

# Drugs, Crime, and the Justice System

## Overview

For more than a century, the use and abuse of psychoactive drugs remained one of the most serious and intractable social and health problems in the United States. Although public concerns about illegal and harmful drug use fluctuated over the years, drugs and drug policy were never far from the forefront of policy concerns. Over different eras and shifting opinions about the dangers of drug abuse, a number of federal and state laws and policies were implemented in an effort to reduce the harms caused by drug abuse, deter people from using drugs, and punish those who break the law. Although the specific drugs of concern change over time, drug policy in America has for decades been characterized by an ongoing debate over the reasons people use drugs, the effects of drug abuse on crime and public order, the appropriate role of government in regulating drug use, and the most effective strategies for preventing drug abuse and its consequences. In particular, the connections between drug abuse and crime and the role of the criminal justice system in reducing drug abuse is a focus of the policy and legislative debate. This book considers those issues from both historical and current perspectives.

When we examine the history of drug policy over the past 100 years, several themes clearly emerge. First, in different eras, the enactment or modification of many of our nation's anti-drug laws was triggered by concerns about the serious impact of particular drugs. For example: the cocaine scares of the early 1900s, concerns over the spread of heroin and marijuana in the 1920s, the reemergence of heroin in the 1960s and 1970s, the LSD scares of the 1960s, cocaine once again in the 1980s, and especially crack cocaine in the mid- to late 1980s, and methamphetamine in the 1990s. This typical pattern is labeled "moral panics" by some researchers. The response to emergence of these drugs is characterized by overreaction to the dangers of the drugs, distortions regarding the number of users affected, and

enactment of more punitive drug laws (Belenko, 1993; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009). A second related theme is that these moral panics are often magnified by scapegoating racial or ethnic minorities or socially marginalized groups whose drug use is viewed as particularly problematic and threatening to the larger society (Bonnie & Whitebread, 1974; Provine, 2007).

A third recurring theme is the tension between a medical or public health approach to controlling drug use and its associated harms, and the punitive criminal justice approach. This debate is not yet fully resolved, although over the past half century the punitive approach certainly dominated. In the medical view of addiction as a disease, users are seen as being less “blameworthy” for their drug use, and the difficulty of stopping use of these drugs is acknowledged. From this perspective, anti-drug laws and policies should emphasize prevention and treatment rather than punishment. On the opposite side, others see drug abuse as a moral or behavioral issue, convinced that individuals choose to take drugs, can stop when they want, are willfully breaking the law, and consequently should be punished. However, with recent advances in understanding of the physiology of drug addiction and the effects of drugs on brain chemistry, and with new effective treatments emerging for drug abuse, it may be that future policies will strike more of a balance between the criminal justice and public health approaches. We consider the future of drug policy from this balanced perspective in the last chapter of this book.

An important point to keep in mind is that the desire to alter one’s consciousness through use of psychoactive drugs seems to be an inherent part of the human condition. Since perhaps the dawn of civilization, human beings have sought ways to alter their mood or consciousness in various ways. From the early accidental discovery that fermentation of fruits and vegetables converts their sugars into ethyl alcohol, to the ingestion of psychoactive plants in social and religious ceremonies, to the synthesis of psychoactive substances in the laboratory beginning in the 19th century, the use of drugs has been widespread and, until relatively recently in our history, legal. The origins of use of intoxicating substances are not entirely clear, but evidence of alcohol use dates back to prehistoric times. Jugs that held fermented beverages have been dated to the late Stone Age (about 10,000 BC). Evidence of the consumption of fermented honey (mead) and berries dates back to about 8,000 BC. Throughout ancient civilizations in Asia and Europe, alcoholic beverages played an important role in religious, social, and ceremonial rituals (Hanson, 1995; Levinthal, 2012). In ancient Egypt, where beer was considered a basic staple of daily life, citizens worshiped Osiris, the god of wine; ancient Babylonians also worshiped a wine goddess. Alcohol has been used in China since olden times, and mead and wine were popular in ancient Greece by about 2000 BC. Interestingly, the earliest societies were aware of the negative aspects of alcohol intoxication; most cultures advocated for moderation in drinking and discouraged drunkenness (Lutz, 1922/2008).

Therefore, evidence shows that human beings have sought and discovered ways to alter their consciousness and achieve changes in mood or emotions for thousands of years. Clearly, there is a natural need to seek out novel psychoactive experiences. There are also many plants and synthetic chemicals that can help people experience these effects. In addition, humans have long sought to find therapeutic substances that can alleviate or cure physical health problems and diseases. Some of these substances, such as morphine (a highly effective pain reliever), have beneficial uses for health, but are also subject to abuse. Over the past 50 years, the development of antipsychotic drugs enabled many people with psychotic disorders to function in the community, live with their families, and be gainfully employed.

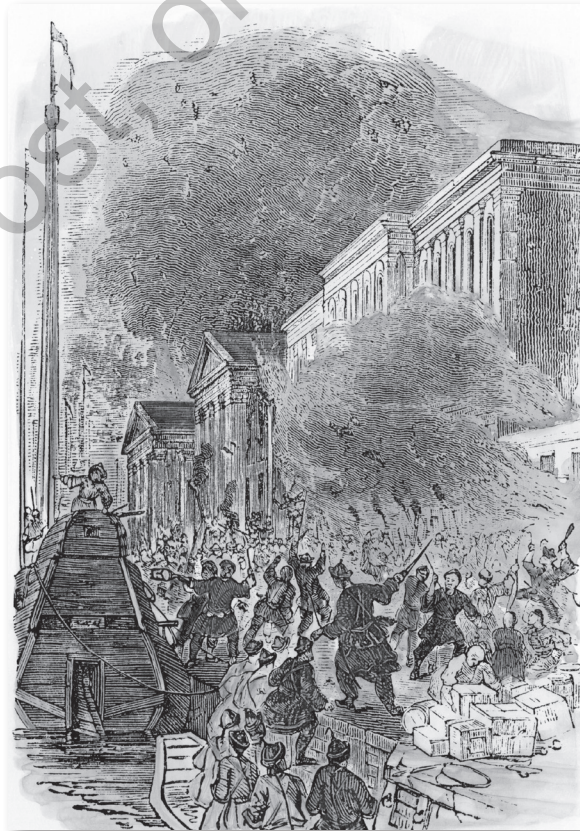
Thus, drugs have throughout history held an interesting and controversial place in human society. In fact, some have promoted the theory that it is in our basic nature as human beings to want to alter our consciousness, and that this is observed in nearly all societies and cultures (Inciardi, 2008; Weil, 1972). Just as small children enjoy spinning around or holding their breath to feel dizzy, and many religions

use dancing, chanting, or other activities to alter their consciousness, Mosher and Akins (2007) argue that people commonly desire to ingest substances that have psychoactive effects. People need drugs to cure diseases, eliminate infections, assist surgery, improve health, and alleviate symptoms of psychological disorders. There is no doubt that numerous drugs have improved the quality of life for many millions of people, and saved the lives of untold millions. Yet, it is also clear that some drugs can have serious negative effects on individuals and communities, and on society as a whole. Many drugs can be abused, can cause serious health problems, and can lead to addiction or compulsive use that ruins lives and destroys families.

We can trace a long history of use and acceptance in different societies throughout the world for most of the illegal drugs of concern in 21st century society. Marijuana is one of the oldest known drugs used for its intoxicating effects, with reports of use going back several thousand years. References to marijuana cultivation and use for psychoactive purposes have been found in documents from ancient China, India, Assyria, and Eurasia (Mosher & Akins, 2007; Walton, 2002). During the 19th century, marijuana was widely cultivated throughout the United States. The chewing of the leaves of the coca plant (from which cocaine is derived) for its mild stimulant effects was documented by Spanish explorers in the Andes regions of South America as far back as the 16th century (Inciardi, 2008). Even today, chewing of coca leaves and drinking of tea made from these leaves is an accepted and legal practice in indigenous cultures throughout countries of the Andes region (Musto, 1999).

The smoking of opium, derived from the opium poppy, was widespread throughout China's history and the practice was brought to the United States by Chinese railroad workers in the mid-19th century (Belenko, 2000a; Musto, 1999). Although culturally acceptable in Chinese culture, use of this drug raised considerable concerns among both British colonialists and American politicians in the late 19th century. The fear of the spread of opium smoking to American users combined with lurid tales of young innocent women being enslaved by opium in Chinese opium "dens" was an important impetus for the first local and state laws against opium use during that time.

It may be surprising to the modern reader to learn that until the late 19th century and early 20th century, all of these powerful psychoactive drugs were legal in most U.S. states and under federal law. Cocaine, as well as opium and its chemical derivative morphine, were common ingredients in patent medicines and widely advertised as cures for a number of common maladies. During the early 20th century, federal and state laws to control



▲ Chinese rioters burning British warehouses during the Second Opium War, 1850s.

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use and sale of psychoactive drugs began to spread, culminating in the Harrison Act of 1914. This federal law, the first of its kind, did not actually make drugs like morphine and cocaine illegal, but rather required those dispensing the drugs to keep records and pay a tax. A similar federal law to regulate marijuana was enacted in 1937. Over time, the enforcement of these laws and several important Supreme Court decisions (discussed in Chapter 5) led to an increasing role for the criminal justice system in drug policy.

It is only relatively recent in our nation's history that very stringent laws have been enacted against possessing and selling psychoactive drugs. The passage of ever stricter and more punitive laws over the past 50 years has been accompanied by increasingly aggressive and widespread enforcement of these laws by local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies. This, in turn, produced a dramatic impact on the criminal justice system—millions of arrests for drug offenses, overwhelmed court systems, overtaxed probation and parole agencies, and overcrowded prisons and jails. All of this at a cost of hundreds of billions of dollars.

It is clear that the use and abuse of psychoactive drugs creates an enormous toll on our nation's health, its economy, and families and communities. Almost on a daily basis, we read or watch stories about drug overdoses, violence, newly emerging drugs, devastated families and neighborhoods impacted by street drug markets. In recent times, we witnessed a controversial and sometimes contentious debate over whether marijuana should be legalized or decriminalized (i.e., remain illegal, but be treated in a similar way to a traffic summons), or allowed to be prescribed for certain medical conditions. Just this past year, two states (Colorado and Washington) passed laws legalizing marijuana use and sale for adults aged 21 or older, opening up a new debate over where the United States is heading in the war on drugs. Although marijuana remains a Schedule I drug under federal law (meaning it has no accepted medical use and is illegal to prescribe or possess), it is worthwhile to ponder the future of drug control and enforcement in this country.

While considering and acknowledging the substantial and very real negative health and societal impacts of drug abuse, this book is mainly concerned with the harmful use of drugs and their effects on crime, the social and political response to drug use, and the criminal justice responses to drug use and abuse. Although the term “drug” is a very broad one that encompasses many substances used for numerous purposes, this book specifically deals with regulated drugs that affect mood, behavior, and perceptions through their neurochemical actions in the brain. It is a drug's effects on various aspects of neurotransmission in the synapses of the brain that cause its psychoactive effects. These effects vary considerably according to the type of drug. Some drugs have depressant or sedative effects and cause people to “nod off,” move more slowly, or sleep. Other drugs stimulate brain activity and cause excitability, rapid heartbeat, and increase energy and sleeplessness. Still other types of drugs can cause distortions in our senses and result in auditory or visual hallucinations. Some drugs, such as heroin and other opiates, have a particularly high potential for overdose as well as addiction.

Because these psychoactive effects also result in changes in behavior and various social consequences, there is inevitably an impact on society. Although proponents of psychoactive drug use and libertarians might argue that people have the right to ingest any substances they wish, drug use typically has consequences for other individuals and for society. Families are impacted when drug abusers spend money on drugs, lose their jobs, or have their health adversely affected. People who abuse drugs also tend to commit crimes and many are arrested, resulting in enormous costs for society. For these reasons, since the late 19th century, societies have sought to regulate and control drug use and to criminalize the use of certain drugs. If you assume that the only consequence of drug use is that users



get high and sit alone in their homes, would society be as concerned, and would we have the existing legal restrictions on drug use?

As we trace the history of anti-drug laws and the criminal justice system's involvement in controlling drug use and its impacts, we note that many of these laws were enacted in the context of rather sensational media depictions of the use of these drugs by marginalized segments of society or members of racial and ethnic minorities. That is part of the story of anti-drug legislation and enforcement, and one that we discuss throughout this book.

## Drug Use in the United States

Each year, the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services conducts a large nationally representative survey of drug use and related behaviors among individuals aged 12 or older. Since its inception in 1971, this survey provides important data on current and past use of different drugs (including alcohol and tobacco) as well as the effects of drug use. The most recently available data, from the 2012 National Survey of Drug Use and Health (NSDUH), show just how common illegal drug use is in the United States, despite the efforts of the war on drugs. Overall, 124,808,000 persons aged 12 or older (48.0%) reported ever using an illegal drug; 41,479,000 used in the past year (16.0%); and 23,900,000 used in the past month (9.2%); and thus can be considered current drug users (SAMHSA, 2013a). Not surprisingly, marijuana is the most commonly used illegal drug by far, with 111,239,000 Americans aged 12 or older reporting lifetime use (42.8%), 31,513,000 reporting that they used in the past year, and 18.9 million indicating that they are current users. But, large numbers of individuals also used cocaine in their lives (37,688,000 or 14.5%) and a similar percentage used hallucinogens like LSD (14.6%). More than 4.5 million report having used heroin. Although the prevalence of use has declined somewhat since its peak in the early 1980s, the number of Americans using and abusing illegal drugs has increased in recent years and remains substantial (Office of National Drug Control Policy [ONDCP], 2013b).

Drug abuse persists as one of the most important health, social, and public safety problems in the United States, with negative impacts on many levels of society.

The statistics on the prevalence of drug use represent only part of the picture of the ubiquity of illegal drug use. In 2012, 10.3 million persons aged 12 and older reported driving while under the influence of drugs during the past year. More than 7 million persons met clinical criteria for drug abuse or dependence (see Chapter 2), but only about 10% received treatment for their drug use disorder (SAMHSA, 2013a). Accordingly, there is an enormous



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▲ An example of medical marijuana dispensaries that are now common in states with medical marijuana laws.

gap between the number of people needing treatment for drug abuse and the number receiving treatment. The implications of this gap are clear. Because many drugs cause psychological or physical dependence, it is difficult for the user to stop without clinically based drug treatment. Active chronic drug users, especially those from disadvantaged and minority subpopulations, have a high likelihood of committing crimes and being arrested. As a nation, we focus much more on the criminal justice response to drug abuse rather than a public health response that places greater emphasis on prevention and treatment of drug abuse.

## Arrests and Incarceration for Drug-Related Crime

The impacts of drug abuse on crime and the criminal justice system can be viewed from a number of perspectives. Involvement with illegal drugs increases the likelihood of involvement with the criminal justice system, both because of the heightened likelihood of arrest as well as the connections between illegal drug use and criminal behavior. There were a total of 1,552,432 arrests for drug law violations in 2012, representing 12.7% of all arrests (Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 2013). Studies of drug use prevalence among new arrestees in ten sample cities found that from 64% to 81% tested positive for one or more illegal drugs, revealing that they had used drugs fairly recently (ONDCP, 2013a). National studies of prison and jail inmates and probationers indicate that a substantial majority of offenders have histories of illegal drug use, including chronic use, and very high rates of drug abuse or dependence. These rates are substantially greater than those found among the general population.

A number of scholars attribute the enormous growth in the nation's prison population over the past 25 years to the spread of mandatory sentencing laws for drug offenders and the increase in law enforcement efforts targeted at street-level drug markets in urban areas, especially in minority neighborhoods (Blumstein & Beck, 1999; Mauer & King, 2007; Tonry, 1995). At the end of 2012, it was estimated that one out of every 108 adults was incarcerated (920 per 100,000 population) and one of every 50 adults or 1,980 per 100,000 adults was under correctional supervision in the community (probation or parole) (Glaze & Heberman, 2013). This incarceration rate is by far the highest in the world, and compares to an average of 166 adults per 100,000 population worldwide (Hartney, 2006). It has been estimated that nearly three-fourths of prison and jail inmates, across all types of offenses, have histories of illegal drug use (Belenko & Peugh, 2005; Mumola & Karberg, 2006), and in 2011, 17% of state prison inmates and fully 48% of federal inmates were incarcerated for drug possession or sale (Carson & Sabol, 2012).

The impact of anti-drug laws can be seen throughout other parts of the criminal justice system in addition to police and correctional agencies. The large numbers of drug arrests and arrests for drug-related crime affect prosecutors' and judges' caseloads. Prosecutors must make difficult decisions about how to prosecute drug crimes, such as whether to seek mandatory minimum sentences, whether to divert a drug-abusing offender out of the criminal justice process and into treatment or programs like drug courts, and whether and how to use informants in drug trafficking cases. In addition to the pressures of managing a court caseload with large numbers of drug cases, judges also face complex decisions about whether to place offenders into drug courts or other alternative treatment programs, whether to impose mandatory sentences that may carry lengthy prison sentences for relatively low-level offenders, or whether to mandate drug treatment for offenders sentenced to parole.

## The Connections Among Drug Abuse, Crime, and the Criminal Justice System

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It is difficult to escape the connections between use and abuse of drugs and the criminal justice system. Many Americans use or abuse illegal drugs, which results in substantial costs for controlling the supply of illegal drugs, interdiction, and enforcement of drug laws. When we look at the debates over enactment of new anti-drug laws and policies over time, the perceived influence of drug use on crime and public safety is almost always at the forefront. So, the story of America's efforts to control drug use is also very much a story about the concerns about drug-related crime and the need to involve the criminal justice system in the control of drug use and sale. These concerns have animated both the historical and the contemporary war on drugs.

Although the evidence is clear that drugs and crime are connected, the reasons for that connection and the extent to which drug use *causes* crime, are very complex issues that we discuss later in this book. There are a number of different ways that drug use is theorized to link to criminal behavior, and there is research evidence that support various perspectives. The evidence suggests that the links between drug use and criminal behavior are not always direct or causal and depend on many individual, social, and contextual factors. If we are to fully understand the drugs-crime connection, it is important to consider these complex determinants and not think about drug use or crime as broad unitary constructs, or the connection between them as necessarily causal.

Overall it has been estimated that the total costs to society of illegal drug use was \$193 billion in 2007, with more than \$63 billion (33%) of that amount related to criminal justice system costs and an additional \$5 billion resulting from crime victim and other crime costs (Snyder, 2011). Clearly, the criminal justice system expends a tremendous amount of effort and money to enforce the nation's drug laws in an attempt to deter people from using or selling drugs, to punish people who violate drug laws, and to send a message to society that use and abuse as well as manufacture and sale of illegal drugs is a major priority for our criminal justice system.

One key question, of course, is whether this policy focus on enforcement, punishment, and control of drug use over the past 40 years has been effective. A number of other questions emerge as well. In the United States, do anti-drug laws and the enforcement of those laws reduce the overall drug problem by deterring people from using drugs in the first place and incapacitating those who sell and use drugs? By deterring and incapacitating drug users, is the overall crime problem reduced because drug use and abuse lead to criminal behavior? Does the expenditure of billions of dollars to support anti-drug enforcement, incarceration, and the criminal justice system yield sufficient benefits from reductions in crime, drug use, and social problems?

How we view the causes of drug abuse and its impacts on crime have an enormous effect on the types of drug laws we think are needed, and the effects of these laws on the criminal justice system. Laws and policies that reflect a belief that drug use causes criminal behavior, and that focused and strict criminal justice laws are needed and are effective for deterring drug use and sale, tend to emphasize law enforcement and punishment. This point of view has characterized America's drug laws for the past half-century. The result has been explosive growth in the nation's offender population, especially in prisons, with little apparent effect on the prevalence of illegal drug use and abuse. By contrast, laws and policies that reflect the science of addiction and the need for expanded evidence-based prevention and treatment use a more balanced strategy that considers public health approaches to drug abuse and

drug-related crime, and perhaps consider decriminalization of certain drugs like marijuana. As we see later in this book, this more balanced approach appears to be gaining momentum at the beginning of the 21st century.

## **Goal of the Book and Overview of the Remaining Chapters**

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The goal of this book is to provide a comprehensive assessment and evaluation of the interrelationships among drug use/abuse, crime, and the criminal justice system, incorporating theory, empirical research, and policy. Each of the subsequent chapters synthesizes existing empirical research and, where appropriate, discusses past and current policies regarding the use and manufacture/distribution of illegal drugs and the treatment of drug offenders, as well as the impact of these policies on individuals, families, and communities; prison populations; and crime rates. We also highlight the ways in which race, ethnicity, and gender influence both drug policies and the treatment of drug offenders by the criminal justice system. We discuss these issues using a multidisciplinary perspective that incorporates criminology, legal studies, sociology, public health, psychology, political science, and public policy frameworks.

Many of our anti-drug laws and enforcement strategies make insufficient or inappropriate distinctions among the different types of psychoactive drugs. In order to fully understand the issues related to the nature of drug use and abuse, the connections between drug use and criminal behavior, and the effectiveness of the criminal justice system's policies and practices for enforcing drug laws and controlling drug use, it is important to understand differences among different types of drugs. In Chapter 2, we explain how drugs are divided into different classes based largely on their neurochemical effects in the brain, and we discuss the differences between drug abuse and dependence. We explain how the Controlled Substances Act of 1970 classified drugs according to their potential for abuse, and whether there were known and established medical uses. This chapter then describes and compares the physiological actions and behavioral effects of the main classes of psychoactive drugs: marijuana, depressants, stimulants, hallucinogens, and club drugs.

Many different theories have been proposed to explain why people use and abuse drugs. In addition, there are opposing views about whether drug abuse or addiction is a disease where the user is unable to easily control his or her drug taking, or whether it is a moral/behavioral condition. In the latter viewpoint, the belief is that users choose to use drugs even though they know the drug is illegal, and can stop using when they want. Chapter 3 discusses these contrasting points of view and how they may affect the development of anti-drug laws and criminal justice policies and practices. We also discuss the different theories of drug use, which include biological/genetic, psychological, and various sociological explanations.

Chapter 4 reviews different theories about the relationship between drug use and crime. We consider the various possible connections and the evidence to support those connections. It is clear that drug use and criminal behavior are closely associated, because chronic drug users have much higher rates of criminal behavior than nonusers, and criminal offenders exhibit a much greater prevalence of drug use than non-offenders. However, we show in Chapter 4 that this association does not necessarily mean that drug use *causes* crime. The actual connections are much more complex with several



different mechanisms possible to evince how drug use might be related to criminal behavior. The links depend on the type of drug, individual characteristics of the drug user, the social context of the drug use, and other factors.

Beginning in the early 20th century, state and federal lawmakers began enacting new laws against the use and sale of psychoactive drugs. The origins of the more recent war on drugs and the focus on punitive and law enforcement approaches to controlling the drug problem can be traced back to these early laws. In Chapter 5, we provide an historical overview of the criminalization of psychoactive drugs, especially opium-related drugs (such as morphine and heroin), cocaine, and marijuana. We highlight how many of the early anti-drug laws were enacted in response to a perceived spread of dangerous drug use, especially among racial and ethnic minorities and socially marginalized groups, as well as international pressure on the United States to do more to control drug use within its own borders. Chapter 5 also traces the history of the more recent war on drugs, including passage of the Controlled Substances Act in 1970 (which still serves as the basis for most of our current anti-drug laws), and the rise of more punitive and mandatory sentences for drug offenders under the Anti-Drug Abuse Acts of 1986 and 1988.

Chapters 6 through 8 focus on the criminal justice system's involvement with and responses to the enforcement of drug laws. In Chapter 6, we discuss the role of police in the war on drugs, analyzing trends in arrests for drug offenses and comparing different law enforcement strategies for enforcing drug laws. We also analyze and discuss racial differences in arrests for drug offenses and consider explanations for the disparities in arrest rates by race. Chapter 7 focuses on prosecutors and their role in charging and adjudicating drug crimes. We present the factors that state and federal prosecutors take into account when making charging and plea bargaining decisions, as well as factors they consider when seeking mandatory prison sentences. We show how prosecutors have considerable discretion in terms of the severity of charges they file, and sentencing recommendations they make to the judge, and provide examples of how this discretion operates in practice. In Chapter 8, we examine trends in the sentencing of drug offenders, especially since the expansion of mandatory minimum sentences in the 1980s. In particular, we look at disparities in sentencing severity by race and gender among drug offenders and explain some of the reasons for those disparities and the implications for the criminal justice system.

This book considers the impact of drug use on crime and the criminal justice system's expanding and changing role in enforcing anti-drug laws. Given the dominance of the punitive approach to drug policy that has characterized the war on drugs over the past 40 years (Belenko, 2000a; Mauer & King, 2007; Tonry, 1995), it is important to consider the effects of the war on drugs and its impact (both on drug use as well as on crime and the criminal justice system). In Chapter 9, we take into consideration the impact of the war on drugs from a number of perspectives. One clear impact is the tremendous growth in our nation's incarcerated population, fueled largely by mandatory and lengthier sentences for drug offenders and drug-related crimes. We also analyze the effects of the enforcement of drug laws on crime rates and drug markets, and further address the disparate effects of our anti-drug laws on racial minorities and women. Finally, we discuss the collateral consequences of the war on drugs on drug-involved offenders as well as their families and communities.

In Chapter 10, we look ahead to emerging and potential trends in drugs, crime, and justice in the 21st century. Through the lenses of emerging movements to expand drug treatment opportunities for offenders, a relaxing of mandatory sentencing laws, and recent reforms of anti-marijuana laws, we

anticipate progress away from the more punitive policies of the past 40 years and toward a more balanced approach that incorporates prevention, rehabilitation, and other public health strategies to prevent and reduce drug abuse and drug-related crime. Growing acceptance and continuing expansion of more treatment-oriented and problem-solving methods, such as drug courts, diversion programs, and prison treatment means that the growth in incarceration of drug offenders is likely to slow. A public health approach toward drug users may offer a cost-effective potential to reduce future drug-related crime and drug problems without increasing criminal justice system costs. A parallel movement toward more data-driven and evidence-based decision making and policy development in criminal justice holds much promise for moving away from the one-sided punitive approach of the past to a more balanced mix of enforcement of drug laws coupled with expanded treatment diversion and problem-solving approaches. We conclude the book with a call for rethinking the drug problem as more of a public health than a crime issue, training criminal justice personnel about drug abuse and drug treatment, and supporting ongoing research on the impacts and cost effectiveness of alternative policies and programs.