those of cases where undercover operations were utilised and which had attempted to trace the source of the heroin to the highest level possible. In this regard low level user/sellers were often used as informants to get to higher level distributors. Five undercover officers of the NSW Drug Law Enforcement Bureau were interviewed (in three cases the interview was taped); they provided descriptions of a number of cases in which they had been involved. They were specifically requested to choose those cases which showed some movement between levels of the distribution network they were trying to 'bust'. These officers also provided information about drug price and purity at particular levels as well as an overview, in some cases, of the possible pathways through which heroin moves once past the customs barrier.

Similar case study information was also provided by the Commonwealth/State Joint Drug Task Force. This agency provided information about the higher levels of the distribution 'ladder' as well as some information about overseas drug sources, especially

South East Asia. The last law enforcement agency visited was the Australian Bureau of Criminal Intelligence. Although much of their information was 'restricted', a four year breakdown of all NSW heroin seizures at the customs barrier since 1984 was obtained. Data concerning the size, street value, purity (where available) and mode of importation (eg. person, mail cargo etc.) were also provided. This, together with the information provided by the other two law enforcement agencies, has allowed certain assumptions to be made about what might have happened to this heroin had it not been intercepted. It also provided interesting information about source countries and methods of importation.

Finally, use was also made of the information provided by respondents. Subjects were asked about the quantities and cost of the heroin they obtained on a daily basis as well as their estimate of the amount of heroin they felt their main supplier(s) distributed. The last question in the interview schedule subsequently asked about their own understanding of the distribution network in which they were involved and where they felt they might 'stand' on the distribution 'ladder'. In some cases their information was quite specific and in others more general. It has also been used in developing hypothetical descriptions of the most common distribution systems in NSW. As with overseas research, such systems have been shown diagrammatically.

CHAPTER II RESULTS

The results are presented in two distinct parts. The first part describes the life history of the 143 subjects interviewed. The second part sets out the results based on the respondents' recall of events during the seven days prior to being interviewed. The data presented here relate to 129 individuals. The 7 couples (14 individuals) who completed the seven day interview jointly, are dealt with separately in Section 2.6. This was due to the fact that it was impossible to separate the data provided by these respondents on the amounts of heroin obtained, used and sold. To merely apportion equal amounts, and treat them as individual respondents, would have lost the uniqueness of their dual roles.

PART 1. THE LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEW

The results of this part of the interview are presented in five sections. The first section (1.1) provides some basic demographic background. Section 1.2 deals with the overall history of drug and alcohol use and the circumstances of first heroin use. Section 1.3 describes the treatment and abstinence experiences of the group, the reasons for treatment and abstinence, and the reasons for subsequent re-use. Section 1.4 provides an overall history of criminal activity together with a respondent's current legal status. Finally, Section 1.5 looks at the relationship between heroin use and crime using the temporal sequence approach.

1.1 Demographic background

Males outnumbered females in the group by nearly 3 to 1, there being 104 males and 39 females (72.7% and 27.3% respectively). The following results are not sex differentiated because the number of females was not sufficient to warrant separate analysis.

Tables 1 and 2 describe the age and marital status of the group. Respondents were most likely to be in their late 20's and single.

Respondents were also asked to specify their current place of residence (see Table 3). Seventy-five per cent resided in what may be called Central Sydney. This area included Kings Cross, Darlinghurst, the Eastern Suburbs and what respondents referred to as the Inner City.

In addition to their place of residence, respondents were asked to describe their relationship with current fellow residents. Nearly half (44.9%) shared with a friend or flatmate. Twenty-one per cent lived with a spouse. Another significant proportion, 20.3 per cent, lived alone. Table 4 sets out the results.

TABLE 1
Age of respondents

Age	No.	%
Less than 20 years	6	4.2
20 to 24 years	33	23.1
25 to 29 years	48	33.6
30 to 34 years	37	25.9
35 to 39 years	16	11.2
40 years and over	3	2.1
TOTAL	143	100.0

TABLE 2
Marital status

Marital status	No.	%
Single	92	64.3
Married	5	3.5
Defacto	27	18.9
Separated	9	6.3
Divorced	8	5.6
Widowed	2	1.4
TOTAL	143	100.0

TABLE 3
Place of residence

Area	No.	%
Sydney suburban(a)		
- Central	108	75.5
- South	5	3.5
- Inner West	2	1.4
- West	8	5.6
- North	13	9.1
NSW Country(b)	2	1.4
No fixed abode	5	3.5
TOTAL	143	100.0

(a) A breakdown of these groupings by way of postcodes is contained in Appendix A.

(b) One respondent specified his/her address as Gosford and one as Young.

TABLE 4
Relationship of respondent to fellow residents

Relationship	No. of responses	% of respondents(b)
Spouse	29	21.0
Alone	28	20.3
Boyfriend	2	1.4
Girlfriend	8	5.8
Flatmate	62	44.9
Parents	7	5.1
Children	12	8.7
Other family	5	3.6
Other(a)	9	6.5
TOTAL	162	

(a) This includes: halfway house (4); squat (2); refuge (1); a foster situation with a minister of religion (1); and a bikie gang (1).

(b) Five respondents who had no fixed abode have been excluded. 138 individuals reported 162 different living situations, as more than one answer could be given, and accordingly percentages do not add to 100.

Data were also collected on the age at which respondents left secondary school and their highest level of educational achievement. Over half (53.2%) left school at 15 or 16 years of age (see Table 5), on obtaining their intermediate/school certificate (27.5%) or before (38.0%). Twenty-six individuals (18.3%) had also completed a course at Technical College (see Table 6).

TABLE 5
Age at leaving school

Age	No.	%
12 years	1	0.7
13 years	9	6.3
14 years	29	20.3
15 years	36	25.2
16 years	40	28.0
17 years	23	16.1
18 years	4	2.8
Never went to school	1	0.7
TOTAL	143	100.0

TABLE 6
Highest educational achievement

Education	No.	%
Primary	--	--
Secondary	54	38.0
Intermediate/school certificate	39	27.5
Leaving/higher school certificate	10	7.0
Uncompleted tertiary	6	4.2
Technical college	26	18.3
University/CAE	4	2.8
Special school(a)	1	0.7
Hospital trained nursing	2	1.4
TOTAL	142(b)	100.0

(a) This includes schooling at juvenile institutions, remedial classes and/or any other instances where grading was not applicable.

(b) One individual who never went to school has been excluded.

Tables 7, 8 and 9 display the employment profile of respondents. Nearly two thirds (64.3%) of the sample were on a pension, usually sickness benefits. Another 30.1 per cent were unemployed (see Table 7). Of those unemployed or on a pension, 48.9 per cent had been without work for more than two years or had never had any significant employment since leaving school (see Table 8).

TABLE 7
Employment status

Status	No.	%
Employed full-time	4	2.8
Employed part-time	4	2.8
Unemployed	43	30.1
Pension	92	64.3
TOTAL	143	100.0

TABLE 8
Length of unemployment

Period of unemployment	No.	%
1 to 6 months	17	12.6
7 to 12 months	22	16.3
13 to 24 months	28	20.7
25 to 36 months	19	14.1
Over 36 months	40	29.6
Never worked	7	5.2
Not specified	2	1.5
TOTAL	135 (a)	100.0

(a) This includes those on a pension.

When asked to specify their usual occupation, 26.3 per cent stated that they worked at a trade, while 25.5 per cent said they worked at unskilled labour (see Table 9).

TABLE 9
Usual occupation

Occupation	No.	%
Unskilled	35	25.5
Skilled	36	26.3
Driver	8	5.8
Caterer	9	6.6
Artist/entertainer	9	6.6
Clerical	3	2.2
Sales person	5	3.6
Professional	7	5.1
Prostitute	4	2.9
Fisherman	3	2.2
Pub/club worker	5	3.6
Various odd jobs(a)	11	8.0
Other(b).....	2	1.5
TOTAL	137(c)	100.0

- (a) These individuals stated that they did not have a usual occupation and had worked in a variety of jobs.
 (b) One person specified his usual occupation was a seaman, and another a student.
 (c) Six respondents who had never worked have been excluded.
 (Note: One person when asked "how long have you been without work", reported that she had never worked but specified her usual occupation as a prostitute).

In summary, it was most likely that an individual in this sample was a single male aged in his late 20s who had left school at 15 or 16 years of age with a School or Technical College Certificate as his highest level of academic achievement. He was very likely to be on a pension (usually sickness benefit) or unemployed but, when employed, was usually a tradesman or an unskilled labourer.

1.2 Drug and alcohol use

Respondents were asked to specify the ages at which they first tried alcohol and other drugs and, if applicable, the age at which they began to use these substances on a regular basis. 'Regular' in this regard did not refer to the quantity consumed but rather the number of days on which a particular drug was used at least once. Using drugs on three or more days per week was deemed to be regular. Table 10 sets out these results.

TABLE 10
Ages of first and regular use of drugs

Drug	First use			Regular use		
	No.	M(a)	SD(b)	No.	M(a)	SD(b)
Alcohol	143	13.9	2.3	123	16.1	3.3
Cannabis	142	14.8	2.7	130	15.6	2.7
LSD/psychedelics	138	16.6	3.3	66	16.9	2.7
Amphetamines	137	18.4	4.3	80	19.5	4.7
Barbiturates/hypnotics ...	131	19.2	5.2	76	20.1	5.4
Cocaine	121	21.1	4.4	31	22.5	4.1
Heroin	143	18.4	4.1	143	19.5	4.2
Other opiates(c)	116	20.6	4.6	85	20.2	4.3

(a) Mean Age.

(b) Standard Deviation.

(c) This includes methadone.

TABLE 11
Reasons for first heroin use

Reason	No. of responses	% of respondents(b)
Influence of peer group/friends ...	41	28.7
Escape pressure/emotional upset ...	17	11.9
Boredom	4	2.8
Curiosity	101	70.6
Drug availability	12	8.4
Usual drug unavailable	7	4.9
Illness/personal injury	2	1.4
Bring down other drug habits	2	1.4
Other(a)	3	2.1
TOTAL	189	

(a) This includes: usual drug was no longer giving desired stone (1); friends smoking grass - thought I'd be better (1); and a challenge - it wasn't going to beat me (1).

(b) Respondents could nominate more than one reason, therefore percentages do not add to 100.

The mean ages of first and regular heroin use were 18.4 and 19.5 years respectively. The majority of respondents had tried all drugs on at least one occasion. Most, also, had been regular users of alcohol and cannabis, and to a lesser extent, amphetamines, barbiturates and other opiates.

Respondents were asked to provide a reason why they first used heroin (Table 11) and why they subsequently began to use it on a regular basis (Table 13). In addition, they were asked to provide details of the circumstances under which the initial episode occurred (Table 12). This included information as to location; means of ingestion; whether they used it in company, and if so, with whom; the use experience of those present; and finally, who introduced them to the drug.

A large majority (70.6%) stated that an important reason for initial heroin use was curiosity. Another major reason reported by over one quarter of the sample was peer influence (28.7%).

As to where the initial episode occurred, over half (51.8%) reported that they first used heroin at a friend's house. A further 30.8 per cent first used heroin at their own residence. No matter where they were, almost all (97.2%) first used heroin in the presence of others generally well known to them. When asked about the use experience of these other persons, 90.2 per cent of them were reported to have used heroin at least once before. A large majority (78.3%) also reported that they had been introduced to heroin by someone generally well known to them, and that these persons were usually the same as those with them when they first tried heroin. Finally, Table 12 also shows that 76.2 per cent first used heroin intravenously.

TABLE 12
Circumstances of first heroin use

Circumstances	No.	%
<u>A. Where</u>		
Own residence	44	30.8
Friend/relative's residence	74	51.8
Party (residence unknown)	1	0.7
Car	4	2.8
Public toilets	7	4.9
Hotel/motel room	4	2.8
Other(a)	8	5.6
Not known	1	0.7
TOTAL	143	100.0

TABLE 12 (continued)
Circumstances of first heroin use

Circumstances	No.	%
B. <u>With whom</u>		
Alone	4	2.8
Friends/relatives (used heroin before)	111	77.6
Friends/relatives (also first heroin use) ...	7	4.9
Friends/relatives (heroin use unknown)	2	1.4
Boyfriend/husband (used heroin before)	5	3.5
Boyfriend/husband (also first heroin use) ...	1	0.7
Girlfriend/wife (used heroin before)	7	4.9
Stranger (used heroin before)	1	0.7
Workmates (used heroin before)	3	2.1
Other (used heroin before)(b)	2	1.4
TOTAL	143	100.0
C. <u>How used</u>		
Injected	109	76.2
Snorted	25	17.5
Smoked	9	6.3
TOTAL	143	100.0
D. <u>Who introduced</u>		
Friends/relatives	93	65.0
Boyfriend/husband	6	4.2
Girlfriend/wife	6	4.2
Workmates	3	2.1
Stranger	1	0.7
No-one	31	21.7
Other(c)	3	2.1
TOTAL	143	100.0

(a) This includes: work (2); street (1); park (1); hallway (1); stairwell (1); car wrecking yard (1); and Bogie Street, Singapore (1).

(b) This includes: friends and boyfriend (1); and sister and sister's boyfriend (1).

(c) This includes: neighbour (1); acquaintance (1); and sister's boyfriend (1).

Table 13 shows the reasons for regular heroin use. Over two thirds (69.9%) of the sample specified a simple 'liking' for the drug. When probed as to what they liked about the drug many responses were given. However, the most commonly reported were the 'stone' or 'buzz'; the feeling of relaxation, peacefulness and tranquillity; a lift in confidence; and feeling happy. Other reasons seen by respondents to be important were that it helped them to cope or escape daily pressures (21.7%); and/or heroin became readily available (21.0%).

TABLE 13
Reasons for regular heroin use

Reason	No. of responses	% of respondents(b)
Influence of peer group/friends ...	17	11.9
Escape pressure/emotional problems/to cope	31	21.7
Boredom	10	7.0
Drug availability	30	21.0
'Liked it'	100	69.9
Illness/personal injury	3	2.1
Other(a)	4	2.8
Not known	1	0.7
TOTAL	196	

(a) This includes: sick all the time (1); first time didn't get stoned - determined to find out what it was like (1); and have always used drugs to excess (1).

(b) Respondents could nominate more than one reason, therefore percentages do not add to 100.

Respondents were asked to specify what other drugs, apart from heroin, they had used regularly in the last six months: 131 respondents (91.6%) reported using at least one other drug. Nearly two thirds (64.4%) had used at least two other drugs and 29.4 per cent at least three other drugs. Table 14 shows that 61.5 per cent of the sample used cannabis regularly in the six months prior to being interviewed. Other drugs commonly used were alcohol (43.4%), barbiturates (37.8%) and other opiates (34.3%) such as methadone and palfium.

TABLE 14
Other drugs used regularly in last 6 months

Drug	No.	%
Alcohol	62	43.4
Cannabis	88	61.5
LSD/psychedelics	0	0.0
Amphetamines	19	13.3
Barbiturates/hypnotics	54	37.8
Cocaine	12	8.4
Other opiates(a)	49	34.3

(a) This includes those currently in methadone programs.

1.3 Treatment and abstinence

Respondents were asked to indicate the number of times they had abstained from heroin use since the onset of regular use. They were asked to exclude treatment periods and/or periods in custody and a minimum of 1 week was allowed (see Table 15). If respondents had abstained they were also asked to specify their longest period of abstinence (see Table 16). Just over one quarter (25.9%) of the sample had either not abstained or had done so for a period of less than one week. Of those who had abstained (106), the average number of times they stopped using was 3.31. It was also found that the majority (61.3%) had abstained for periods of under six months.

Respondents specified many reasons for their longest period of abstinence (see Table 17). Almost half (49.1%) of those who had abstained reported simply being 'fed up' with the lifestyle. When probed as to what they meant by this, the most common responses were being fed up with 'hanging out' or waiting to score and having to resort (or thinking of resorting) to crime to get enough money to score. Some respondents also commented that they, or their friends had overdosed on heroin and had come close to dying.

Another important reason for abstaining from heroin use, reported by nearly one-third (32.1%) of the sample, was that they had moved away to escape the particular drug scene in which they had become involved. This movement out of the so-called 'scene' will become important when the reasons for re-use after this abstinence period are considered.

TABLE 15
Number of times abstained(a)

Times abstained	No.	%
Once	34	23.8
Twice	16	11.2
3 times	14	9.8
4 times	8	5.6
5 times	7	4.9
6 times	7	4.9
7 times	2	1.4
10 times and over	6	4.2
Not known(b)	12	8.4
Never abstained	37	25.9
TOTAL	143	100.0

(a) Other than treatment periods and/or periods in custody.

(b) 12 respondents could not specify the number of times they had abstained, usually since they were too numerous to recall.

TABLE 16
Longest period of abstinence

Weeks	No.	%
1 to 4 weeks	23	21.7
5 to 26 weeks	42	39.6
27 to 52 weeks	17	16.1
More than 52 weeks	24	22.6
TOTAL	106(a)	100.0

(a) 37 respondents who had never abstained were excluded.

TABLE 17
Reasons for abstinence

Reason	No. of responses	% of respondents (b)
Pressure from family/friends	9	8.5
Pressure from authorities/police ...	5	4.7
Fed up/sick of lifestyle	52	49.1
Drug not readily available	8	7.5
Unable to afford it anymore	12	11.3
To maintain a relationship/job	15	14.2
Moved away to escape situation	34	32.1
Pregnant	1	0.9
After treatment	7	6.6
Illness/personal injury	2	1.9
Other(a)	2	1.9
TOTAL	147	

- (a) This includes: using other drugs instead (1); and earn money to pay for the six months while using (1).
 (b) 37 respondents who had never abstained have been excluded. 106 individuals reported 147 different reasons, and accordingly percentages do not add to 100.

TABLE 18
Reasons for re-use after abstinence

Reason	No. of responses	% of respondents (b)
Got back into the 'scene'	35	33.0
Didn't really want to stop	25	23.6
Emotional pressures/depressed	27	25.5
Influence of others	12	11.3
Money/drug available	23	21.7
Bored	8	7.5
Thought could use casually	15	14.2
Relief of pain from physical injury ...	2	1.9
Other(a)	1	0.9
Not known	1	0.9
TOTAL	149	

- (a) One individual specified that he was coming off methadone and was 'hanging out'.
 (b) 37 respondents who had never abstained were excluded. 106 individuals reported 149 different reasons, and accordingly percentages do not add to 100.

Table 18 sets out the reasons why respondents who had abstained began to use heroin again. One third (33.0%) of these did so because they got back into the 'scene'. As observed earlier, many individuals had moved away from their particular 'drug scene' but on returning (in the majority of cases to Sydney) they once again became caught up in the drug-taking sub-culture. Other common reasons for re-use were emotional pressures and/or depression (25.5%), a lack of desire to stop (23.6%), and that money and/or heroin became available (21.7%).

TABLE 19
Previous treatment experiences

Treatment	No. of Respondents	% of Responses	Total number of times attended
Never treated	29	20.3	
Inpatient detoxification	88	61.5	442(b)
Methadone programs	55	38.5	96
Therapeutic communities	68	47.6	164
Outpatient services(a)	37	25.9	62
Other treatment	63	44.1	

(a) This refers to ongoing counselling programs and not to referrals to other treatment agencies.

(b) Seven individuals reported 138 inpatient detoxification episodes.

Apart from collecting information on abstinence from heroin use, similar data was also obtained on treatment experiences. Tables 19 and 20 display the study group's total number of previous treatment episodes. Twenty-nine individuals (20.3%) had never had any treatment experience. Of those who specified having had some form of drug treatment, the most frequently attended was inpatient detoxification (442) followed by therapeutic communities (164).

TABLE 20
Other treatments experienced

Treatment	No.(b)	%
Private doctors	26	18.2
Narcotics Anonymous	32	22.4
Psychiatrist	8	5.6
Other(a)	5	3.5

(a) This includes: hypnotherapist (1); psychotherapist (1); psychologist (1); counsellor (1); and acupuncture (1).

(b) 63 respondents reported 71 'other' treatment episodes.

These respondents (n=114) were also asked to specify their longest period of treatment, the length of time in this treatment (see Table 21), and the type of treatment undertaken (see Table 22). The most common period of treatment (38.6%) was within the range 5 to 26 weeks, and the most common type of treatment (43.9%) was therapeutic communities. A further 35.1 per cent stated that their longest period of treatment was on a methadone program.

TABLE 21
Longest period of treatment

Weeks	No.	%
Less than 1 week	7	6.1
1 to 4 weeks	21	18.4
5 to 26 weeks	44	38.6
27 to 52 weeks	21	18.4
More than 52 weeks	18	15.8
Not known	3	2.6
TOTAL	114(a)	100.0

(a) 29 respondents who had never been treated were excluded.

TABLE 22
Treatment type

Treatment	No. of Respondents	%
Inpatient detoxification	12	10.5
Methadone program	40	35.1
Therapeutic community	50	43.9
Outpatient services	3	2.6
Narcotics anonymous	5	4.4
Other(a)	4	3.5
TOTAL	114(b)	100.0

(a) This includes: Fairfax House (1); private doctor (1); psychotherapist (1); psychiatric unit (1).

(b) 29 respondents who had never been treated were excluded.

TABLE 23
Reasons for seeking treatment

Reason	No. of responses	% of respondents (b)
Pressure from family/friends	9	7.9
Pressure from authorities/police ...	32	28.1
Fed up/sick of lifestyle	59	51.8
Drug not readily available	6	5.3
Unable to afford it anymore	9	7.9
To maintain a relationship/job	13	11.4
Moved away	6	5.3
Pregnant	1	0.9
Illness/personal injury	2	1.8
Boyfriend gaoled	2	1.8
Other(a)	3	2.6
Not known	5	4.4
TOTAL	147	

(a) This includes: referred after overdosing on barbiturates (1); try another drug - methadone (1); and to increase employment prospects (1).

(b) 29 respondents who had never been treated were excluded. 114 individuals reported 147 different reasons, and accordingly percentages do not add to 100.

Referring to their longest period of treatment, these respondents specified many reasons for seeking treatment (see Table 23). Over half (51.8%) stated that they were simply 'fed up' or sick of the lifestyle of being a regular heroin user. Another major reason reported was pressure from authorities and/or police (28.1%). This included individuals either bonded or bailed. Others commented that enrolling in a treatment program would look good in court.

Table 24 sets out the reasons why these respondents began to use heroin again. As with abstinence, the lack of any real desire to stop using heroin was one of the major contributing factors for re-use (23.7%). Twenty-six (22.8%) stated that they continued using heroin throughout the program. Of these, 21 (80.8%) were using heroin while in methadone treatment. Another important reason for re-use after treatment was getting back into the scene (17.5%). These individuals reported that through mixing with the same old crowd, they couldn't resist the pressures and temptations of the street.

TABLE 24
Reasons for re-use after treatment

Reason	No. of responses	% of respondents(b)
Got back into the 'scene'	20	17.5
Just wanted to use again	27	23.7
Influence of others	9	7.9
Emotional pressures/depressed/lonely	12	10.5
Bored	3	2.6
Couldn't cope with program	16	14.0
Money/drug available	9	7.9
Using throughout program	26	22.8
Hanging out	10	8.8
Kicked out of program	4	3.5
Thought could use casually	5	4.4
Other(a)	3	2.6
Not known	4	3.5
TOTAL	148	

- (a) This includes: treatment closed down (1); relief of back pain (1); and "saw 2 counsellors using - lost faith and decided to use" (1).
- (b) 29 respondents who had never been treated have been excluded. 114 individuals reported 148 different reasons, and accordingly percentages do not add to 100.

1.4 Criminal activity

As with the data collected on age of drug and alcohol use, respondents were asked to indicate the age at which they first committed particular crimes and then, if applicable, the age at which they became regularly involved in such crime. Interviewees were informed that 'regular' was defined as having committed at least one crime per week of a particular type and that they should specify the age at which this first occurred. These ages are presented in Table 25. As might be expected the crimes committed at the youngest ages were shoplifting (15.1) and motor vehicle larceny (16.5). Crimes committed at the oldest ages included armed robbery (21.7) and fraud (21.9).

TABLE 25
Ages of first and regular criminal activity

Offence	First crime			Regular crime		
	No.	M(a)	SD(b)	No.	M(a)	SD(b)
Break, enter & steal	105	18.1	5.1	55	19.2	4.6
Motor vehicle larceny ...	62	16.5	3.6	23	17.1	4.7
Robbery	42	19.1	4.1	15	17.5	2.6
Shoplifting	118	15.1	6.1	63	17.8	5.0
Larceny	75	20.0	5.5	43	19.7	5.2
Armed robbery	44	21.7	5.2	11	20.0	4.6
Fraud	103	21.9	4.5	58	21.3	3.6
Receiving	97	20.1	5.0	46	18.8	3.8
Sell heroin	143	21.2	4.5	143	21.9	4.7
Sell other drugs	130	17.6	3.2	112	17.9	3.5

(a) Mean.

(b) Standard Deviation.

NOTE: The mean age of regular crime is sometimes lower than that of first crime. This is because the mean age of regular crime is calculated on a subset of all those who had ever committed the offence, that subset being regular criminals.

To take part in the study, individuals had to have obtained, used, and sold heroin on a regular basis. Thus all the respondents had committed at least one of the specified crimes in Table 25. However, excluding sell heroin, 99.3 per cent of the study group had committed other crime in the past. The offences most often reported were: sell other drugs (90.9%); shoplifting (82.8%); break, enter and steal (73.4%); fraud (72.0%); receiving (67.8%); and larceny (52.4%). Over three quarters (78.3%) reported regular involvement in some sort of property crime. This was most likely to be either shoplifting (44.1%), fraud (40.6%) or break, enter and steal (38.5%). The crime (excluding sell heroin) specified by most (78.3%) as having been committed regularly was the sale of other drugs.

Table 26 displays data on criminal convictions. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they had ever been convicted (excluding traffic offences and drink driving offences), and if so, specify the number of times for each type of offence. A large majority (87.4%) of the sample reported a conviction. Of these, the most common offences were: use/possess heroin (64.8%); use/possess other drugs (58.4%); and break, enter and steal (51.2%). It is also of interest to note that although the entire study group are regularly involved in selling heroin, only 37 individuals (25.9%) reported a conviction for this offence.

Respondents were also asked to indicate whether they had ever been imprisoned or placed in a juvenile institution, and if so, the number of times. Table 27 sets out this information. Over half (55.9%) of the sample reported having been incarcerated, most commonly for the offence of break, enter and steal.

Data were also collected on the current legal status (eg. bail, bond, parole etc.) of respondents (see Table 28), and the offence (see Table 29). Over half (53.8%) of the study group currently had some sort of legal status. The most common offence reported was use/possess heroin (27.3%). Over one quarter (25.9%) reported being currently on bail.

TABLE 26
Number of convictions

Offence	No. of respondents	No. of convictions
Break, enter and steal	64	251(b)
Motor vehicle larceny	37	123(c)
Robbery	18	46(d)
Shoplifting	50	141(e)
Larceny	24	71(f)
Armed robbery	13	27
Fraud	43	110(g)
Receiving	47	109(h)
Assault	32	106(i)
Supply heroin	37	110(j)
Supply other drugs	34	87(k)
Importing heroin	--	--
Importing other drugs	1	1
Use/possess heroin	81	508(l)
Use/possess other drugs	73	218(m)
Cultivate marijuana	15	16
Other drug offences(a)	45	123(n)

- (a) This includes forge prescriptions and possess instruments.
(b) Seven individuals reported 110 break and enter convictions.
(c) Three individuals reported 44 motor vehicle larceny convictions.
(d) One individual reported 18 robbery (unarmed) convictions.
(e) Three individuals reported 48 shoplifting convictions.
(f) One individual reported 32 larceny convictions.
(g) Two individuals reported 22 fraud convictions.
(h) One individual reported 16 receiving convictions.
(i) Four individuals reported 54 assault convictions.
(j) One individual reported 25 supply heroin convictions.
(k) One individual reported 25 supply other drugs convictions.
(l) Fifteen individuals reported 310 use/possess heroin convictions.
(m) Three individuals reported 55 use/possess other drugs convictions.
(n) Two individuals reported 28 other drug offence convictions.

TABLE 27
Number of prison terms

Offence	No. of respondents	No. of prison terms
Break, enter and steal	45	84
Motor vehicle larceny	18	22
Robbery	9	8(b)
Shoplifting	9	12
Larceny	10	11
Armed robbery	12	17
Fraud	15	18
Receiving	10	16
Assault	11	27
Supply heroin	17	29
Supply other drugs	8	20(c)
Importing heroin	--	--
Importing other drugs	--	--
Use/possess heroin	14	23
Use/possess other drugs	4	5
Cultivate marijuana	2	2
Other drug offences(a)	2	2

(a) This includes forge prescriptions and possess instruments.

(b) In two cases, the number of prison terms was not known.

(c) One individual was responsible for 10 prison terms.

TABLE 28
Current legal status

Legal status	No.	%
None	66	46.2
Bail	34	23.8
Parole	8	5.6
Probation	7	4.9
Bond	21	14.7
Combination(a)	6	4.2
Other(b)	1	0.7
TOTAL	143	100.0

(a) Three respondents were currently on bail and probation;
Two respondents were currently on bond and probation; One
respondent was currently on bond and parole.

(b) One individual was currently on a suspended sentence.

TABLE 29
Current offence

Offence	No. of responses	% of respondents ^(a)
Break, enter and steal	14	18.2
Motor vehicle larceny	2	2.6
Assault and robbery	2	2.6
Shoplifting	5	6.5
Larceny	6	7.8
Armed robbery	6	7.8
Fraud	8	10.4
Receiving/goods in custody	10	13.0
Assault	5	6.5
Supply heroin	13	16.9
Supply other drugs	5	6.5
Knowingly import heroin	2	2.6
Use/possess heroin	21	27.3
Use/possess other drugs	4	5.2
Possess implements	5	6.5
Forge prescription	1	1.3
Attempted murder	1	1.3
Breach of probation	1	1.3
Fail to appear on B, E & S	1	1.3
Soliciting	2	2.6
TOTAL	114	

(a) 66 respondents who had no current legal status have been excluded. 77 individuals reported 114 different offences, and accordingly percentages do not add to 100.

Table 30 also displays the current legal status of respondents by type of offence. Respondents reported being on bail most commonly for property offences, drug offences or drug and property offences. This was also similar for those on a bond or a probation order. Nearly all those who reported being on parole stated that the conviction(s) was for a property offence. A detailed breakdown of legal status by offence is set out in Table 1 in Appendix B.

With regard to data on prior criminal record and current legal status it is important for the reader to note that there were no means by which to cross check such self reports with official statistics. As mentioned in the methodology, confidentiality was ensured by requesting that respondents not use their real names.

TABLE 30
Current legal status by type of offence (a)

Offence	Bail		Parole		Probation		Bond		Suspended	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Drug	9	24.3	1	11.1	4	33.3	11	45.8	1	100.0
Property	17	45.9	7	77.8	7	58.3	10	41.7	0	0.0
Drugs and property	4	10.8	0	0.0	1	8.3	3	12.5	0	0.0
Drugs and other	1	2.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other	6	16.2	1	11.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
TOTAL(a)	37	100.0	9	100.0	12	100.0	24	100.0	1	100.0

(a) Those six combinations (as specified in Table 28) have been dealt with by way of separate legal status and therefore the totals are greater than those in Table 28.

Note: A complete breakdown of legal status by offences is set out in Table 1, Appendix D.

1.5 The temporal relationship between heroin and crime

As with the previous two studies, the temporal sequence of heroin use and criminal activity has been used to study the relationship between drugs and crime by comparing the reported ages of first and regular criminal activity with those of first and regular heroin use. Table 31 shows the temporal sequence of first and regular heroin use and first and regular crime. Crime in this instance has been grouped under the headings of property, heroin sales and other drug sales.

Dealing firstly with the sale of heroin, there is evidence to suggest that, for this study group, this crime was related to the onset of heroin use. The first instance of heroin selling occurred either after (67.1%) or contemporaneously (26.6%) with the age of regular heroin use. This was even more emphatic when regular heroin selling was considered, 74.1 per cent reporting that it occurred after and 23.8 per cent contemporaneously with the onset of regular heroin use.

This was not the case, however, where the sale of other drugs (most often cannabis) was concerned. The temporal sequence of heroin use and crime here, tends to suggest a pre-heroin involvement in the drug sub-culture. Nearly 80 per cent (78.3) of respondents reported that they had regularly sold drugs other than heroin in the past. Looking at Table 31 it can be seen that in 59.8 per cent of cases this occurred before regular heroin use and in 43.8 per cent before initial heroin use. The ramifications of this will be discussed in Chapter 4 of this report.

The current study group also exhibited a fairly marked pre-heroin involvement in property crime, 70.2 per cent reporting that they had committed at least one property crime before their first use of heroin. Forty-two per cent reported a regular involvement in some form of property crime before first heroin use while 50.0 per cent reported likewise before the onset of regular heroin use. It is important, however, to look at these results by way of individual offence types. Tables 32 and 33 set out the temporal sequence of first property crime and first heroin use and regular property crime and regular heroin use.

The most common crime reported by respondents was shoplifting (82.5%), followed by break, enter and steal (73.4%), fraud (72.0%) and receiving (67.8%). Of those who reported a first instance of shoplifting, 72.8 per cent had shoplifted before their first use of heroin. Such a sequence, however, was not repeated for the other common crimes; 96.1 per cent reported that the first instance of fraud occurred after or contemporaneously with first heroin use and 80.4 per cent reported in a similar manner concerning their first instance of receiving. Although a majority reported their first break, enter and steal after or contemporaneously with first heroin use, 39.0 per cent reported that it had occurred before this time. It was also interesting to note that 51.6 per cent of those who reported a first instance of motor vehicle theft stated that it had occurred before their first heroin use episode.

TABLE 31
Temporal sequence of crime and heroin use

	FIRST HEROIN			REGULAR HEROIN		
	Before	After	Simultaneous	Before	After	Simultaneous
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>First crime</u>						
Property crime	70.2	21.3	8.5	75.2	17.7	7.1
Heroin sales	--	88.1	11.9	6.3	67.1	26.6
Other drug sales ...	46.9	35.4	17.7	65.4	20.0	14.6
<u>Regular crime</u>						
Property crime	42.0	43.8	4.3	50.0	35.7	14.3
Heroin sales	--	90.9	9.1	2.1	74.1	23.8
Other drug sales ...	43.8	40.2	16.1	59.8	23.2	17.0

TABLE 32
Temporal sequence of first crime and first heroin use

Crime	Before heroin	After heroin	Simultaneous	No first crime	
				No.	%
Break, enter and steal	41	51	13	38	26.6
Motor vehicle larceny	32	20	10	81	56.6
Robbery	10	30	2	101	70.6
Shoplifting	86	25	7	25	17.5
Larceny	18	47	10	68	47.6
Armed robbery	2	40	2	99	69.2
Fraud	4	92	7	40	28.0
Receiving	19	68	10	46	32.2

TABLE 33
Temporal sequence of regular crime and regular heroin use

Crime	Before heroin	After heroin	Simultaneous	No regular crime	
				No.	%
Break, enter and steal	16	29	10	88	61.5
Motor vehicle larceny	12	9	2	120	83.9
Robbery	4	9	2	128	89.5
Shoplifting	34	17	12	80	55.9
Larceny	17	20	6	100	69.9
Armed robbery	1	9	1	132	92.3
Fraud	7	44	7	85	59.4
Receiving	13	25	8	97	67.8

Shoplifting was also the most common crime committed on a regular basis (44.1%) and in over half of these cases this occurred before the onset of regular heroin use. Other crimes commonly committed on a regular basis were fraud (reported by 40.6%) and burglary (reported by 38.5%). In most cases, however, respondents reported that the regular commission of these crimes had occurred after or contemporaneously with the age of regular heroin use. Although this may suggest one possible effect of regular heroin use on property crime it only represents one theory on the relationship between heroin use and crime. It is important to note, for example, that 78.3 per cent of this study group reported a regular involvement in at least one type of property crime in the past. Whilst the temporal sequencing of this crime is reported in Table 33, it is noted that current respondents reported being far more criminally active than had the treatment sample from the previous study (Dobinson and Ward, 1987). This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

PART 2. THE SEVEN DAY INTERVIEW

Unlike the previous two studies, the current group of respondents were both active users and sellers of heroin. Accordingly, the methodology adopted reflected a desire to collect information about the current usage and selling behaviour of individuals. The interview instrument was designed to collect data about each of the seven days preceding the interview. With regards to the distribution of heroin, the data was collected so as to reflect the sequence of events occurring on a daily basis: that is the buying of the drug, the use of a particular proportion of it; the subsequent resale of the remainder; and the buying of more. Sections 2.1 and 2.2 set out these results. Section 2.3 sets out the information on a respondent's suppliers and customers followed by criminal activity (Section 2.4) and a weekly breakdown of overall income and expenditure (Section 2.5). Finally, a description of the activities of those respondents who are described as couples, in that they bought and sold their heroin by way of a bipartite arrangement, is, as mentioned, set out separately in section 2.6.

2.1 Drugs obtained and used

The first thing that most respondents reported doing on awakening was to use heroin. This was followed by their first efforts to 'score' what was often a similar amount each day. In some cases this may involve a single transaction with a supplier but, in others, a subject might make as many as five (in some cases more) 'deals'. Although most (70.5%) had obtained heroin at least once on each of the seven days, the remainder ranged from only two days to six days. In some cases this occurred because large amounts were obtained on the days they did score, or on other days they could not or did not wish to score preferring possibly to use smaller amounts or simply to go without.

The current group reflected a wide range of different levels of involvement, as characterised by the weekly amounts of heroin obtained. Table 34 shows that although most individuals obtained amounts of less than 14 grams in the seven days prior to the interview (46.5%), some (17.1%) were obtaining more than an ounce of the drug. The reader should note that it is not suggested the amounts of heroin reported were actual weights.

Although transactions with suppliers were almost exclusively in cash, some respondents (30.2%) were able to obtain at least some of their heroin on credit. Very few respondents, however, reported that such credit was still to be repaid at the time of interview, most paying it back on the same day. Only three respondents obtained any heroin by trading stolen property.

Most respondents both lived in (see Table 3) and obtained their heroin in Central Sydney, largely in the Kings Cross/Darlinghurst area (see Table 35). It was noted that a number of people residing

outside this area bought their heroin in Central Sydney, indicating that some individuals were travelling to this area to 'score'. Overall, however, most respondents both lived and bought their heroin in the same area.

TABLE 34
Total heroin obtained/week

Grams	No.	%
Less than 14	60	46.5
14 to less than 28	47	36.4
28 or more	22	17.1
TOTAL	129	100.0

(a) Those 14 respondents who were couples, and are dealt with separately in section 2.6 have been excluded.

TABLE 35
Region purchased heroin

Area	No.	%
Sydney Suburban(a)		
- Central	108	83.7
- South	5	3.9
- Inner west	1	0.8
- West	8	6.2
- North	6	4.7
Combination(b)	1	0.8
TOTAL	129	100.0

(a) A breakdown of these groupings by way of postcodes is contained in Appendix A.

(b) This respondent could not differentiate between south and central.

On average, respondents spent \$4,481.82 on heroin in this seven day period with a range of between \$660 and \$24,500. Table 36 sets out the various ranges of expenditure.

TABLE 36
Expenditure on heroin/week

Expenditure	No.	%
\$500 - \$2,000	24	18.6
\$2,001 - \$4,000	45	34.9
\$4,001 - \$6,000	31	24.0
\$6,001 - \$8,000	11	8.5
\$8,001 - \$10,000	9	7.0
More than \$10,000	9	7.0
TOTAL	129	100.0

TABLE 37
Value of heroin received in other ways/week

\$	No.	%
None received	95	73.6
\$1 - \$500	24	18.6
\$501 - \$1,000	6	4.7
More than \$1,000	4	3.1
TOTAL	129	100.0

Some respondents (26.4%) had also received heroin other than by cash purchase, credit or trading stolen property. Tables 37 and 38 set out the amounts received in dollar terms and the non-cash means of receipt. The most common non-cash means (70.6%) was by way of services rendered in arranging for someone else to purchase drugs (middleman) or as a courier. Another common source was family and/or friends who 'had done me a favour' when a subject was having difficulty in 'scoring'. It should be noted however that nearly 90 per cent of respondents reported no difficulty in 'scoring' in the pre-interview period.

TABLE 38
Other ways heroin was received

Other way	No.	% of respondents(b)
Family/friends	10	29.4
Stole drug	2	5.9
Swapped other drugs	1	2.9
Services	24	70.6
Other(a)	1	2.9
TOTAL	38(b)	

- (a) One individual obtained heroin from a dealer. But this was owed to him and not for services.
 (b) 34 respondents reported 38 other methods of obtaining heroin and accordingly percentages add to more than 100.

On average subjects reported using \$1,494.02 worth of heroin over the seven day period with a range of between \$225 and \$5,280. Table 39 describes the amounts used. Because amounts used were most often reported in dollars rather than street grams they have been described in terms of expenditure. It should also be noted that the cash amounts relate only to the respondents' estimated street value rather than what they actually spent.

TABLE 39
Estimated value of heroin usage/week

\$	No.	%
\$1 - \$1,000	50	38.8
\$1,001 - \$2,000	45	34.9
\$2,001 - \$3,000	18	14.0
\$3,001 - \$4,000	8	6.2
More than \$4,000	5	3.9
Not known	3	2.3
TOTAL	129	100.0

By comparing the average amount expended on heroin and the amount used in dollar terms (\$4,481.82 and \$1,494.02 respectively) it is interesting to note the 3:1 ratio. How this reflects on the economic determinants of heroin distribution will be discussed later.

Apart from heroin, a majority of respondents had also used alcohol (62.8%) and other drugs (85.5%) on at least one of their seven days. Tables 40 and 41 set out the amounts expended on alcohol and what was drunk. Twelve (12) respondents reported having consumed alcohol which had not cost them any money.

TABLE 40
Expenditure on alcohol/week

\$	No.	%
No expenditure	12	14.8
\$1 - \$50	50	61.7
\$51 - \$100	11	13.6
More than \$100	8	9.9
TOTAL	81(a)	100.0

(a) The 48 who had not consumed alcohol have been excluded.

TABLE 41
Type of alcohol consumed

Alcohol type	No.	%
Beer only	29	35.8
Wine only	8	9.9
Spirits only	18	22.2
Beer and wine	4	4.9
Beer and spirits	15	18.5
Wine and spirits	2	2.5
Beer, wine and spirits	3	3.7
Not known	2	2.5
TOTAL	81(a)	100.0

(a) The 48 who had not consumed alcohol have been excluded.

For those who had spent money on alcohol in the previous week, the average expenditure was \$46.94. A small number (9.9%) had spent in excess of \$100 but only a few of these reported that their drinking was a problem.

The other drugs most commonly used were cannabis (77.1%), barbiturates/hypnotics (43.1%) and other opiates (33.9%). Table 42 sets out these results while Table 43 describes how much individuals spent. Nearly 40 per cent (38.5%) reported using other drugs, but at no financial cost to themselves. These subjects would often report having been given drugs, especially cannabis, in a social setting sometimes when they were transacting heroin purchases or sales. Other respondents received barbiturates and sedatives from friends who had personal doctors' prescriptions for these drugs. On average \$161.79 was spent per week by those who reported buying other drugs.

TABLE 42
Other drugs used

Drug	No. of Responses	% of respondents (b)
Cannabis	84	77.1
Amphetamines	19	17.4
Barbiturates/hypnotics	47	43.1
Cocaine	7	6.4
Other opiates (a)	37	33.9

(a) Includes those currently in methadone programs.

(b) 109 respondents reported other drug use 194 times and accordingly percentages do not add to 100. The 20 subjects who had used only heroin have been excluded.

TABLE 43
Total expenditure on other drugs/week

Expenditure	No.	%
No cost	42	38.5
\$1 - \$100	34	31.2
\$101 - \$200	17	15.6
\$201 - \$300	7	6.4
More than \$300	9	8.3
TOTAL	109 (a)	100.0

(a) The 20 who had only used heroin have been excluded.

The following two case studies provide examples of the obtaining and usage of heroin and other drugs.

Vignette 1

Mick, a 43 year old married male, reported obtaining heroin with a street value of \$6,450. He had made several purchases each day beginning with a halfweight (\$150) deal. He sold four to five \$50 deals (50's) from this initial purchase and then bought a gram with the proceeds. He reported that he might return to his supplier as many as five more times for gram purchases depending on how quickly he sold his heroin. His own usage was approximately 1 gram per day starting with a \$50 'whack' each morning. He also supplied heroin to his wife, she using approximately a 'half weight' per day. He reported that she gave him money for heroin as well as paying the rent and household food bills. One of her income sources was from prostitution.

Although six of his seven days were all fairly active the day before the interview (a Monday) was reported as being very slow. On this day he had purchased only 'half a weight', using approximately \$100 himself, the other \$50 being used by his wife. When questioned about this he reported that Mondays were usually slow and that he just did not feel like 'hustling'.

Apart from heroin he had drunk approximately \$8 worth of wine (approximately two glasses each day with evening meals).

Vignette 2

Suzy is a 23 year old prostitute. She obtained a 5 gram bag (\$1,200) of heroin each day from the one supplier. Her usage varied between 2 and 3 grams each day. She paid cash every day for her heroin but got \$100 credit on one occasion when she was 'short'. This was repaid the next day when she visited her supplier.

Apart from heroin she had bought two half ounce deals of cannabis on two days at a cost of \$120 for each. On another day she had swapped heroin worth \$100 for a half ounce deal of cannabis. This she shared with her flatmate and her boyfriend throughout the week. She had also given her boyfriend \$100 worth of heroin on one of her reporting days.

Suzy also reported heavy use of serapax (40 per day) and valium (50 per day). She was currently in a methadone program. She did not consume any alcohol during the week prior to the interview.

2.2 Drug distribution

A large majority of respondents (81.3%) had sold heroin on five or more days during the week preceding the interview. Once again it was not always possible to quantify the amounts sold in terms of weight,

as subjects found it easier to talk in dollars. Table 44 shows the amounts sold. On average, respondents reported selling heroin with a street value of \$4,526.12, with a range of between \$350 and \$24,650. This is only slightly in excess of the average expenditure of \$4,481.82 demonstrating that the original outlay was just being covered by income.

TABLE 44
Amount of heroin sold/week

\$	No.	%
\$200 - \$2,000	34	26.4
\$2,001 - \$4,000	42	32.6
\$4,001 - \$6,000	23	17.8
\$6,001 - \$8,000	8	6.2
\$8,001 - \$10,000	7	5.4
More than \$10,000	15	11.6
TOTAL	129	100.0

Transactions were almost exclusively in cash. Some respondents (16.3%), however, sold at least some heroin on credit and two respondents reported that they had accepted stolen property. Many respondents did report, however, that they often sold 'short'. In other words they often accepted less than the market price; for example \$45 for a \$50 deal. Although there was an understanding that the customer would subsequently 'make good' this deficiency respondents reported that they really didn't expect to be paid nor would they make much effort to get it at a later stage.

When asked whether or not they had cut any heroin in the last seven days it was interesting to discover that the majority (68.2%) had not done so. When asked why, respondents often reported that it had already been cut or 'stepped on' enough and for them to do so would affect their successful sale of the drugs as well as future relationships with customers. This did not mean that they never cut their drugs, rather that they would only do so if they had 'scored' heroin which they perceived would 'take' a cut or was too strong to be released directly on to the streets. Of those who had cut their heroin they had tended to double the amount and had used glucose (40 respondents) and codral (1 respondent).

Respondents were also able to provide information on the size of the deals they sold. Unlike the amounts they bought, i.e. usually multiple grams or gram bags, they subsequently sold the remainder of their heroin in deals described in dollar terms. These included \$100's, \$75's and, most commonly, \$50's. On some occasions, however,

half weights and weights (costing \$150 and \$300 respectively) were sold. Other respondents had also acted as a middleman for a larger amount which was either passed on untouched to the ultimate purchaser or 'taxed' of a small amount by the respondent. The respondent was also 'paid' (given heroin) for his services either by the supplier or the purchaser or, in some cases, both (note the description of heroin obtained by way of services in Table 38).

Respondents were also asked about the main region in which they sold their heroin (see Table 45). Again the vast majority (87.6%) sold their heroin in the Kings Cross/Darlinghurst area, thus indicating that this study group predominantly lived, bought their heroin and sold their heroin in the same geographical area. Some respondents did report, however, having bought heroin in different areas from that in which they sold it. Other respondents reported having transported it to other suburbs, country areas and in one case interstate for sale.

TABLE 45
Region heroin sold

Area	No.	%
Sydney suburban ^(a)		
- Central	113	87.6
- South	2	1.6
- West	1	0.8
- South west	1	0.8
- North	4	3.1
N.S.W. country ^(b)	2	1.6
Interstate ^(c)	1	0.8
Combination ^(d)	5	3.9
TOTAL	129	100.2

(a) A breakdown of these groupings by way of postcodes is contained in Appendix A.

(b) One respondent reported selling heroin in Orange, and one in Gosford.

(c) One respondent reported selling heroin in St. Kilda.

(d) Five respondents could not differentiate between locations. This includes: West and Central (2); South and Central (1); North and Central(1); and Inner West and Central (1).

Apart from obtaining heroin and other drugs by means other than purchase, drugs were also distributed in other ways. Table 46 sets out the dollar value of this heroin while Table 47 describes the methods of distribution. As in the case of heroin obtained in other ways, most respondents had given heroin away to family or friends

either on a mutual sharing basis, as a gift or to a friend who was 'hanging out'. It was generally felt that such favours would be returned. A small number of respondents had also had heroin stolen or they had been physically robbed. Others had been 'ripped off' by customers who took possession of the drugs but failed to return with the cash.

TABLE 46
Heroin distribution in other ways/week

\$	No.	%
None distributed	45	34.9
\$1 - \$500	72	55.8
\$501 - \$1,000	6	4.7
More than \$1,000	5	3.9
Not known	1	0.8
TOTAL	129	100.0

TABLE 47
Other ways heroin was distributed

Other way	No. of Responses	% of Respondents (b)
Family/friends	74	88.1
Ripped off	5	6.0
Stolen/robbed	5	6.0
Swapped other drugs	9	10.7
Services	7	8.3
Other(a)	3	3.6
TOTAL	103	

(a) Three respondents had drugs confiscated by police as part of an arrest.

(b) 84 respondents reported 103 different methods of distribution and therefore percentages do not add to 100.

A small number of respondents (17) had also sold drugs apart from heroin during the seven day period. The most common drug was cannabis followed by amphetamines and other opiates. On average, \$296.77 was generated by these subjects through the sale of these drugs. This data is not presented in table form due to the small number of respondents involved.

2.3 Suppliers and customers

In order to provide a general description of the distribution networks in which respondents were involved, they were asked a series of questions about their supplier(s), their customers, and their relationship with them.

Subjects initially provided information about the number of suppliers they had dealt with in the seven days prior to interview (Table 48). In the main (61.2%) respondents had only one supplier. This person was either someone they classified as a friend (44.2%) or merely an acquaintance (55.0%) (see Table 49).

TABLE 48
Number of suppliers

Number	No.	%
One	79	61.2
Two	22	17.1
Three	19	14.7
Four	8	6.2
Five	1	0.8
TOTAL	129	100.0

TABLE 49
Description of main supplier

Description	No.	%
Friend	57	44.2
Acquaintance	71	55.0
Other(a)	1	0.8
TOTAL	129	100.0

(a) One individual reported that his main supplier was a businessman.

Where more than one supplier was used they were again mainly friends or acquaintances (see Tables 2 and 3 in Appendix B).

When asked their perception of the role of their main supplier almost all (93.0%) felt that he/she was a full-time dealer (see Tables 4 and 5 in Appendix B for a description of other suppliers). In order to expand on the main supplier's role, they were also asked to estimate the amount of heroin that their supplier might 'move' in a typical day. In some cases respondents felt that they knew precisely the amount whereas others gave only estimates. A large number (42.6%) also reported that they had no idea nor did they 'want to know'. Tables 50 and 51 set out the data on the role of the main supplier and the amounts he or she supplied.

TABLE 50
Role of main supplier

Role	No.	%
Full-time dealer	120	93.0
Part-time dealer	6	4.7
Other - middleman	1	0.8
Unknown	2	1.6
TOTAL	129	100.0

TABLE 51
Amount sold by main supplier
(grams/day)

Grams/day	No.	%
1 - 14 grams	29	22.5
15 - 28 grams	23	17.8
More than 28	17	13.2
Only gave \$ values(a)	5	3.9
Not known	55	42.6
TOTAL	129	100.0

(a) This includes: \$20,000/day; \$12,000/week; \$35,000/day; \$6,000/day; and \$2,000/day.

Where gram amounts were provided, an average of 37.45 grams per day was calculated. Understandably there is no way of verifying such results and readers are cautioned as to placing too much emphasis on these, especially as they relate to one individual's perception of another.

Respondents were also asked about the selling activities of the main supplier in regard to other drugs. Many (56.6%) reported that as far as they knew their main supplier sold only heroin. Where they did sell other drugs it was likely to be cannabis, cocaine or amphetamines (see Table 52).

TABLE 52
Other drugs sold by main supplier

Drug	No.	%
Cannabis	12	9.3
Amphetamines	2	1.6
Cocaine	18	14.0
Cannabis and amphetamines	3	2.3
Cannabis and cocaine	1	0.8
Amphetamines and cocaine	2	1.6
Anything you want	2	1.6
Does not sell other drugs	73	56.6
Unknown	16	12.4
TOTAL	129	100.2

TABLE 53
Length of dealing with main supplier

Weeks	No.	%
1 - 26	54	41.9
27 - 52	24	18.6
53 - 104	24	18.6
105 - 208	14	10.9
More than 208	13	10.1
TOTAL	129	100.0

In order to provide some time frame to the relationship between a respondent and his/her supplier(s) they were asked about the length of time they had been dealing with this individual(s). As can be seen in Table 53 such relationships were long term with 58.1 per cent reporting that they had bought drugs from their main supplier for six months or more. In fact, the average time frame was nearly two years (95.89 weeks). Tables 6 and 7 in Appendix B set out the results for the second and third main suppliers.

Given this often lengthy involvement with their main supplier, respondents were asked the reasons why they maintained the relationship. Such reasons also provide an insight into what they looked for in a supplier right from the initial contact. As was expected, price, quality and a reliable and regular supply were the major reasons. Others included quantity (they received weighed amounts) and trust (the supplier did not rip them off and nor did they rip their supplier off). Table 54 sets out these results.

TABLE 54
Reasons for maintaining relationship with main supplier

Reason	No. of Responses	% of Respondents (b)
Reliable	58	45.0
Price	45	34.9
Quality	103	79.8
Credit	20	15.5
Quantity (scaled weights)	15	11.6
Friend	8	6.2
Proximity (close, accessible, fast) ...	9	7.0
Trust (not going to be ripped off)	14	10.9
Gives commission/'freebies'	6	4.7
Necessity (don't know anyone else)	2	1.6
Other(a)	2	1.6
Unknown	1	0.8
TOTAL	283	

(a) One respondent reported that his supplier had never been busted, while another said that the supplier paid the respondent's fines.

(b) 129 respondents provided 283 reasons and therefore percentages do not add to 100.

It was also of interest to determine how initial contact was made with the main supplier. As demonstrated by Table 55 most (53.5%) were introduced by friends or others who were customers of the supplier.

TABLE 55
Initial contact with main supplier

Initial contact	No.	%
Introduced through friends/other customers	69	53.5
Self approach - I approached dealer	10	7.8
Self approach - dealer approached me	6	4.7
Self approach - initiator unknown	6	4.7
We were friends previously (school, work)	13	10.1
Met in gaol	9	7.0
Introduced through another dealer(a)	9	7.0
Through work related activity	4	3.1
Not known	3	2.3
TOTAL	129	100.2

(a) In these instances a dealer who was unable to supply them had referred them on.

TABLE 56
Precautions taken to avoid detection when dealing with suppliers

Precaution	No. of Responses	% of Respondents (a)
Talk in code	35	27.1
Use beeper system	12	9.3
Stash it	7	5.4
Change the location/time	22	17.1
Look out for suspicious cars/people ...	36	27.9
Never do deals at residence	3	2.3
Exchange in public using disguised methods	4	3.1
Exchange in private	41	31.8
Don't use telephones	9	7.0
Just be careful	5	3.9
Go straight home after transaction	4	3.1
Prearranged location/time	43	33.3
Do not disclose details	5	3.9
No precautions taken	9	7.0
Not known	1	0.8
TOTAL	236	

(a) 129 respondents reported 236 precautionary methods and accordingly percentages do not add to 100.

Given that dealings with suppliers were of a very serious nature, in terms of the consequences if detected by police, subjects were questioned about the types of precaution taken to minimise such detection. Respondents reported many different, and often quite elaborate, precautionary methods. These have been grouped together under general headings and set out in Table 56.

Respondents reported that they often (33.3%) prearranged the location and time. A further 17.1 per cent had prearranged locations and times but stated that these were regularly changed. If they used the telephone they often talked in code (27.1%). In 36 cases (27.9%) the respondent would 'keep a look out for suspicious cars and/or people'. The transaction was also often done in private or 'behind closed doors' (31.8%).

The same sort of information about a respondent's supplier(s) was also sought about their own customers. On average there were 14 (13.92) customers per respondent (see Table 57).

TABLE 57
Number of customers per respondent

Number	No.	%
1 - 10	60	46.5
11 - 20	45	34.9
21 - 30	11	8.5
More than 30	6	4.7
Not known	7	5.4
TOTAL	129	100.0

TABLE 58
Number of prostitute customers per respondent

Number	No.	%
None	44	34.1
1 - 5	62	48.1
6 - 10	11	8.5
More than 10	7	5.4
Not known	5	3.9
TOTAL	129	100.0

Given the fact that the field office was located within the main area for prostitution in Sydney it was also felt important to determine how many respondents dealt with prostitutes. Overall, 65.9 per cent had sold heroin to at least one known prostitute in the seven days prior to the interview. On average, this group had sold to three known prostitutes (2.96). Table 58 sets out these results.

Respondents described their customers as being predominately acquaintances (87.6%), friends (65.1%) and strangers (41.1%). This lesser willingness to deal with strangers will be discussed later (for a full breakdown of the frequency ranges for the numbers of strangers, friends and acquaintances dealt with see Tables 8, 9 and 10 in Appendix B).

TABLE 59
Number of regular customers per respondent

Number	No.	%
None	10	7.8
1 - 5	54	41.9
6 - 10	37	28.7
11 - 15	13	10.1
More than 15	12	9.3
Not known	3	2.3
TOTAL	129	100.0

TABLE 60
Number of occasional/semi-regular customers per respondent

Number	No.	%
None	54	41.9
1 - 5	40	31.0
6 - 10	24	18.7
More than 10	7	5.4
Not known	4	3.1
TOTAL	129	100.0

TABLE 61
Number of new customers per respondent

Number	No.	%
None	76	58.9
1 - 5	29	22.5
6 - 10	10	7.8
11 - 15	5	3.9
More than 15	4	3.1
Not known	5	3.9
TOTAL	129	100.0

In order to gauge the frequency with which respondents sold heroin to their customers, they were also asked to estimate the number who were regular (sold to 3 or more days per week), occasional (less than 3 days per week) and new in the last week. Once again the data demonstrated a desire to avoid new customers, 58.9 per cent reporting that they had not dealt with any new customers, while preferring to have regular and occasional customers (see Tables 59, 60 and 61).

Respondents were also asked to estimate the length of time they had been selling to their three most regular customers. Table 62 sets out the data for the most regular customer while Tables 11 and 12 in Appendix B describe the second and third most regular customers.

TABLE 62
Length of dealing with most regular customer

Weeks	No.	%
1 - 26	51	42.9
27 - 52	24	20.2
53 - 104	20	16.8
105 - 208	14	11.8
More than 208	10	8.4
TOTAL	119(a)	100.0

(a) Ten respondents, who had no regular customers in the seven days prior to interview, have been excluded.

As was the case with the main supplier, respondents had maintained the relationship with the most regular customer for some time. On average, respondents had been supplying their most regular customer for more than 18 months (88.73 weeks). This compares with the second most regular customer (average of 54.96 weeks) and third most regular customer (average of 45.01 weeks).

The most mentioned benefit (76.4%) of having regular customers was security. This related mainly to avoiding detection by police. As mentioned, this also had a lot to do with their reluctance to deal with strangers and therefore take on new customers. Other benefits included reliability (i.e. they provided a regular outlet for a respondent's selling activities) and that they paid on time. These results are set out in Table 63.

TABLE 63
Benefits of selling to regular customers

Benefit	No. of responses	% of respondents(b)
Reliable	72	58.5
Pay on time	41	33.3
Security	94	76.4
Keeps me in heroin (commission/freebies)	8	6.5
Brings in other customers	4	3.3
Other(a)	3	2.4
Not known	2	1.6
TOTAL	224	

- (a) One respondent said that there were no benefits while two said that they were less likely to be robbed or ripped off by regulars.
- (b) Six subjects reported that they had never had regular customers and have been excluded. 123 respondents reported 224 benefits and accordingly percentages do not add to 100.

Mention has already been made of the serious nature of supplying heroin especially given the consequences if 'busted'. As seen from Tables 59, 60 and 61, respondents had a variety of regular, occasional and new customers. It was important therefore to obtain information about the types of precaution taken in dealing with their customers. A distinction has been made here between regular and occasional customers (grouped together - see Table 64) and new customers (Table 65).

TABLE 64
Precautions taken to avoid detection when
dealing with regular or occasional customers

Precaution	No. of responses	% of respondents(b)
Talk in code	13	10.1
Use beeper system	1	0.8
'Stash it'	49	38.0
Use a 'lookout'	4	3.1
Change the location/time	6	4.6
Look out for suspicious cars/people ...	12	9.3
Never do deals at residence	3	2.3
Exchange in public using disguised methods	8	6.2
Exchange in private	55	42.6
Do not use telephones	2	1.5
Gut feeling/just careful	4	3.1
Prearranged location/time	23	17.8
Other(a)	2	1.5
No precautions taken	15	11.6
Not known	2	1.5
TOTAL	199	

(a) One respondent did not 'broadcast' his business while another said that customers were not allowed to bring strangers.

(b) 129 respondents reported 199 precautions and accordingly percentages do not add to 100.

A common precaution taken when selling to regulars was to do so in private or 'behind closed doors' (42.6%). As will be discussed later this was sometimes at the respondents own residence and subject to prior arrangements. Another common precaution was to 'stash' heroin deals in a 'safe' place. One respondent reported that he may bury it near a tree while another kept it behind a loose brick in a wall. After a customer had placed his order the respondent would then go to his 'stash' alone (making sure not to be followed) and get what was wanted.

Although this method of 'stashing' was often used when dealing with new customers, especially on the streets, the most mentioned precaution was the checking of 'bona fides' (58.1%). Methods of doing this were by introduction or checking 'track' marks, eyes or asking questions about who they knew. In some cases (10.9%) respondents reported that they themselves would have to know the person i.e. to have seen them around etc. Even so 22.5 per cent reported that they would never take on new customers.

TABLE 65
Precautions taken to avoid detection when
dealing with new customers

Precaution	No. of responses	% of respondents(b)
'Stash it'	9	7.0
Use a 'lookout'	3	2.3
Look out for suspicious cars/people ...	4	3.1
Exchange in private	10	7.8
Check bonafides	75	58.1
Gut feeling/careful	9	7.0
Pre-arranged location/time	1	0.8
Must know them/not strangers	14	10.9
Other(a)	1	0.8
No precautions taken	1	0.8
Not known	1	0.8
Never deal with them	29	22.5
TOTAL	157	

(a) One respondent did not tell them he was carrying drugs.

(b) 129 reported 157 precautions and accordingly percentages do not add to 100.

TABLE 66
Location where heroin sold (on busiest day)

Location	No. of responses	% of respondents(a)
Respondent's home.....	35	27.1
Customer's home.....	4	3.1
Street	51	39.5
Pubs, cafe, etc.	16	12.4
Rented room	3	2.3
Not known	38	29.5
TOTAL	147	

(a) Respondents could nominate more than one location so percentages do not add to 100.

Apart from providing general information about buying and selling activities, respondents were asked to describe in detail what they did on the day they sold most heroin (i.e. their 'busiest' day). This provided information on the location where they sold their heroin on that day and, where information was made available, whether their selling activities were pre-arranged.

Table 66 describes the locations where heroin was sold, which were usually on the street (39.5%), or at the respondent's residence (27.1%). Of those who had sold at their houses, 20 provided details which showed that transactions were pre-planned; orders, for example, being made over the telephone. Conversely, transactions done on the street were primarily not of a pre-planned nature, 42 who sold on the street reporting that sales mostly involved customers merely approaching them and enquiring as to what they could buy.

The following vignettes of Steve, Bob and Julie provide examples of buying, using and selling activities over the seven days.

Vignette 3

Steve, a 30 year old male, reported selling heroin in the week with a street value of \$8,750. Set out below is a description of his daily activities.

Friday: Saw two dealers. Purchased a three weight and then a four weight deal (paid \$1,490 cash). Used approximately one weight throughout the day. Cut remaining six weights with glucose on a 2:1 basis. Divided this into four half weights, 2 x \$100s and approximately 40 x \$50s. This was sold to 20 customers for \$2,800.

Saturday: Purchased a three weight deal for \$720. Used one throughout the day. Did not cut the remainder making 15 x \$50s. This was sold to approximately 9 customers during the day.

Sunday: Purchased two weights for \$600. Used one and cut the remainder, doubling the amount. Made 12 x \$50s selling these for \$600 to six customers.

Monday: Same as Sunday.

Tuesday: Purchased three weights for \$750. Used one throughout the day. Added one weight in cut to remainder and made 20 x \$50s out of this. Sold these for \$1,000 to approximately nine customers.

Wednesday: Saw two dealers. Purchased a three weight and a two weight deal for \$1,250. Used two weights during the day. Was very stoned. Did not cut and sold remaining three weights to at least 14 customers. Cannot recall number and size of deals but got back \$1,500 in cash.

Thursday: Saw dealer once. Bought six weights for \$1,320. Used two during the day. Did not cut remainder. Sold short that day to about 14 customers. Only got \$1,500 in cash. Cannot recall number and size of deals.

Steve reported dealing with two suppliers. He had been buying from his main supplier for approximately six and a half months. He reported dealing with this person because of the price of the heroin. His other supplier was said to have sold good quality 'dope'. He estimated that both dealers might 'move' as much as two ounces per day. When dealing with his main supplier he reported that they pre-arranged (by telephone) a pick up location. The dealer would drive around the area to 'check it out' and then pick him up. They would then do their business while on the move. He further reported that he had 12 regular customers four of whom were prostitutes. He sold on the streets of Kings Cross and used the precaution of 'stashing' the heroin when dealing with his customers.

Vignette 4

Bob, a 37 year old male, had used heroin on only two of the past seven days. He had, however, used one gram of cocaine each day paying cash on two days and swapping heroin on the remaining five days. He also reported using (with friends) an ounce of cannabis costing \$240 over the course of the week.

Monday: Purchased 2 grams of heroin (\$600) and 1 gram of cocaine (\$200). Used half a gram of heroin and all the cocaine. Sold remaining heroin to seven people for \$700. This was made up of 2 x half grams, 3 x \$100s and 2 x \$50s.

Tuesday: Purchased 2 grams of heroin (\$600), 1 gram of cocaine (\$200) and 1 ounce of cannabis (\$240). Used half a gram of heroin, all of cocaine and some of the cannabis. Sold remaining heroin as per Monday. Committed a forgery and made \$300.

Wednesday: Purchased 2 grams of heroin (\$600) and scored 10 gram bag for someone else (\$2,200). Did not use any heroin but swapped some for one gram of cocaine. Sold heroin to eight customers for \$3,300. This was made up as follows: 1 x 10 gram bag, 2 x half grams, 3 x \$100s and 2 x \$50s. Committed a forgery and made \$300.

Thursday: Purchased 4 grams of heroin for \$1,080. Used only cocaine (1 gram) swapped with heroin. Sold remaining heroin to eight customers for \$1,450 by way of 2 x one grams, 2 x half grams, 3 x \$100s and 2 x \$50s.

Saturday
and

Sunday: Purchased 2 grams of heroin on both days. Did not use heroin but swapped it for cocaine and used it all. Selling details as per Monday and Tuesday.

Bob also reported that a customer 'ripped him off' for \$240 worth of heroin on the Sunday.

He had used two suppliers during the week and reported having dealt with his main supplier for eight months. He maintained the relationship because 'he's always got gear', 'I'm happy with his gear and the price'. His other supplier he described as close by and therefore convenient but reported that 'he hasn't got it all the time'.

Bob sold his heroin in the Eastern Suburbs at locations pre-arranged with his customers. Of these he reported that seven were regular and one was occasional. Three were prostitutes.

Bob also provided a detailed description of his dealings with his suppliers on the day he scored the 10 gram bag.

Made a phone call on Tuesday for Wednesday. He gave me the time and price. Wednesday I went to his flat. The dope was put on the table. Went outside and got my chick to try it. She said it was good so I went back and gave him the money. Later that day I went and got my regular two grams. I broke it up as usual and sold it.

Vignette 5

Julie, a 25 year old single mother, reported quite low levels of heroin use and sale. She was what might be described as a small-time user/dealer. A breakdown of her usage and selling activities over the seven days is set out below.

Wednesday: Bought half-weight (\$150) in the morning. Made up three foils (\$50 each) and used the rest, about \$70 worth. Sold the foils to three customers, two of whom were regulars.

Thursday
and

Friday: As per Wednesday but did use \$30 worth of cannabis on each day. On both occasions the drugs were a gift.

Saturday: No drugs obtained, used or sold.

Sunday: Given \$50 worth of heroin and \$30 worth of cannabis. Used all this during the day.

Monday
and

Tuesday: As per Wednesday.

Julie reported buying her heroin from only one supplier, who she estimated sold 5 grams per day as well as 'speed'. She reported having dealt with this person for the last four months. She had been introduced to him by a friend who was one of his customers.

She reported buying her heroin in Bondi but selling it on the street in Kings Cross. She had sold heroin to 10 customers: two regulars, four occasionals and four new (strangers). One of her regular customers was reported as being a known prostitute. As to the precautions taken when buying heroin, she reported arranging 'pick-ups' over the phone. She reported no particular precautions when selling to her regular customers other than that they met at the same pre-arranged location each day. When dealing with strangers, however, she reported that she would first 'sus' them out. She would then get them to follow her, some distance back, to where she had stashed the heroin.

2.4 Criminal activity

Whereas 78.3 per cent of respondents reported being regularly involved in property crime at some time in the past, 64.3 per cent stated that they had not committed any such crimes in the 7 days prior to the interview. Where stealing had occurred, it was most commonly shoplifting. This was usually reported as being committed for personal use not re-sale. Even so, 30 burglaries were reported, 25 cases of fraud and 12 armed robberies. For a small number of respondents, therefore, income from drug sales was supplemented by property crime. As the case study below reports, property crime occurred often where a cash shortfall was experienced. The results on property crime activity (for those who reported having committed an offence) are contained in Table 67.

TABLE 67
Criminal activity during the seven days

Offence	No. of respondents	No. of times committed
Break, enter and steal	8	30
Motor vehicle larceny	2	6
Armed robbery	5	12
Shoplifting	24	
56(a)(b)		
Larceny	4	7(a)
Fraud	9	25
Receiving	8	9
TOTAL		145

(a) One individual reported committing this offence everyday. The number of offences committed was not ascertained.

(b) Six respondents did not know how many times they had shoplifted.

Vignette 6

Sally, a 21 year old, spent \$800 (3 grams) on heroin on each of six of the previous seven days and \$1,000 (4 grams) on the other. On each of the six days she used 1 gram and on the other day one and three quarter grams. She did not cut her heroin and sold it in \$100 deals making, however, only between \$600 and \$700 each day. This left her approximately \$200 short on the days she bought 3 grams and \$300 short on the day she bought 4 grams. The difference was made up by what seemed to be a very lucrative shoplifting racket. In fact over the seven days she reported 18 separate incidents netting her nearly \$300 per day. It was apparent that she had a ready market for the property she stole and in one case she even accepted a skirt (estimated value \$120) and \$60 cash in exchange for a \$100 deal of heroin.

2.5 Income and expenditure

As expected, expenditure on heroin and income from its subsequent sale constituted the major proportion of all income and expenditure of respondents. The average expenditure and income figures have already been detailed in the previous pages. Apart from such information respondents were also asked to specify all other forms of income and expenditure that occurred during the seven days prior to the interview. Tables 68 and 69 are an attempt to 'balance the books'. The most important figures relate to the average incomes and expenditures. The reader should also note that although more were employed and on social security than are specified in Table 68, only those who actually received wages/salaries or social security payments in the pre-interview period have been counted. Similarly rent or board is only included where it had actually been paid in this period. Averages, however, have been calculated over the whole study group of 129.

Apart from income received from obvious sources such as social security, the other major sources were property crime (31 respondents with a weekly average of \$205.45) and loans and other monetary payments from family or friends (48 respondents with a weekly average of \$114.46). Table 68 does demonstrate just how varied income sources were. The same was true for amounts expended. Once again there were the expected expenses such as rent/board, household food, cigarettes, alcohol and entertainment. Other major expenses were on drugs apart from heroin (average of \$84.03 for the seven days) and transport, often incurred as part of drug transactions (average of \$34.78). Respondents had also lent or given money to family or friends.

Overall, it is important to note that on average incomes exceeded expenditure by only \$218.91. In fact few respondents reported making any substantial profits. Monies 'in hand' at the end of the seven day period were primarily for the next heroin purchase.

TABLE 68
Income/week

Source	No.	%	Total \$	Sample mean (N = 129)
Sell heroin	129	100.0	583,870	\$4,526.12
Less outstanding credit owing to respondent	8	6.2	3,050	\$ 23.64
			580,820	\$4,502.48
Sell other drugs	17	13.2	5,045	39.11
Employment	2	1.6	640	4.96
Social security	73	56.6	16,111	124.89
Odd jobs	11	8.5	2,155	16.71
Property crime	31	24.0	26,504	205.45
Family/friends(a)	48	37.2	14,765	114.46
Prostitution	9	7.0	8,380	64.96
Gambling	10	7.8	1,995	15.47
'Rorts/Rip offs' (drug related)	6	4.7	1,370	10.62
Bank withdrawals	12	9.3	2,985	23.14
Services	5	3.9	495	3.84
Hocking	4	3.1	650	5.04
Past drug credit	2	1.6	1,800	13.95
Sold personal belongings	1	0.8	380	2.95
TOTAL			\$664,095	\$5,148.03

(a) This includes monies which subjects received from defactos and/or girlfriends earned by way of prostitution.

TABLE 69
Expenditure/week

Expenditure	No.	%	Total \$	Sample mean (N = 129)
Heroin	129	100.0	578,155	\$4,481.82
Less outstanding credit owed by respondent	5	3.9	1,050	\$ 8.14
Alcohol	69	53.5	3,239	25.11
Other drugs	67	51.9	10,840	84.03
Rent/board	92	71.3	8,218	63.71
Household food	92	71.3	4,913	38.09
Cigarettes	118	91.5	2,858	22.15
Clothes	21	16.3	1,403	10.88
Transport	100	77.5	4,486	34.78
Entertainment	50	38.8	3,518	27.27
Gambling	12	9.3	2,325	18.02
Debts	14	10.9	5,785	44.84
Bills	8	6.2	1,955	15.16
Family/friends	33	25.6	2,837	21.99
Robbed	5	3.9	880	6.82
Bank deposits	6	4.7	2,702	20.95
Services	3	2.3	1,200	9.30
Fines	4	3.1	335	2.60
'Rorts/Rip offs' (drug related)	2	1.6	400	3.10
Other(a)	6	4.7	857	6.64
TOTAL			\$635,856	\$4,929.12

(a) This includes: syringes (\$17); car repairs (\$335); rented room for the purpose of selling heroin (\$60); sex with a prostitute (\$40); and street kids 'scabbing' money (\$5).

In some cases expenditure exceeded income, this usually being explained by monies owed on previous heroin purchases. The comparison of income and expenditure also proved a useful credibility check.

Vignette 7

Tom, a 29 year old male, reported using heroin with a street value of \$1,375 over the seven days prior to his interview. His income and expenditure for this period are set out below.

Income		Expenditure	
Heroin sales	\$4,350	Heroin purchases	\$4,050
Social Security	\$ 242	Rent/board	55
		Food	21
		Cigarettes	17
Total	\$4,592	Transport	4
		Gambling loss	30
		Total	\$4,177

Tom operated as a middleman, 'steering' clients to his dealer and 'copping' on behalf of other customers. He received heroin for these services as well as making purchases himself (both for use and sale) when he had the money. Any extra cash went for these purposes. Accordingly Tom did not have \$415 (the difference between income and expenditure) in his pockets at the time of interview but in fact had only a small amount of cash (undisclosed).

2.6 Couples

Whereas the life history results relate collectively to all respondents (N = 143), it was decided that the seven day activities of those 14 subjects who reported that they bought and sold heroin as a couple would be discussed separately. This was due to the fact that it was virtually impossible to distinguish between each individual in terms of separate amounts obtained and sold. To merely credit equal proportions to each respondent was thought to be misleading, as well as losing the unique characteristics of their dual activities.

Brief case studies for each of the seven couples are set out below:

Couple 1

Both respondents were 30 year old females who lived together in the Kings Cross/Darlinghurst area. They referred to themselves as flatmates. They reported obtaining in excess of 28 grams of heroin in the week and spending \$15,680. Deals were always in multiple one gram lots. Between them they used \$5,880 worth of heroin. They had

supplier. They cut their heroin every day with glucose and made 15 x \$50 deals from each cut gram. This they sold for \$19,830. They also purchased \$3,500 worth of cocaine which was all for personal use (\$500 per day or 2 grams per day). Apart from this they had also consumed wine and spirits to the value of \$30.

They obtained their heroin from one supplier, with whom they had dealt with for 18 months. They described this person as a full-time dealer who supplied, they estimated, at least \$10,000 worth of heroin each day. During the seven days they estimated that they had sold heroin to 30 separate customers. Virtually all of them were regulars (i.e. they had seen them on at least 3 of the 7 days) and 10 were prostitutes. Their most regular customer had been buying from them for 18 months. On their busiest day they had sold heroin largely on the street at pre-arranged locations. They bought their heroin in Woollahra and sold it in a variety of locations within the Eastern Suburbs and Darlinghurst area.

Apart from drug sales, their only other source of income was from social security (\$467). They had also paid \$100 in rent and \$20 towards household food. They had spent \$30 on transport and \$30 on entertainment. Their other major expenditure was \$300 worth of bills. Both had shoplifted at least once each day but they reported that all goods stolen were for personal use (clothes and food).

Couple 2

These two respondents, a male aged 22 and female aged 33, were rumoured to be major suppliers of heroin to many of the juvenile heroin users that frequented the Kings Cross/Darlinghurst area. At the time of the interview they were living together in motel style accommodation in the area. Between the two of them they had obtained in excess of 28 grams of heroin, spending \$10,900. This was made up of two two weight deals each day plus numerous smaller purchases. They reported using \$7,400 worth of heroin, she using approximately three-quarters of this. Over the week they reported that they had sold heroin to the value of \$15,000 with \$1,000 still outstanding in credit. They had cut their heroin on a 2:1 basis using glucose. This was then sold in \$50 and \$100 deals. As part of their selling activities they had also used a 'runner' on a number of occasions. For this, that person had received approximately one gram over the week. They had used four suppliers in the week, all of whom they described as full-time dealers. They had been buying from their main supplier for approximately 12 months, due largely to the quality of the heroin. They were unable to estimate how many customers they had but their responses suggested they were prepared to sell to just about anybody. They did report that many of their customers in the week were strangers to them. Twenty-five customers were reported to be prostitutes.

Apart from heroin sales, their only other source of income was social security. They also had substantial outgoings in terms of rent/board (\$280), food (\$100), transport (\$200 - taxis often used for heroin transactions) and entertainment (\$200). Neither had committed any property crime in the seven day period.

Couple 3

This couple, a 37 year old male and a 35 year old female, lived in a defacto relationship in Bondi together with their newly born child. They had very well established patterns of heroin distribution and use, obtaining a 5 gram bag each day which cost \$10,500 in total. Each had consumed one gram of this per day. They also reported buying and using \$20 worth of cannabis (1 stick) each day as well as \$40 on beer and spirits for the week. They had not cut their heroin, and sold the remainder after personal use in \$50 and \$100 deals together with the occasional half weight deal (\$150). The weekly income from heroin sales was \$11,100 with \$100 still owed to them. They also reported that they often sold 'short', for example a \$50 deal for \$40 or a \$100 for \$90. Customers said they would make up the differences but this couple did not really expect this to occur.

They only had one supplier, a full-time dealer who, they estimated, might supply between three and five ounces of heroin per day. They had been dealing with this person for only six weeks, saying that it was a reliable source of good quality heroin. During the pre-interview period they had sold heroin to 16 customers made up of six regulars and 10 strangers. They sold mainly at their home and at hotels.

Apart from heroin sales their only other source of income was social security. As to their expenses these included \$100 rent/board, \$150 food, \$50 cigarettes and \$140 on transport. The female reported one episode of shoplifting but the goods were for personal use.

Couple 4

- This couple, a 26 year old female and a 33 year old male, lived in a defacto relationship in Kings Cross. In the week prior to interview their usage and selling activities were minimal. In fact they had obtained only \$850 worth of heroin (having used only four of the seven days). They had also received \$125 worth of heroin as a gift from a friend. During the week they had also reported using cannabis (no cost), enhipnol (prescription), codeine (no cost) and serapax (no cost).

On two days they had cut their remaining heroin with glucose making, for example, six \$50 deals from a half gram. Overall they sold their heroin for \$1,050. They had obtained their heroin from four different suppliers, and sold it in \$50 deals to nine different customers, three of whom were prostitutes.

Apart from social security they had also earned \$150 from odd jobs. At present they were not paying any rent and spending only \$10 on food. Other expenses included \$20 on cigarettes, \$34 for transport, \$45 for entertainment and \$15 lost on gambling.

Both also reported shoplifting each day but as with others this was usually food items for personal consumption.

Couple 5

This couple were by far the largest buyers and sellers of heroin of the entire study group. The 37 year old male and 37 year old female lived in a defacto relationship in Sydney's Western Suburbs. Both reported extremely high usage levels of both heroin and barbiturates. Over the seven days they spent \$39,200 on heroin. This they purchased in quarter, half and one ounce bags. In street value terms they used \$28,000 worth of heroin in the week. They reported that they did not cut the heroin they used but did so (using glucose) on a 2:1 basis for the remainder. They made this up into \$50 and \$100 deals and sold it for an estimated sum of \$45,050. They could not estimate the number of customers they had sold to but reported that they would have seen in excess of 100 people in the seven days (it was unclear whether they were all distinct customers).

They also had massive barbiturate dependencies, she using nembudeine (100 per day) and he, rohypnol (50 per day). They had also spent about \$90 on beer, wine and spirits, but had obtained much more through shoplifting. They did indicate that he had a drinking problem. He had also committed an unknown number of burglaries, netting approximately \$4,500 in cash.

They had obtained their heroin from one supplier who they had been dealing with for four years. They did not know how much heroin this person sold. They both bought and sold heroin in the Western Suburbs.

Apart from heroin sales their other sources of income were social security and property crime (his). Weekly expenses included rent (\$280), food (\$240), cigarettes (\$100) and \$200 for transport (a lot of which was related to heroin buying and selling). They also reported that they were currently paying-off a \$10,000 debt (details of which were unknown).

Couple 6

This couple, a 25 year old male and 21 year old female, lived in a defacto relationship in Kings Cross. In American terminology, they primarily 'steered' customers to a dealer, also assisting in the physical transfer of the drugs and cash. For this, the supplier gave them heroin, as did some of the customers. They had also bought heroin themselves during the week, most of which they consumed, but part of which they sold on two occasions. In dollar terms, however, they had moved heroin worth \$5,930. Cash receipts on those sales made by the dealer and themselves totalled \$4,620. They reported that the heroin 'earned' by way of services together with personal purchases had a combined street value of \$2,740.

Apart from heroin they had also used cannabis and barbiturates but this had been at no cost.

They had obtained their heroin from six different suppliers in the week. The main supplier, described as a full-time dealer was estimated to be selling 10 grams per day. This was the person they 'steered' for and reported that this relationship had only existed for one week. One of their other suppliers, however, had been known to them for four years. Apart from heroin they had also obtained 2 grams of amphetamine from a friend. They had sold one of these for \$100 and given the other to a friend.

Other sources of income included social security (\$100) and \$400 from 'ports' (bogus drug transactions). Expenses included \$200 (rent/board), \$50 (food), \$35 (cigarettes) and \$40 (entertainment). On balance it appeared that at the time of the interview this couple owed money. They had also committed an undisclosed number of shoplifting offences but reported that the items stolen were all for personal use.

Couple 7

The final couple used heroin with an estimated value of \$3,780 but had financed their purchases (a weekly total of \$5,130) mainly by property crime (\$3,500 in cash from a series of larcenies) and to a lesser extent drug sales (\$1,500). They also reported that they still owed \$1,080 on heroin purchases during the week.

These two respondents, a male aged 38 and a female aged 31, lived in a defacto relationship in the Eastern Suburbs. They had bought and used heroin every day, deals usually in multiple (eg. 4 grams, 2 grams etc.) gram amounts. Their joint usage ranged from one and a half to 2 grams per day. Their main supplier had recently been 'busted' (they reported that this person had sold approximately 30 grams of heroin per day), resulting in them spending four days in a detoxification centre. Having left the centre they had been able to establish another line of supply. They were unaware how much heroin this person sold. They had not cut their heroin and had sold it to only six customers (all described as friends) in half gram deals.

As stated, a major source of income was from a series of larcenies (reported as occurring twice a day on average) from hotels and motels. Apart from this and drug sales the only other source of income was social security. Expenses during the seven days included \$180 (rent/board), \$70 (transport) and \$40 (entertainment).

CHAPTER III DISTRIBUTION NETWORKS

Whilst the previous results (see in particular Sections 2.1 and 2.2) describe in detail the drug distribution activities of the respondents, it was considered to be an important facet of the study to provide a broader insight into how a drug such as heroin is distributed once it has breached the 'customs barrier'. Mention has already been made of overseas research which has attempted to describe 'models' or 'pathways' which outline the possible levels through which heroin passes on its way to the street (see Preble and Casey, 1969 and Moore, 1977). As in those studies similar data sources have been accessed here. These include law enforcement case studies, law enforcement intelligence and narrative user case studies.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, interviews were initially carried out with five undercover agents of the State Drug Group. These officers provided detailed information on particular cases in which they had been involved and which were characterised by the tracking of heroin distribution from one level to another. A common method employed by such officers was to use low level user/dealers (such as those individuals interviewed in this study) as informants who would 'introduce' the officer, for the purposes of a larger drug sale, to a dealer higher up in that particular network. If possible, this process would be repeated until the highest level was reached. Some of these officers also outlined what they thought to be general models of distribution, together with heroin price and purity estimates for 'deals' at particular levels.

For confidentiality reasons this information is not detailed in this report. Rather, it has been used to support a particular model of distribution (see Figure 1). Information provided by the next agency visited, the Joint Commonwealth/State Drug Task Force was also used for these purposes. This agency was able to provide information about the importation levels of heroin distribution together with intelligence data concerning Australia's overseas heroin connections.

The next agency visited was the Australian Bureau of Criminal Intelligence in Canberra. Given the nature of some of the information collected, especially as it related to specific case and intelligence reports on known importation syndicates, access was restricted. They were, however, able to provide a four year breakdown (since 1984) of all heroin at the customs barrier together with data on the size and mode of importation. Those seizures deemed for distribution in New South Wales were subsequently isolated.

The last data source accessed was the information provided by the respondents themselves. This included their estimates of the amount of heroin sold by their main supplier, the size of the 'deals' they purchased, the size of the 'deals' they sold and finally their own understanding of where they felt they stood on the distribution 'ladder' as well as what was happening to the heroin before it got to them.

Between 1984 and 1987 there were 268 heroin seizures at the customs barrier, which, it was reported, were destined for distribution in New South Wales. Table 70 sets out the number of seizures, their size (in grams) and the mode of importation.

TABLE 70
Heroin importations - method, amount and incidence(a)
1984 - 1987

	1984	1985	1986	1987
Method	Amount seized in grams (no. of seizures)			
Mail	1,218 (45)	1,664 (29)	652 (55)	417 (45)
Personal	10,881 (10)	19,729 (17)	12,903 (13)	3,017 (4)
Baggage	31,233 (7)	19,822 (12)	12,525 (10)	23,239 (9)
Internal	-(b)	395 (3)	226 (1)	476 (3)
Cargo	-(b)	-(b)	3,452 (3)	17,456 (3)
TOTAL	32,332 (61)	41,610 (61)	29,758 (82)	44,605 (64)

(a) Data provided by Australian Bureau of Criminal Intelligence.

(b) There were either no seizures of this type or none were reported to the Australian Bureau of Criminal Intelligence.

Note: Trends in seizures are not suggested as being indicative of either law enforcement performance or heroin availability.

It should be noted that the data presented in Table 70 does not indicate the relative use of the various methods of importation, since an unknown proportion of instances go undetected. Such modes, however, have direct bearing on the amount imported. Amounts imported by way of the mail or secreted in an individual (internally) have been found to weigh in the range of 500 grams or less while amounts on the person are usually two kilograms or less. As is to be expected, the largest seizures have occurred where the method of importation was by baggage (accompanied or unaccompanied) or cargo (sea and air). The largest single seizure of heroin was 23 kilograms in January 1984. The method of importation was by way of baggage.

This chapter postulates what may have happened to such heroin (and therefore those amounts that escape detection) had it not been intercepted. It is not suggested that these outlines portray what always happens in the distribution of heroin, rather, what is likely, especially where well organised and structured networks are involved.

Besides such organised networks of distribution, information received from law enforcement agencies also describes many instances of unstructured or unorganised importations. Known heroin users, for

example, have been arrested while attempting to import heroin which was mainly for their own use as well as some amount for resale. In these instances, the principal usually intended to sell direct to the street. Apart from these examples, there are also others where individuals (non-users) have attempted to import heroin for financial gain. In one such case an offender of Middle Eastern decent had imported one kilogram of heroin (of Middle Eastern origin). Due to his lack of knowledge he had cut it to excess and therefore could not sell it. He had no prior record and said that his reasons for the crime were purely financial. There are many other examples where such attempts at importation could be described as 'one off' or opportunistic, with no consistent or common patterns of distribution. As stated, such individuals may attempt to sell direct to the street. Law enforcement officers suggest that, in some instances, this has had disastrous effects, such as an explosion of overdose incidents.

Although it is impossible to proportion the amount of heroin that is imported by organised networks as opposed to the 'one off' opportunist, the resources at the disposal of the former would suggest that certainly the far greater amount is imported and subsequently distributed by fairly structured networks. Law enforcement information suggests the involvement of Australian organised crime syndicates, as well as other criminal organisations within the Chinese and Lebanese communities, at the top levels of the distribution network. This is not to suggest that the Chinese and Lebanese are the only ethnic groups involved, or that all members of these communities are involved. Law enforcement intelligence has determined, however, that criminal elements within these two communities play a significant role.

The 'Kilo Connection'

Figure 1 outlines the likely distribution pathway that quantities of a kilogram or more of heroin take, where an organised or structured network of distribution is involved. Statements made as to the adulteration (cuts) of the heroin and the quantities and prices charged are based on information supplied by drug law enforcement agencies and those user/dealers interviewed as part of the current study. Also included in this outline are diagrammatic examples of the individual networks of three respondents (Vignettes 3, 4 and 5).

Although some of the heroin that reaches Australia comes from Middle Eastern and South West Asian sources, the vast majority comes from South East Asia and, in particular, the Golden Triangle (centered on the common borders between Burma, Laos and Thailand). The purity of high grade South East Asian heroin ranges from between 80-90 per cent diamorphine content (it is noted that some seizures of less purity have been recorded eg. 50-60 per cent). If this purity range is applied to the model in the following diagram, certain calculations can be made regarding the possible profits made at the different levels. Apart from this, further information is provided about what might be occurring at these levels of distribution.

FIGURE 1
The Kilo Connection

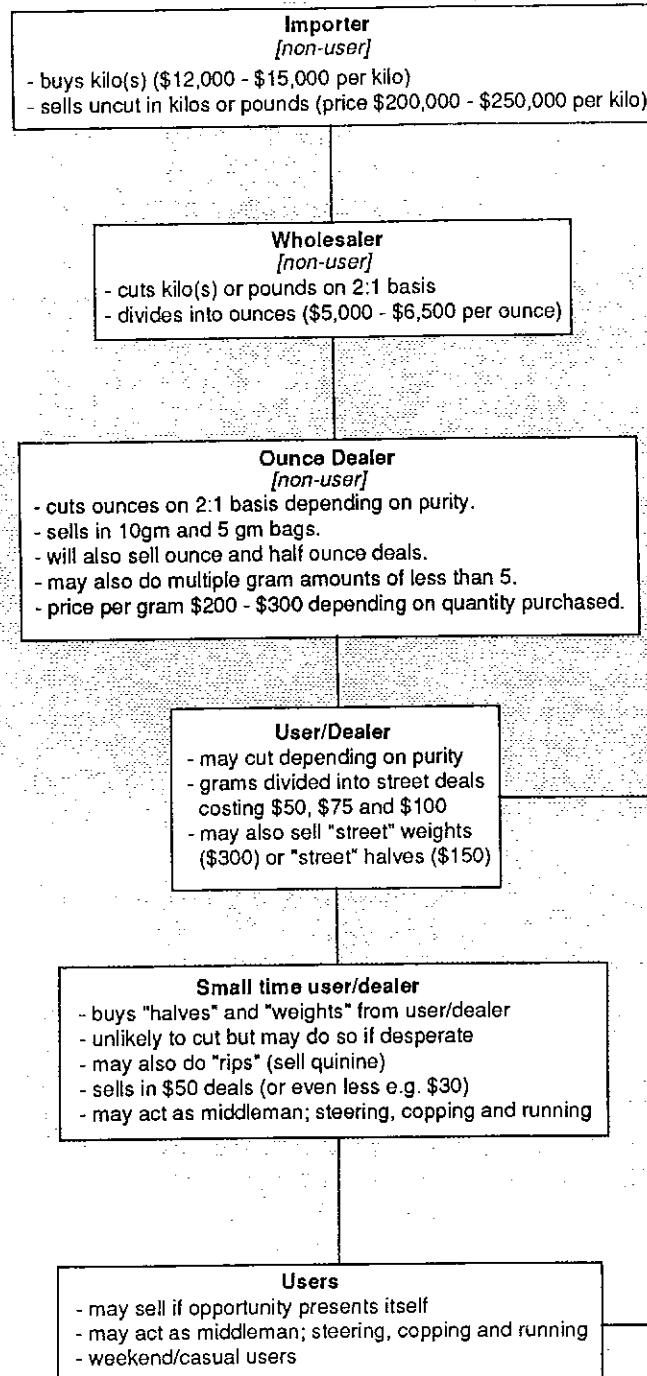


FIGURE 2

STEVE
(USER/DEALER)

DAY	BUYS	USE	CUTS	SELLS
Friday	1 x 3gm, 1 x 4gm (\$1,490)	1 gram	6gm to 12 gm	20 transactions: 4 x 1/2, 2 x \$100, 40 x \$50
Saturday	1 x 3 gm (\$720)	1 gram	No	9 transactions: 15 x \$50
Sunday	1 x 2gm (\$600)	1 gram	1gm to 2 gm	6 transactions: 12 x \$50
Monday	1 x 2gm (\$600)	1 gram	1gm to 2 gm	6 transactions: 12 x \$50
Tuesday	1 x 3gm (\$750)	1 gram	2gm to 3 gm	9 transactions: 20 x \$50
Wednesday	1 x 3gm, 1 x 2gm (\$1,250)	2 grams	No	Cannot remember
Thursday	1 x 6gm (\$1,320)	2 grams	No	Cannot remember

OUNCE DEALER
Steve reported buying from two suppliers who, he estimated, both sold 2 ounces per day

CUSTOMERS
Steve reported selling to 12 customers all of whom were regulars

Note: Steve also reported giving approximately 2 grams of heroin (cut) to friends over his seven reporting days.

FIGURE 3

BOB
(USER/DEALER)

DAY	BUYS	USE	CUTS	SELLS
Monday	1 x 2 gm (\$600)	1/2 gm	No	7 transactions: 2 x 1/2, 3 x \$100, 2 x \$50
Tuesday	1 x 2 gm (\$600)	1/2 gm	No	7 transactions: 2 x 1/2, 3 x \$100, 2 x \$50
Wednesday	1 x 2 gm, 1 x 10 gm (\$2,800)	No	No	8 transactions: 1 x 10, 2 x 1/2, 3 x \$100, 2 x \$50
Thursday	2 x 1 gm (\$600)	No	No	2 transactions: 2 x 1/2, 3 x \$100, 2 x \$50
Friday	1 x 4 gm (\$1,080)	No	No	8 transactions: 2 x 1, 2 x 1/2, 3 x \$100, 2 x \$50
Saturday	1 x 2 gm (\$600)	No	No	7 transactions: 2 x 1/2, 3 x \$100, 2 x \$50
Sunday	1 x 2 gm (\$600)	No	No	7 transactions: 2 x 1/2, 3 x \$100, 2 x \$50

OUNCE DEALER
Bob reported buying from two suppliers but did not know how much they sold

CUSTOMERS
Bob reported selling to 8 customers
7 regulars
1 semi-regular

On Wednesday Bob had 'copped' 10 grams for another. This person may have been a user/dealer

Note: Bob also reported buying and using 1 gram of cocaine on Monday and Tuesday (\$200 per gram). On the remaining five days he had swapped heroin for 1 gram of cocaine which he used.

FIGURE 4

JULIE
(SMALL-TIME USER/DEALER)

DAY	BUYS	USE	CUTS	SELLS
Wednesday	1/2 (\$150)	\$70	No	3 transactions: 3 x \$50
Thursday	1/2 (\$150)	\$70	No	3 transactions: 3 x \$50
Friday	1/2 (\$150)	\$70	No	3 transactions: 3 x \$50
Saturday	No	No	No	No
Sunday	No	\$50 (gift)	No	No
Monday	1/2 (\$150)	\$70	No	3 transactions: 3 x \$50
Tuesday	1/2 (\$150)	\$70	No	3 transactions: 3 x \$50

USER/DEALER
Julie reported buying from one supplier who, she estimated, sold 5 grams per day

CUSTOMERS
Julie reported selling to 10 customers
2 regulars
4 semi-regulars
4 new

Importers

Very little is known about individuals at this level as there have been very few arrests of major heroin importers. Individuals arrested while in the process of importation are invariably paid employees or agents who have no personal knowledge of who is paying for their services. Certainly there is information which suggests a connection between criminal elements in the local Chinese community and similar elements in Singapore, Hong Kong and Bangkok. Recent arrests also show the use of Asian nationals as couriers and as principal contacts once the heroin has passed through customs.

It is therefore very difficult to calculate a reliable estimate of the profits made at this level. The original purchase cost could vary enormously. As well as this, it is virtually impossible to estimate the costs incurred in the actual importation. By applying the estimated Hong Kong cost for one kilogram of heroin of between \$12,000-\$15,000 (as supplied by the Australian Bureau of Criminal Intelligence) however, the following calculations can be made.

Price paid per kilo = \$12,000-\$15,000.

Purity estimated at 80-90%.

Sale price = \$200,000-\$250,000 per kilo.

Maximum gross profit = \$188,000-\$235,000 per kilo (less expenses).

Wholesalers

This is the major 'jumping off' point for the distribution of heroin into a variety of local networks. Law enforcement intelligence suggests that individuals at this level could be part of major Australian criminal syndicates. Criminal elements within certain ethnic communities also operate at this level. In fact, such ethnic involvement may permeate through all three of the top levels of distribution and in some cases may involve an extended family relationship. It is very unlikely that individuals at this level would be heroin users. In fact it has been suggested (by undercover drug officers) that it would not be tolerated. Due to the limited success of law enforcement at this level, however, all such information remains speculative.

Even so, available pricing information allows for the calculation of the possible profit margins at this level.

Price paid per kilo = \$200,000-\$250,000.
Heroin cut on 2:1 basis producing approximately 70 ounces.
The heroin at this stage could be 40-45 per cent pure. Ounces sold for between \$5,000-\$6,500 depending on quantity purchased.

Gross return on 2 kilos = \$350,000-\$455,000.

Maximum gross profit = \$150,000-\$205,000 per kilo (less expenses).

As with importers, however, the ancillary costs of protection and payment to employees, as well as the number of individuals sharing in these profits, must be considered.

Ounce dealers

Obviously, there is variation in the number of ounces a dealer at this level would buy, as there would be in the number of kilos or pounds a wholesaler might buy. As with the wholesaler, it is also envisaged that certain ancillary costs would be incurred such as protection and payment for services. Once again it is very unlikely that individuals at this level are users, although they would be more likely to be so than wholesalers. Ounce dealers may also be part of the criminal syndication that purchased heroin from the importer (in some cases the importers, wholesalers and ounce dealers may all be part of the same organised network).

The estimated profit obtained is calculated on the purchase of an ounce of heroin of 40-45 per cent purity with a price of \$5,000-\$6,500 and the subsequent sale of this heroin in 10 gram bags.

Price paid per ounce = \$5,000-\$6,500
Heroin cut on 2:1 basis producing approximately 60 grams.
The heroin at this state would be approximately 20 - 22.5 per cent pure.

Sale price of a 10 gram bag = \$2,000 - \$2,500

Gross return on 60 grams = \$12,000 - \$15,000

Maximum gross profit = \$7,000 - \$8,500 per ounce (less expenses)

Many respondents from the current study group reported buying their heroin from individuals who may have been ounce dealers. This observation is based primarily on the reported estimates of the amounts sold by the main supplier per day (see Table 51) and the size of the deals purchased by respondents. Based on this information it appears that ounce dealers will sell in 10 and 5 gram bags and smaller multiple gram amounts (it should be noted that gram amounts at this level are reportedly weighed). Apart from this there were also instances where ounce and half ounce amounts were purchased by respondents (see for example Couple 5).

User/dealers

From the information supplied by respondents, it is evident that two categories or levels of dealer exist. There were some respondents who purchased heroin exclusively from the ounce dealer while other respondents, it would seem, mainly bought from other user/dealers. This is once again based on the size of the deals obtained by respondents. As mentioned above, those respondents who appear to have bought from ounce dealers did so most commonly in amounts of 10 grams, 5 grams, 4 grams, 3 grams and even 2 grams. The suggested secondary user/dealer group most commonly purchased half gram and gram amounts (street weights). Both categories sold to the 'street' in deals costing \$50, \$75 and \$100.

Further support for this distribution model was gained by the respondents' own perceptions of where they stood on the distribution 'ladder'. Although many respondents did not know (29.5%) or did not want to know (6.2%), many estimated that they were four or five levels from the top (see Table 71). When asked to expand on their understanding of how heroin was distributed some respondents were able to provide substantial detail about the system. Both Steve (Vignette 3) and Bob (Vignette 4) described networks almost identical to that set out in Figure 1. Although most respondents provided only general information about their understanding of how heroin was distributed, others were quite specific. Peter, a 31 year old male, described his network as follows:

It is brought into the country through legitimate channels, through warehouses, in kilos. Then goes to the Western Suburbs where it is cut on a professional basis into pounds and ounces. It is moved from there to large dealers (not users) who move multiple ounces. Then goes to the ounce dealer (my dealer).

Although indications are that both wholesalers and ounce dealers cut their heroin, most respondents (68.2%) in this study had not done so. Of the 31.8 per cent who had, some reported cutting on a 2:1 basis while others would add adulterant to 'make good' what they had taken out for their own use. For the vast majority who had not cut, there tended to be a preference for making multiple 'tastes' (\$50 deals). It was reported that ten \$50 tastes could be made up from a 'good' gram. It was also evident that, in order to support their own use, such a breakdown was necessary. Respondents reported adjusting the size of their 'tastes', and in some cases cutting, in order to achieve this sort of result.

When comparing income from heroin sales and expenditure on its original purchase (see Tables 67 and 68) this group's distribution activities were largely concerned with 'breaking even'. In other words the main objective was to buy and sell enough heroin to support a level of usage, a standard of living and enough money 'in the pocket' to do the same 'business' the next day. Very few

respondents, it could be said, were able to 'put money in the bank' at the end of the week. Profits, in the sense that they occurred at the higher levels of the distribution network, were rarely reported at this level.

TABLE 71
Perceptions of position in distribution network

Position	No.	%
Two	1	0.8
Three	14	10.9
Four	36	27.9
Five	19	14.7
Six	5	3.9
Seven	3	2.3
Eight	2	1.6
Nine	1	0.8
Eleven	2	1.6
Do not want to know	8	6.2
Not known	38	29.5
TOTAL	129	100.0

Average = 4.59

An example of where profits were made was reported by Couple 2. Apart from considerable weekly expenses in terms of rent, food, transport and entertainment, the female reported having put \$3,000 aside for clothes needed to replace an entire wardrobe left behind when she 'had to change addresses in a hurry'.

Respondents who acted as middlemen have also been included in this user/dealer category. As with activities of 'steering' and 'copping', these individuals would arrange or set up (steer) transactions between a potential customer and a dealer or buy (cop) on behalf of another. In some cases both the dealer and the customer would 'pay' in the form of heroin for these services. Respondents who also copped on behalf of others might also 'tax' the deal of a small amount of heroin. They reported that it was 'expected' that this would occur. Where they were able to obtain a sufficient amount of heroin themselves, these respondents also described small amounts of selling. Finally the information available suggests that such middleman activities took place at the levels between user/dealer and ounce dealer, user/dealer and small time user/dealer, and user and user/dealer.

Users

This final category encompasses a variety of both regular and casual users. The latter, it is suggested, comprise the very much unknown group who may be described as 'weekend' users and who support their usage partly or totally by legitimate means (employment). This group might also include those individuals 'just starting out' in the use of heroin, some of whom, as with the current study group, may eventually progress to regular heroin use and a regular involvement in drug related crime.

Of those described as regular users, evidence exists (see Dobinson and Ward, 1985) that, for some, a primary source of income is property crime. Apart from this income source, previous data (Dobinson and Ward, 1985 and 1987) also describes an involvement for some in the sale of drugs. At this level of the distribution ladder it seems that the functions of user/dealer, small time user/dealer and regular user are interchangeable, dependent on opportunity and financial capacity, or the lack of it.

Other networks

It is evident from law enforcement intelligence that other organised networks apart from that described in Figure 1 exist. The use of the mail system to import heroin is believed to be a major mode of importation (see Table 70). Heroin concealed both on and within the person are also methods used by organised distribution networks. The use of such methods, however, limits the quantity of the drug that is imported. In relation to the subsequent distribution of the drug the likely effect is to merely decrease the number of levels through which the heroin will pass on its way to the street. An importer receiving heroin in multiple ounces, for example, may sell it (cut or uncut) to an ounce dealer. From here the distribution could be as described by Figure 1. The accounts of some respondents, as to where they 'stood' on the distribution 'ladder' support the existence of these smaller but organised types of network.

Carol, a 20 year old female, reported first hand knowledge of her network; "I know, I seen it". The system she described was of an importer who used a courier to physically import the heroin. On one occasion she was present when a delivery was made. The importer cut the heroin, a quantity of which was bought by Carol's dealer. She estimated that he sold 10 grams per day (an ounce dealer). Carol reported purchasing 4 grams on each of the seven days. She reported that neither she nor her dealer cut the heroin (the reasons for this are unknown but may have been due to the low purity of the heroin). Carol sold her heroin exclusively in half weights (\$150). Although the majority of her customers purchased their heroin for personal use only, she did report that in some cases it would have been broken down into \$50 'tastes' and resold.

Finally it should once again be noted that a significant amount of heroin is imported into Australia in a rather ad hoc manner. Although it is impossible to estimate the proportions of heroin imported by way of organised networks, as opposed to 'one off' opportunistic schemes, the resources available to the former and the very available nature of heroin in our major cities, suggests well organised and structured networks. This was also the firm impression of both respondents and members of the various law enforcement agencies who were interviewed.

CHAPTER IV DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The current study aimed to explore the behaviour of a group of individuals characterised as heroin user/dealers. It sought not only to describe the drug use and criminal behaviour of such a group but also to explore the pathways or networks of heroin distribution. In conjunction with the two previous projects undertaken by the Bureau (Dobinson and Ward, 1985 and 1987), it completes a trilogy of studies which is unique in its coverage of a local (NSW) heroin-using population. The fact that a so-called active user group has been accessed has also resulted in the development of new methodologies (in an Australian context) for drug research. The results of the current study and their implications are discussed below together with an overview of the three studies and what can be learnt from them about the drugs/crime phenomenon.

4.1 User/dealers

To be eligible for the study, subjects had to be both regular users and sellers of heroin. In the vast majority of cases (86.0%) respondents had obtained (invariably by way of cash purchase) and used heroin on six or more of the last seven days. Similarly 81.3 per cent had sold heroin on five or more of the last seven days. In terms of the cash value of the heroin obtained and sold, this study group reflected a wide range of involvement in the distribution of heroin (Tables 36 and 44). On average respondents had obtained \$4,481.82 worth of heroin and had used \$1,494.02. In dollar terms the average amount sold was \$4,526.12. At first sight, income from drug sales only just covered expenditure. Given that some respondents also gave some heroin away to friends or relatives who may have been 'short' or 'hanging out', most respondents usually only 'broke even'. What their selling of heroin did allow for, however, was the maintenance of a substantial heroin consumption level. In fact, it was quite clear that the selling of heroin was directly linked to their usage and that any fluctuations in the amounts they obtained on any particular day had a direct bearing on how much they used.

Mick (Vignette 1) had obtained \$900 worth of heroin on three of his reporting days, \$1,200 worth on another three and only \$150 worth on the remaining day. For the first six days he had used heroin with a estimated value of \$300. On the remaining day, however, he had used only \$100 worth of heroin.

In economic terms it is important to note that, on average, there was a 3:1 ratio of the amount of heroin obtained to the amount used, a ratio that held true for many individual cases. This ratio, although slightly complicated by some individuals cutting their heroin, may reflect the economic determinants of heroin usage. It is unclear, however, whether the desired level of consumption pre-determines what

is bought and sold or whether a greater involvement (in monetary terms) in the distribution of heroin allows for increased usage. It is also unclear how regular users perceive this relationship.

For most subjects, the daily routine of buying, using and selling heroin followed what seemed to be well established patterns. It was evident that consistency and stability were desired results, enabling an individual to sustain a particular level of consumption and lifestyle.

Suzy (Vignette 2) purchased a 5 gram bag each day and used between two and three weights. She paid \$1,200 a day for the 5 grams selling the remainder after use in amounts of \$100, \$75 and \$50. She reported that she invariably 'got her money back' i.e. \$1,200, enabling her to purchase another 5 gram bag the following day. Suzy's other source of income was prostitution. This income, together with that obtained from a pension, financed her general living expenses.

Heroin distribution

As stated in Chapter 3, it is believed that this study group are drawn from the two distribution levels described in Figure 1 as user/dealers and small-time user/dealers. This assumed position in the distribution network was based on information supplied by drug law enforcement agencies and, in particular, by the respondents themselves.

By reporting on the amounts purchased, the size of individual transactions, the estimated volume of heroin sold by their supplier(s), the amounts (and size of deals) sold to customers and the number of customers, much has been learnt about the operations of heroin distribution at this level of the overall process.

Although most respondents had only one supplier, it was evident from the amounts of heroin obtained that this person was either an ounce dealer or a user/dealer (as described in Chapter 3). Respondents (user/dealers) usually purchased heroin in 5 gram bags as well as smaller multiple gram amounts (e.g. 4, 3 and 2 grams). They sold this mostly in \$50, \$75 and \$100 'tastes'. They also reported that they also sold 'half' (\$150) and 'weight' (\$300) deals and that individuals buying these may well have resold a proportion of this heroin. This was borne out by actual information provided by some respondents who have been termed small-time user/dealers. These individuals reported selling the remainder of their heroin almost exclusively in \$50 'tastes' (some smaller dollar amounts, e.g. \$30 were also reported).

Respondents were also asked about the length of time they had been dealing with their main supplier (Table 53). Whilst the reported average was nearly two years, more than half (55.0%) described their supplier as only an acquaintance. Differences in the length of time a respondent had been dealing with his/her main supplier were

noticed when comparing user/dealers and small-time user/dealers. Mick (Vignette 1), for example, a user/dealer, reported dealing with his main supplier for a period of approximately two years. On the other hand, Julie (Vignette 6), a small-time user/dealer, reported having dealt with her main supplier for only four months. Although there were exceptions to this general pattern, a common desire of all respondents was to establish and maintain a supply of heroin which was reliable, of good quality and a fair price (Table 54).

It is also of interest to note that most respondents (56.6%) reported that their main supplier sold only heroin. If the supplier did sell other drugs it was usually cocaine or cannabis (see Table 52). Although by no means conclusive, this may demonstrate distinctions between the distribution networks of heroin and those related to other drugs. Certainly information reported by law enforcement and other agencies with an inside knowledge of the workings of drug distribution tend to support the conclusion that there is little, if any, overlap between networks and that such networks are quite drug specific.

Respondents also provided similar information about their customers. On average respondents had 14 customers (Table 57) in the week preceding the interview. They described such individuals as usually being acquaintances, friends, and finally, strangers (Tables 8, 9 and 10 in Appendix B). Given that most respondents sold their heroin in the Kings Cross/Darlinghurst area it was also not surprising to find that 65.9 per cent sold heroin to prostitutes (Table 58).

As shown by Tables 59, 60 and 61 there was a clearly indicated preference for selling to either regular or occasional customers. Because of fears of detection, respondents generally tried to avoid new customers, 58.9 per cent (Table 61) reported that they had not sold heroin to any new customers in the period prior to the interview.

What was evident was that the number of customers related directly to the amount sold. Given the popularity of the \$50 'taste' as the most common unit of sale, individuals obtaining large amounts and then selling in this fashion had to 'move' their heroin to a large number of customers. The most extreme example of this was Couple 5. The greater number of customers also resulted in an increased likelihood that some of these would be strangers. Couple 2, for example, reported selling heroin to the value of \$15,000 which they sold usually in \$50 'tastes'. In the seven days prior to the interview they reported selling this heroin to many individuals, 30 of whom they described as strangers. On the other hand Bob (Vignette 4), reported selling heroin with a value of \$8,250 (\$2,800 of which was for one 10 gram bag which he 'copped' for another person). He sold his heroin in 'halves', \$100 and \$50 'tastes'. He described selling this to eight customers, seven of whom were regular and one who was an occasional customer.

Given the serious (in terms of possible punishments) criminal nature of their involvement in the distribution of heroin, it was important to determine the types of precaution respondents took when 'doing business' with customers and suppliers.

Respondents reported taking a variety of precautions to avoid arrest (see Tables 64 and 65) which varied according to whether they were regular (and occasional), or new customers. Steve (Vignette 3) reported that he met his regular customers in the street. They would go for a walk during which time they would arrange a location to meet. He never carried drugs on him but would 'stash it' somewhere. On meeting with his customer he would get the money and then tell the person where it was 'stashed'. He reported that he would never deal with strangers direct. If a regular wanted some for a friend he/she would get it and then pass it on to that person.

Of those who sold to new customers it was often reported that such people would have to be referred (by a regular), and that their bona fides as a user (by checking eyes or 'track' marks) was verified.

Security and the avoidance of detection seemed to be even more important considerations when respondents were dealing with their supplier(s). Although basic precautions were taken with customers, sometimes quite elaborate activities took place when respondents bought their drugs (for a breakdown of such precautions see Table 56).

Suzy (Vignette 2), for example, detailed a system whereby different locations for different days were communicated by code over the telephone. She would go to this place by public transport where she was picked up by her dealer in his car. They would then drive around for nearly 30 minutes to check that they were not being followed. The transaction would take place in the car and she would be dropped at a location different to that of the pick up. Some respondents reported using pager systems, whilst others reported complicated journeys on trains, buses and taxis in order to 'throw off' any one who might be following them.

Income and expenditure

As mentioned, income from drug sales only slightly exceeded expenditure. Monies in hand at the end of their reporting period were invariably 'ear marked' for the next day's heroin purchase. Monetary amounts expended on drugs, and income from drug sales, were clearly (see Tables 68 and 69) the dominant fiscal factors in the household economics of the respondents. In total, respondents reported spending \$578,155 on heroin in the seven days prior to interview and receiving \$583,870 in income from subsequent heroin sales. It is again important to note, however, that the original purchase enabled respondents to consume a reported average of nearly \$1,500 worth of heroin (a total of \$193,500) in the week preceding the interview. If this was to be added to the income and

expenditure figures a total amount of around \$1,355,525 per week (in terms of the street value of heroin) was generated by these respondents through their buying and selling of heroin. As Johnson points out (1985:183), data such as this may show heroin abusers as being economically productive, although not in the traditional sense. As seen from their other expenditures (Table 69), the current study group also contributed, on average, \$278.70 per week to the so-called legitimate economy. In comparison, they had received, on average, \$188.10 per week from the same economy. The net gain to the legitimate economy is an average of nearly \$90 over a seven day period. In addition to this they also contributed to the income of others through payments to family and friends, monetary payments for services (e.g. 'steering') and the repayment of debts. The average amount was \$76.13 over the seven day reporting period. It is noted, however, that the source of the so-called 'gain' to the legitimate economy, if one exists at all, is clearly the illicit economy created by the buying and selling of heroin as well as those monies generated by property crime and used to purchase heroin. The calculation also does not consider the costs, to the legitimate economy, of health services, policing and lost production.

Although a few respondents were making profits from selling heroin and also living fairly comfortable lifestyles, the vast majority were just breaking even. While most had well established networks of distribution, it was evident that disruptions to lines of supply could have quite dramatic effects on the individual, as it related to his/her ability to obtain drugs. The picture portrayed in the preceding pages, therefore, may understate the vulnerability of this group of heroin user/dealers. For some, life on the street remained a very much 'hand to mouth' existence.

The current study did not seek to collect data on what resulted when such lines of supply were disrupted, but it is interesting to note one example that occurred during the operation of the field office. In this instance, a male and female attended the office wanting to take part in the study. They reported being desperate for money to score as their usual supplier had been 'busted'. This person usually gave them initial credit on an amount which they would then cut and sell. They would then return to the dealer, repay the initial credit and purchase another amount from the proceeds. The process was then repeated. This line of distribution was severed by the arrest. At the time, however, due to the fact they had not bought or sold heroin in the last seven days (they had been surviving on 'gifts' from friends) they were deemed ineligible for the interview. It was learned later that both had admitted themselves into a detoxification program (their first treatment experience). Having left after only four days, they had established a similar distribution arrangement with another dealer. Although not to the same degree, they were again selling heroin on a daily basis and subsequently became part of the study group. They had also committed a number of larcenies from hotels and motels to supplement their income for drugs (see Couple 7).

Criminal activity and criminal record

The facet of this group's behaviour not yet discussed was their involvement in other crime, notably property crime. Although most (78.3%) reported some regular involvement in property crime in the past, 64.3 per cent (Table 67) reported no property crime episodes in the seven days prior to the interview. Data on income show the dominance of heroin distribution, with only 24.0 per cent of respondents reporting that they had obtained any money from property crime (Table 68). Where property crime did occur, it tended to be an infrequent occurrence; 46 respondents reporting 145 episodes of property crime within the last seven days. Shoplifting was the most reported crime, often involving the theft of items for personal use. On other occasions (Sally - Vignette 5), the stolen items were resold to supplement income used to procure drugs. The serious nature of the crimes committed, however, should not be understated, because it included 30 burglaries (reported by eight respondents) and 12 armed robberies (reported by five respondents).

Respondents were also asked to provide information about their criminal records. As mentioned above 78.3 per cent reported a prior regular involvement in property crime. Apart from this another 78.3 per cent reported being regular sellers of drugs (other than heroin) in the past. Given that all respondents were also regular users and sellers of heroin, it was not surprising that a large majority (87.4%) reported at least one conviction, of any type, in the past (Table 26).

Of interest was the comparison of their reported involvement in drug crime and their reported number of convictions for such offences. Whereas all respondents were regular heroin users, only 56.6 per cent reported a conviction for such an offence. This difference was even more marked when selling heroin was concerned, only 25.9 per cent of respondents reporting a conviction for this offence. Similar results also occurred where the use and sale of other illegal drugs was concerned: 51.4 per cent reporting a conviction for use, while 30.4 per cent (of those who reported being regular sellers of such drugs) reported a conviction for drug selling.

When asked about their legal status at the time of interview, more than half (53.8%) reported that they were on bail, a bond, probation, parole or a combination of these (Table 28). Table 1 in Appendix B provides detail on the actual offence to which this legal status related. Thirteen individuals reported being on bail (seven), probation (one), a bond (four) and a suspended sentence (one) for supplying heroin. As expected the most common offence (21 respondents) was use/possess heroin. Because there was no way of verifying these results, however, they may not be strictly accurate, and it is, therefore, inadvisable to generalise to any larger user population.

The relationship between drugs and crime

Firstly, it is once again noted that this group exhibited a substantial involvement in the commission of property crime, 78.3 per cent reporting at least one episode of regular property crime in the past. In 42.0 per cent of cases this occurred before their first heroin use episode, and in 50.0 per cent, before the onset of regular heroin use (Table 31). Although the most common crime committed on a regular basis before the onset of regular heroin use was shoplifting, a substantial number of respondents reported the regular commission of larceny, break enter and steal, receiving/goods in custody, and motor vehicle larceny (including take and use a conveyance) before this time (see Table 33). Even so, a majority of those who reported a regular involvement in particular property crimes (with the exception of shoplifting) stated that it had occurred after or contemporaneously with the onset of regular heroin use. It is of interest to note the crime of fraud in this regard. While 40.6 per cent of respondents reported at least one episode of regular involvement in this crime, 87.9 per cent of these individuals reported that it had occurred after or contemporaneously with regular heroin use.

A similar high degree of involvement was found when observing the reported crime of selling drugs (other than heroin). Nearly 80 per cent (78.3%) reported having sold drugs on a regular basis in the past. In 43.8 per cent of cases this occurred before their first heroin use and in nearly 60 per cent (59.8%) before the onset of regular use (Table 31).

This group then were characterised by a marked involvement in pre-heroin drug and property crime. It would seem that, on the basis of their current reported involvement in crime, for the vast majority heroin sales had become the dominant activity. Although 46 (35.7%) respondents reported the commission of at least one property crime in the seven days prior to interview (Table 67), only 31 (24.0%) reported any monetary gain from this crime (Table 68). Very few respondents also reported a current involvement in the sale of other drugs, with only 13.2 per cent reporting that they had obtained income from this source during the period prior to the interview (Table 68).

The important considerations that arise from these results are the possible influence that such pre-heroin involvement in crime has had on an individual's initial and, thereafter, continuing use of heroin, together with the impact that regular heroin use has on the degree and frequency of criminal activity. The fact that similar data on the temporal sequencing of drugs and crime has now been collected in a series of three studies has allowed for comparisons across the three study groups.

4.2 User/property offenders (I), Users in treatment (II) and Active user/dealers (III)

The problems of sampling and measurement in the area of illicit drug use are well documented (for a discussion of these see Dobinson and Ward, 1985, pp. 5-8). Potteiger (1981) has suggested that some of the problems can be overcome by drawing samples from a variety of identifiable groups, collecting the same or similar data, and using the same data collection instrument. Although the interview instrument (especially as it relates to life history data) has undergone some minor amendments, both similar and common data has now been collected on three groups of regular heroin users. This has allowed for some, although still tentative, conclusions about the make-up of the so-called 'regular heroin using population' and the antecedents of regular heroin use. Although there were major differences between the three study groups, it is not proposed to try and explain these here. Rather, such differences will simply be described in order to show the diversity of behaviour that characterises the regular heroin using population.

Drug use

Table 72 compares the three study groups in terms of the mean ages of regular drug and alcohol use, together with the percentage of respondents who reported such use. Although no significant differences occurred when comparing the mean ages of the groups, there were very substantial differences in the proportion of respondents from the three studies who reported at least one episode of regular drug use in the past. It is noted, for example, that whereas 55.9 per cent of user/dealers reported at least one episode of regular amphetamine use, only 19.2 per cent of user property offenders reported likewise. A similar result occurred when looking at the regular use of barbiturates (including sedatives and tranquillisers). In fact, more of the user/dealer group reported an episode of the regular use of drugs and alcohol than either the user/property offenders or users in treatment (with the exception of cannabis). After heroin, the most popular drugs used in each of the three groups were alcohol and cannabis.

Treatment

All three groups provided information about their prior treatment experiences (Table 23, Dobinson and Ward, 1985; Table 41, Dobinson and Ward, 1987; and Table 19 this report). Again, some important differences were reported. Whereas 47.4 per cent of user property offenders had never had prior treatment experience, the same was true for only 25.2 per cent of users in treatment and 20.3 per cent of user/dealers. Not surprisingly, user property offenders reported the lowest average number (3.2) of treatment episodes. What was surprising was the difference between users in treatment (an average of 4.4 previous treatment episodes) and active user/dealers (an average of 7.6 episodes excluding the category of 'other' - see Tables 19 and 20).

TABLE 72
Comparative ages of regular drug use

Drug	I(b) N = 78		II(b) N = 127		III(b) N = 143	
	M	% of Resp.	M	% of Resp.	M	% of Resp.
Alcohol	16.6	(57.7)	16.4	(78.7)	16.1	(86.0)
Cannabis	16.0	(84.6)	15.9	(92.9)	15.6	(90.9)
LSD/psychedelics	16.5	(32.1)	17.0	(41.7)	16.9	(46.1)
Amphetamines	18.8	(19.2)	18.9	(35.4)	19.5	(55.9)
Barbiturates	17.1	(16.7)	19.9	(27.6)	20.1	(53.1)
Cocaine	22.0	(14.1)	20.6	(15.0)	22.5	(21.2)
Heroin	19.4	(100.0)	20.1	(99.2)	19.5	(100.0)
Other opiates(a)	19.3	(30.8)	19.4	(18.9)	20.2	(59.4)

(a) Includes methadone received by way of treatment.

(b) User/property offenders (I), users in treatment (II) and active user/dealers (III).

TABLE 73
Comparative ages of regular property crime

Offence	I N = 78		II N = 127		III N = 143	
	M	% of Resp.	M	% of Resp.	M	% of Resp.
Break enter & steal	19.3	(66.7)	21.2	(30.7)	19.2	(38.5)
Motor vehicle larceny ..	15.2	(19.2)	15.7	(4.7)	17.1	(16.1)
Robbery	17.2	(12.8)	16.3	(2.4)	17.5	(10.5)
Shoplifting	17.1	(23.1)	19.9	(15.7)	17.8	(44.1)
Larceny	18.2	(6.4)	20.2	(10.2)	19.7	(30.1)
Armed robbery	22.1	(20.5)	19.9	(1.6)	20.0	(7.7)
Fraud	21.8	(29.5)	21.1	(22.8)	21.3	(40.1)
Receiving	24.0	(6.4)	21.7	(7.9)	18.8	(32.2)

A difference was particularly evident in the number of inpatient detoxification episodes, with an average of only 1.4 for users in treatment compared with 3.8 for the user/dealers (the seven individuals who reported 138 detoxification episodes - see footnote (b) Table 19 - have been excluded for the purposes of this calculation).

Criminal activity

As with drug and alcohol use, whilst no differences occurred in the reported ages of regular criminal activity, there were once again substantial differences in the percentages of respondents reporting at least one episode of the regular commission of crime in the past (Table 73).

Given the inherent selection bias in Dobinson and Ward (1985), it was not surprising to find that more user/property offenders reported at least one regular episode of the commission of break, enter and steal and armed robbery than the other two groups. What was surprising, was the greater proportion of user/dealers who reported regular episodes of shoplifting, larceny, fraud and receiving (including goods in custody) than the other two groups. At this stage there appears to be no easy explanation for these differences.

The crime not dealt with in Table 73 is the sale of illicit drugs. Whereas respondents in the current study were asked to differentiate between heroin and other drugs, this was not the case in the previous studies. Even so, it is of some interest to note that while 61.5 per cent of user/property offenders and 69.3 percent of users in treatment reported having been regularly involved in the sale of drugs, including heroin, 78.3 per cent of user/dealers reported such an involvement, excluding heroin.

The temporal sequence of heroin use and crime

Although in excess of 70 per cent of each study group reported at least one criminal episode before their first use of heroin, the temporal sequence of regular crime varied widely. Whereas only 24.2 per cent of users in treatment reported a regular involvement in property crime before the onset of regular heroin use, the same was true for 42.6 per cent of user/property offenders and 50.0 per cent of user/dealers. In fact, 42.0 per cent of user/dealers reported such a regular involvement before their first heroin use compared to 32.4 per cent of user/property offenders. Once again no easy explanation seems to exist for this greater pre-heroin involvement in property crime.

Further to this, user/dealers also exhibited a substantial involvement in the regular sale of drugs other than heroin. In excess of 40 per cent (43.8%) of those who reported a regular involvement stated that it occurred before their first heroin use and nearly 60 per cent (59.8%) reported such an involvement before the onset of regular heroin use. The latter of these two figures greatly

exceeds the 39.8 per cent of users in treatment who reported a regular involvement in drug sales before regular heroin use (no similar data exists for user/property offenders).

It is also interesting to note that the above results are the reverse of what Potteiger (1981) found, where she concluded that captive users (e.g. user/property offenders) were more likely to be involved in crime before the onset of addiction than active users (e.g. user/dealers). The reader is referred to Tables 33, 34 and 35 (Dobinson and Ward, 1985, pp. 48-51); Tables 33, 34 and 35 (Dobinson and Ward, 1987, pp. 37-39); and Tables 31, 32 and 33 (current study) for a full breakdown of all the temporal sequence results.

4.3 Some implications

This and the previous two studies greatly enhance our understanding of individuals who are regular users of heroin and their lifestyles associated with such drug use. Through this understanding implications arise as to how, as a community, we are to react to regular heroin use and the perceived social problems that flow from it.

A comparison of the three studies shows the diverse nature of heroin use and the complexity of the lifestyles of those individuals who are regular users of this drug. Whilst there are inherent biases created by the selection of each of the study groups, information has now been collected on property offenders who are also regular heroin users, regular heroin users who were seeking drug treatment and active regular heroin users who are also regular sellers of that drug. Although no information is available from these studies concerning regular heroin users who fall outside these three groups (e.g. those who support their drug usage by mainly licit means), considerable data has been obtained about those individuals who support their heroin use by mainly illicit means (property crime and drug sales).

The first report (Dobinson and Ward, 1985) provided a detailed literature review of the various theories seen to explain the relationship between drugs and crime.

The major conceptual alternatives are that (1) narcotics use causes crime; (2) narcotics use is a result or an outcome of a criminal disposition; and (3) narcotics use and crime are spuriously related as a consequence of their shared or mutual predisposing antecedent cause(s) (Gandossy et al. 1980; McGlothlin, Anglin, and Wilson 1977; Watters, Reinerman, and Fagan 1985).

In all attempts to disentangle these three alternatives using longitudinal statistical models and other approaches, no definitive resolution of the controversy could be obtained by the present authors (or other authors using any other method).

(Speckart and Anglin, 1986; p. 742)

The data from the present three studies does not resolve this question. Some evidence from each study may be interpreted as support for all of these positions.

Even so, data has been collected that may allow for some conclusions about the antecedents of those individuals who regularly use heroin and who also commit crime. The substantial pre-heroin involvement in other drug use, and in many cases the sale of these drugs, may be an influential factor in how some individuals initially come into contact with a drug such as heroin.

While data from all three studies demonstrates that part of the motivation for crime is the need to generate income and thereby support a level of heroin consumption, it is clear that this economic link is an oversimplification of the relationship between heroin use and crime. Is it, for example, that the level of heroin use determines the nature and frequency of crime or does increased income through crime allow for increased drug use, or is it a combination of the two? To varying degrees, many respondents in all three studies reported substantial pre-heroin involvement in crime, suggesting that there are other factors, apart from heroin use, affecting current motivations for criminal activity:

Heroin use would seem to be maintained over time not just by the need to support a drug dependency. As Burr (1986) argues, the continual reinforcement of criminal attitudes and behaviour after lengthy involvement in the criminal sub-culture tends to both maintain use as well as inhibit any so-called 'heroin solution'.
(Dobinson and Ward, 1987: 55)

While supporting a level of heroin consumption seems to be the dominant economic consideration for respondents, it is evident that usage levels fluctuate considerably over time and, usually, in response to increased or decreased access to heroin. As such, the relationship between drugs and crime is further complicated by factors such as opportunity to commit crime and the necessary skills to successfully carry out such crime. In the current study, the means (in terms of dollars) and access to heroin supplies clearly affected the usage levels of most respondents.

This varying level of access can result in a change in roles for individuals who are regular users. User/dealers whose supply of heroin is diminished or even stopped may move from this level to that of small-time user/dealer. They may also be forced to seek other means, for example property crime, to generate the money necessary to 'score'. They may even be forced into a period of abstinence or to admit themselves into treatment so as to cope with the physical withdrawal (see for example Couple 7). On the other hand, an opportunity to 'score' a large amount of heroin could result in an individual being able to increase his/her distribution activities along with their level of consumption. Such opportunities may result from simply being 'in the right place at the right time' or they could result from an individual's own labours and skills.

These conclusions have important implications for both drug treatment and law enforcement, not only in relation to the characteristics and antecedents of regular heroin users, but also in relation to the nature of regular heroin use and its relationship to crime.

Treatment

To varying degrees, majorities from all three study groups have reported multiple treatment episodes, followed by relapse. For some observing this trend, such results either relate to an overall failure of drug treatment or highlight severe problems in its application. Although there will always be problems with the implementation of treatment, often resulting from the differing objectives of the treatment staff themselves, the fact that the vast majority of users report at least one treatment episode shows that the treatment is at least being used. As previously stated (Dobinson and Ward, 1987: 55):

...in the light of how some individuals use treatment to control and regulate their drug use and the probability of re-use that we may need to redefine what is meant by 'success' in terms of treatment outcome. As stated, many individuals entered treatment in order to 'see out the bad times' possibly caused by their being arrested or lack of drugs or money. In other cases respondents perceived that their consumption was too high and therefore entered treatment to bring it down to a manageable level. Whereas the current objectives seem to be cessation of drug use and crime and a return to a 'normal' lifestyle, consideration should also be given to the function that treatment provides in keeping an individual's usage at a manageable level.

Increasing numbers of treatment experiences, as well as periods of abstinence, have been suggested (Anglin, Brecht, Woodward and Bonnet, 1986) as evidence of a 'maturing out' process. The same authors, however, concluded that high levels of involvement in crime and drug dealing may inhibit this process and serve to maintain an individual's involvement with heroin and the associated criminal lifestyle.

The effect of this lifestyle was a major factor for respondents of all three studies in their returning to heroin use after treatment (note the response of 'I got back into the scene'). Treatment programs, therefore, need to address not only drug use but also the lifestyles that are associated with it and to consider that crime may well be motivated by factors other than the need to support a drug dependency.

Drug law enforcement

For the first time, detailed information is now available on the operations of low level heroin user/dealers, thus providing an insight into what is occurring at that level of the heroin distribution process. Information provided by respondents and from law enforcement agencies has allowed for the description of the likely pathways through which heroin might pass from importation to the 'street' (see Figure 1). Individuals interviewed as part of this study provided some indication of the activities of those persons supplying them with heroin and who represent one level of the commercial side of heroin trafficking (the ounce dealer).

Certainly, user/dealers represent the most visible aspect of heroin distribution for law enforcement. Even so, the secretive nature of distribution at this level, often taking place behind closed doors or involving elaborate precautions to avoid detection, still results in considerable problems for law enforcement.

Of some importance, also, is the reported involvement of individuals with the criminal justice system itself (e.g. in terms of the number of reported convictions). Although respondents interviewed as part of the current study were both regular heroin users and sellers, 43.4 per cent reported no convictions for use/possess, and 74.1 per cent no convictions for heroin supply.

Their involvement with the criminal justice system, however, should not be understated. A large majority (87.4%) reported at least one conviction in the past (most commonly for property crime), and over half (55.9%) of this study group reported having been incarcerated at least once in the past (most commonly for break, enter and steal). Only 44 respondents (30.8%), however, reported being incarcerated for a drug offence.

More than half of these user/dealers (53.8%) also reported being on bail, a bond, parole or probation. The most common offence, for which bail was imposed was use/possess heroin (8 respondents), followed by supply heroin (7 respondents) and receiving/ goods in custody (7 respondents) (see Table 1 in Appendix B for a complete breakdown of legal status by offence). It is noted that all these respondents continued to offend (sell heroin) on a regular basis.

Certainly, the heroin distribution market in the Kings Cross/ Darlinghurst area is a vibrant one. Heroin remains readily available and in some cases is sold quite openly on the street to just about anyone who wants it. In a small number of cases it was also the source of heroin destined for sale in other Sydney suburban areas as well as country locations.

APPENDIX A

SYDNEY SUBURBAN BREAKDOWN

By postcode

CENTRAL	2000 - 2001
	2006 - 2017
	2021 - 2044
	2048 - 2050
	2203 - 2204
	2890
INNER WEST	2045 - 2047
	2129 - 2140
SOUTH	2018 - 2020
	2143, 2162, 2163
	2190 - 2200
	2205 - 2214
	2216 - 2234
	2507
SOUTH WEST	2167 - 2168
	2170 - 2174
	2558 - 2560
	2564 - 2574
	2752
WEST	2115 - 2118
	2141 - 2142
	2144 - 2154
	2158
	2160 - 2161
	2164 - 2166
	2176 - 2177
	2255
	2753 - 2767
	2770
	2773 - 2786
NORTH	2060 - 2082
	2084 - 2108
	2110 - 2114
	2119 - 2122
	2157 - 2159
	2252 - 2253

APPENDIX B

ADDITIONAL TABLES

TABLE 1
Legal status by reported offence

Offence	Bail N = 37	Parole N = 9	Probation N = 12	Bond N = 24	Suspended Sentence N = 1
Break, enter and steal	2	2	7	3	-
Motor vehicle larceny	1	-	-	1	-
Assault and robbery	1	1	-	-	-
Shoplifting	2	-	-	3	-
Other larceny	3	-	-	3	-
Armed robbery	3	3	-	-	-
Fraud	4	1	-	3	-
Receiving/Goods in custody	7	1	1	1	-
Assault	4	1	-	-	-
Supply heroin	7	-	1	4	1
Supply other drug	2	1	-	2	-
Use/Possess heroin	8	-	5	8	-
Use/Possess other drug	2	1	-	1	-
Import heroin	2	-	-	-	-
Possess implements	4	-	1	-	-
Forge script	-	-	-	1	-
Attempt murder	1	-	-	-	-
Breach probation	1	-	-	-	-
Fail to appear	1	-	-	-	-
Soliciting	2	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	57	11	15	30	1

TABLE 2
Description of 2nd supplier

Description	No.	%
Stranger	2	4.8
Friend	11	22.0
Acquaintance	37	74.0
TOTAL	50(a)	100.8

(a) 79 respondents who only had 1 supplier have been excluded.

TABLE 3
Description of 3rd supplier

Description	No.	%
Stranger	6	21.4
Friend	4	14.3
Acquaintance	18	64.3
TOTAL	28(a)	100.0

(a) 101 respondents who only had 1 or 2 suppliers have been excluded.

TABLE 4
Role of 2nd supplier

Role	No.	%
FT dealer	40	80.0
PT dealer	4	8.0
Other(a)	2	4.0
Unknown	4	8.0
TOTAL	50(b)	100.0

(a) Two individuals specified that their supplier was a middleman.
(b) 79 respondents excluded.

TABLE 5
Role of 3rd supplier

Role	No.	%
FT dealer	18	64.3
PT dealer	4	14.3
Other(a)	1	3.6
Unknown	5	17.9
TOTAL	28(b)	100.0

(a) One individual specified that his supplier was a middleman.
(b) 101 respondents excluded.

TABLE 6
Length of dealing with 2nd supplier

Weeks	No.	%
1 to 26	24	48.0
27 to 52	6	12.0
53 to 104	8	16.0
105 to 208	7	14.0
More than 208	3	6.0
Not known	2	4.0
TOTAL	50(a)	100.0

(a) 79 respondents excluded.

TABLE 7
Length of dealing with 3rd supplier

Weeks	No.	%
1 to 26	16	57.1
27 to 52	5	17.9
53 to 104	2	7.1
105 to 208	4	14.3
More than 208	1	3.6
TOTAL	28(a)	100.0

(a) 101 respondents excluded.

TABLE 8
Number of strangers

Number	No.	%
None	76	58.9
1 to 10	39	30.2
11 to 20	7	5.4
More than 20	2	1.6
Not known	5	3.9
TOTAL	129	100.0

TABLE 9
Number of friends

Number	No.	%
None	45	34.9
1 to 5	52	40.3
6 to 10	22	17.1
More than 10	7	5.4
Not known	3	2.3
TOTAL	129	100.0

TABLE 10
Number of acquaintances

Number	No.	%
None	16	12.4
1 to 10	82	63.6
11 to 20	18	14.0
More than 20	6	4.7
Not known	7	5.4
TOTAL	129	100.0

TABLE 11
Length of dealing with 2nd most regular customer

Weeks	No.	%
1 to 26	61	54.5
27 to 52	23	20.5
53 to 104	12	10.7
105 to 208	9	8.0
More than 208	4	3.6
Not known	3	2.7
TOTAL	112(a)	100.0

(a) Seventeen respondents who had no or 1 regular customer(s) were excluded.

TABLE 12
Length of dealing with 3rd most regular customer

Weeks	No.	%
1 to 26	58	57.4
27 to 52	14	13.9
53 to 104	16	15.8
105 to 208	5	5.0
More than 208	1	1.0
Not known	7	6.9
TOTAL	101(a)	100.0

(a) 28 respondents excluded.

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