



2019

The Drug War in America: How Much Damage Has It Done

Sherrod D. Hollingshed

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.georgiasouthern.edu/honors-theses>

 Part of the [Law Commons](#), and the [Social and Behavioral Sciences Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Hollingshed, Sherrod D., "The Drug War in America: How Much Damage Has It Done" (2019). *University Honors Program Theses*. 409.
<https://digitalcommons.georgiasouthern.edu/honors-theses/409>

This thesis (open access) is brought to you for free and open access by Digital Commons@Georgia Southern. It has been accepted for inclusion in University Honors Program Theses by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons@Georgia Southern. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@georgiasouthern.edu.

The Drug War in America: How Much Damage Has it Done?

An Honors Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Honors in *School of Criminal Justice and Criminology*

By
Sherrod Hollingshed

Under the mentorship of *Dr. Laurie Gould*

ABSTRACT

For decades, the War on Drugs has had a profound effect on the United States of America. The effects include high arrest rates, creation of private prisons, and unequal treatment of minorities by the Criminal Justice System. For the past several years, heightened attention has been paid to the War on Drugs. There have been calls to legalize certain drugs, such as marijuana, and calls to completely end the War on Drugs. The purpose of this study is to (1) study the history of the War on Drugs in America and discuss the effects that it has had on America, and (2) evaluate the opinions and knowledge of Georgia Southern students on various aspects of the War on Drugs.

Thesis Mentor: _____

Dr. Laurie Gould

Honors Director: _____

Dr. Steven Engel

April 2019
School of Criminal Justice and Criminology
University Honors Program
Georgia Southern University

Acknowledgements

This thesis is the result from the opportunity that was granted to by the Georgia Southern University Honors Program, assistance from faculty, and support from family and friends. I would like to extend my sincerest of gratitude to all of them

I would like to give a very special thanks to my thesis mentor, **Dr. Laurie Gould**. She provided me with immense knowledge, advice, guidance, patience, and motivation throughout this journey. Without her being by my side, I would not have been able to complete this project.

Also, I would like to give a special thanks to **Dr. Rebecca Davis** for suggesting me to join the University Honors Program. Without her pushing me to join, this opportunity would not have at all been possible.

Introduction

For years, there has been a hotly contested debate in this country pertaining to illicit drugs. The issue usually centers around whether or not drugs, such as marijuana, should be legal or not. One of the major reasons that drugs remain illegal is due to the War on Drugs, which began during Richard Nixon's Presidency. This current study will begin with an examination of the history of the War on Drugs and its impact on The United States. In particular, this study will describe how the War on Drugs has had differing effects on people across racial lines, with minorities (ex: Blacks and Latinos) receiving harsher punishments than their white counterparts. This research will also analyze the opinions and the knowledge of Georgia Southern students in regard to various aspects of the War on Drugs and its perceived effects on the United States.

Literature Review

History

In the late 1800's and early 1900's, there was no recognized drug problem in the United States. Drugs, such as cocaine, heroin, opium, tobacco, and alcohol were legal. In the 1900's, drug addiction and alcohol abuse were only seen as personal issues, and not concerns for the federal government (Willis, 2017). However, attitudes began to change. At the core of early antidrug thinking were widespread racist beliefs about certain drugs and their potential effects on minority groups; however, there were also legitimate concerns. During this time, issues surrounding opium consumption and production began causing major problems globally, which led the United States to declare for an international conference with the purpose of addressing opium (Lesser, 2014). From this meeting came the first international opium agreement from the Hague in 1912, known as the International Opium Convention, which "aimed to solve the opium problems of the far east" by eliminating opium supplies (Lesser, 2014). The convention was signed by Germany, the United States, China, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Russia, and Siam (modern-day Thailand) (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2009). During this same period in the United States, the drug laudanum was causing increased rates of addiction among middle-class women who were being prescribed these drugs to treat their menstrual cramps (Pappas, 2017). Due to these crises, the US Government deemed regulation necessary, with the government's first attempt at regulation, being the Harrison Narcotics Tax Act of 1914 (Willis, 2017). The Harrison Narcotics Tax Act was a federal legislation enacted to impose taxes on the sale, distribution, manufacturing,

importation, and distribution of coca leaves, opium, and any form of products originating from either (Lesser, 2014).

The next attempt at drug legislation was the 18th Amendment to the Constitution known as Prohibition, passed in 1919, which outlawed the making, selling, and distribution of alcohol (George and Richards, 2018). However, after the passing of prohibition, the sale and consumption of alcohol increased, with people making their own liquor, known as moonshine. The law also ushered in an era of crime that initiated the careers of some of the country's most infamous gangsters, such as Al Capone. There were profits to be made in bootlegging, prostitution, and illegal gambling houses, where the choice beverage was alcohol. Prohibition was repealed in 1933 with the 21st Amendment (Willis, 2017). There were two major reasons for why Prohibition was repealed: (1) there was a lot of prohibition-related violence; and (2) it was an unenforceable policy. Thousands of people were killed because of prohibition-related violence (such as fights, shootings, etc.) as well as from drinking unregulated alcohol (such as moonshine). The policy of prohibition was unenforceable because of the vast amount of money being spent on enforcement as well as the many underground enterprises that emerged to continue the production and sale of illegal alcohol. Alcohol that even many law enforcement officers were consuming (Rosenfeld, 2013)

After the repeal of prohibition, the nation's attention to drug use and abuse would wane for the next several decades. However, by the 1960's, drug use had become more acceptable and the government was ineffective at controlling drug use. President Lyndon B. Johnson created the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in 1968. In 1969, Operation Intercept was implemented at the Mexican border, which involved a plan to search every car entering the

United States. The goal was to disrupt the Mexican drug trade, but the operation was unsuccessful and was abandoned after less than three weeks (Willis, 2017).

The following year in 1970, President Richard Nixon signed the Controlled Substances Act (CSA) into law. The CSA called for the regulation of certain drugs and substances and outlined five “schedules” used to classify drugs based on their medical application and potential for abuse. Schedule 1 drugs are considered the most dangerous, as they pose a very high risk for addiction with little evidence of medical benefits (History, 2017). The War on Drugs was officially started in June 1971 by President Nixon when he declared that drugs were “public enemy number one” (Willis, 2017). Following this, President Nixon dramatically increased the size and presence of federal drug control agencies, and pushed through measures such as mandatory minimum sentencing and no-knock warrants. However, Nixon’s domestic policy chief, John Ehrlichman, revealed that there was more to the War on Drugs than simply combatting drug usage. He admitted,

“You want to know what this was really all about? The Nixon campaign in 1968, and the Nixon White House after that, had two enemies: the antiwar left and black people. You understand what I’m saying. We knew we couldn’t make it illegal to be either against the war or black, but by getting the public to associate the hippies with marijuana and blacks with heroin, and then criminalizing both heavily, we could disrupt those communities. We could arrest their leaders, raid their homes, break up their meetings, and vilify them night after night on the evening news. Did we know we were lying about the drugs? Of course we did” (Drucker, 2018: pg. 23).

This reveals that Nixon initiated this policy as a way of punishing those who held political beliefs that differed from his own. Despite this, the War on Drugs has endured for decades.

While Nixon initiated the War on Drugs, it has since become synonymous with President Ronald Reagan. In 1982, President Reagan re-dedicated the United States to the War on Drugs. He did so by escalating the policy through actions such as: increasing anti-drug enforcement

spending, creating a federal drug task force, and helping to foster a culture that demonized drug use and drug users, for example, the 'Just Say No' campaign started by First Lady Nancy Reagan (Cooper, 2015). All of this was done by the Reagan Administration despite, at the time, only 2 percent of Americans believing that drugs were the most important issue facing the country. According to Graff (2015), this was because the drug war really reflected a political concern about race, rather than drugs. This would cause grave hardship to communities, particularly minority communities. Just as the drug war was intensifying in the early 1980's, inner city communities were suffering from economic collapse as urban deindustrialization eroded the labor market for unskilled young men. This, together with the exodus of middle class and working-class blacks from inner cities, produced pockets of severe unemployment in poor urban neighborhoods (Western, 2007).

The drug war continued on throughout the 1990's and the election of President Clinton did not slow down mass incarceration due to the War on Drugs. Actually, the Clinton Administration's "tough on crime" policies resulted in the largest increases in federal and state inmates of any president in American history (Graff, 2015). Also, Clinton rejected a U.S. Sentencing Commission recommendation to eliminate the disparity between crack and powder cocaine sentences (Coyle, 2002). The disparity between crack and powder cocaine was a huge issue during those years. The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 was the first federal criminal law to differentiate crack from other forms of cocaine, establishing a 100:1 weight ratio as the threshold for eliciting the required five-year "mandatory minimum" penalty upon conviction of possession (Wallace, 2014). Specifically, the penalty for possessing 500g of powder cocaine was comparable to possessing only 5g of crack (Kleiman et al., 2011). The differential incarceration rates and lengths of sentences for crack and powder cocaine users have disproportionately

affected African American communities (Palamar, 2015). For example, in 2003, African Americans accounted for over 80% of those sentenced for crack offenses even though whites and Hispanics accounted for over 66% of crack users (Vagins and McCurdy, 2006).

The presidency of George W. Bush witnessed the rapid escalation of the militarization of domestic drug law enforcement. By the end of Bush's presidency, there were about 40,000 paramilitary-style SWAT raids on Americans every year with most being for nonviolent drug law offenses, often misdemeanors. While federal reform mostly stalled under Bush, state-level reforms finally began to slow the growth of the drug war (Balko, 2006: pg. 17).

While the War on Drugs continued under the Obama administration, some important changes were enacted including, the reduction in the sentencing disparity for crack to powder cocaine from 100-1 to 18-1, the elimination of the five-year mandatory minimum sentence for simple possession of crack cocaine (Graff, 2014), as well as following a “hands off” law enforcement policy for states with medical or legalized marijuana.

The Effects of the Drug War

Probably the biggest effect of the War on Drugs has been mass incarceration. Between 1982 and 2007, the number of arrests for drug possession tripled, from approximately 500,000 to 1.5 million, and drug arrests now constitute the largest category of arrests in the United States (Cooper, 2015). Despite these increases, there have been racial disparities among those who have been arrested, with minorities, particularly African Americans, getting punished at a disproportionate rate. Only 14% of regular drug users are Black, but Blacks constitute almost 34% of drug-related arrests and almost half of drug-related convictions and state prison sentences, compared with 26% for Whites (Smith, 2018). According to 2001 data from the

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, blacks and Hispanics together constituted roughly 23% of drug users in this country, yet, they accounted for roughly 90% of all persons jailed for a drug-related crime, at the time (Willis 2014). Of the 210,200 individuals incarcerated for drug-related offences in 2012, 30.8 percent were white (despite being 62% of the total population); 37.7 percent were African American (despite being 13% of the population), and 20 percent were Hispanic (despite being 17% of the population). Analysts have noted that the disparity is caused by factors such as stricter approaches to policing in predominantly non-white communities and institutional racism. A clear example lies in the disparity in federal penalties for different types of cocaine: penalties for using crack cocaine (more commonly used by minorities during the 1980s) have historically been much harsher than those for powder cocaine (more commonly used by whites) (Willis 2014). These trends continued into the later 2010s, even as marijuana, in particular, became increasingly accepted in some states. The 2015 National Survey on Drug Use and health found that whites and African Americans continued to use drugs at comparable rates, with considerably larger total numbers of white drug users, yet African Americans faced six times the imprisonment rate on drug charges (Willis, 2017).

These high incarceration rates have had profound effects on the families. Black parents make up 49% of parents in state prison and 44% of parents in federal prison. Children of incarcerated fathers are less likely to have the behavioral skills necessary for effective school functioning in school, are more likely to be placed in Special Education, have worse attention and emotional control, and lag behind their peers whose parents are not incarcerated (Smith, 2018). Black children are more likely to have parents in jail or prison and are more likely to be disciplined and to encounter law enforcement in their own classrooms and school hallways and

thus to become involved in the criminal justice system (American Civil Liberties Union of Utah, 2014).

Private Prisons

The effects of the War on Drugs and mass incarceration eventually led to the expansion of private prisons. Private prisons are prisons that are fully owned and operated by private companies, as opposed to the government. States began to rely on privatized corrections mainly because state budgets could no longer afford the high cost of incarcerating so much of the population. In 1983, Thomas Beasley, Doctor R. Crants, and T. Don Hutto started the Corrections Corporation of America (CCA), which became the world's first private prison company (Pauly, 2016). In 1984, the CCA began operating a county jail and a juvenile detention center in Tennessee. They also open their first privately owned facility in Houston, Texas (Pauly, 2016). From there, private prisons would continue to expand. The number of prisoners in private prisons increased by approximately 1600% between 1990 and 2009 (ACLU, 2015). Today, private prisons are responsible for approximately 6% of state prisoners, 16% of federal prisoners, and, nearly half of all immigrants detained by the federal government (ACLU, 2015). As of 2016, there are 100 private prisons, who are responsible for around 62,000 prisoners (Centre for Research on Globalization, 2016).

Private prisons thrive off of high incarceration rates, as they earn a profit based off of how many prisoners their facilities are holding. In a 2010 annual report filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Corrections Corporation of America (CCA), the largest private prison company in the United States, stated the following, "The demand for our facilities and services could be adversely affected by . . . leniency in conviction or parole standards and sentencing practices . . ." (CCA, 2010:19). With over half of all people in prison today being

imprisoned for drug offenses, private prisons companies have done their best to try to keep current drug laws intact. The Corrections Corporation of America (CCA) and GEO Group, who are the two largest private prison companies in the United States, have paid more than \$10 million to state lawmakers since 1989 (ACLU, 2018). They also employ hundreds of lobbyists at the state and national level who work to influence lawmakers into writing laws that help private prisons stay full (ACLU, 2018). In a 2014 CCA annual report, they said, “any changes with respect to drugs and controlled substances or illegal immigration could affect the number of persons arrested, convicted, and sentenced, thereby potentially reducing demand for correctional facilities to house them.” (CCA, 2014: pg 23).

Summary

The War on Drugs has had a profound effect on the United States. The use of drugs was not considered problematic until the mid-1910s, when the opioid epidemic became a major source of concern for the United States. Laws, such as the Harrison Narcotics Tax Act and Prohibition were passed. However, by the mid-1900s, drugs were once again off the American consciousness, with drugs being highly accepted in the 1960s. Despite this, in the 1970s, the War on Drugs began during the Nixon presidency. It was supposed to simply be about saving communities from drugs use, however, it was admitted by Nixon’s domestic policy chief that the reason the War on Drugs was started was racial in nature. In practice, it became clear that the war on drugs was racial in nature. African Americans were arrested and sentenced to higher prison terms than their white and Hispanic counterparts despite not using drugs at any higher of a rate than those groups.

Recently however, America has adopted a more positive attitude toward drugs such as marijuana, and there has been a growing movement across the country to decriminalize

marijuana and other drugs, as well as end the sentences for those convicted of non-violent drug offenses. President Obama commuted the sentences of many people sentenced for non-violent drug offenses, and many states, such as Colorado, have decriminalized marijuana. This can also help to save America money. According to Betsy Pearl (2018), since the implementation of the drug war in the 1970s, the United States has spent over \$1 trillion to incarcerate people with drug-related charges.

Methods

The Survey

The survey consisted of 15 questions. Questions were either multiple choice, free response/open ended, and agree/disagree questions. The survey was designed with two objectives in mind. (1) test student's knowledge about the War on Drugs and drug laws in this country and (2) get student's individual opinions regarding the War on Drugs in general and certain policies and practices in particular. The survey included demographic questions, along with questions designed to test each student's knowledge about certain aspects of the Drug War and certain drug laws. The demographic variables of interest included gender (male, female, transgender, other), school classification (freshman, sophomore, junior, senior, graduate student), and race (White, African American, Asian, Mixed Race, Latino and Other). There were also questions that asked about each student's personal drug use. This was done because a person's use on drugs may have a huge influence on how they feel about drug laws.

Participants

The participants in this study consisted of 69 students from Georgia Southern University from three different criminal justice classes. As seen in Table 1, 41 were males and 28 were females; 40 were classified as non-minority (white) and 29 were classified as being minorities; 68 had a major in criminal justice, and one was an information technology major. Based on class identification, 4 were freshmen, 15 were sophomores, 30 were juniors, and 20 were seniors.

Study

Subjects were drawn from three upper division criminal justice classes. The students who were present at the start of the classes were asked to participate in the study. The students were given a copy of the survey and consent form. The survey (see Appendix A) was anonymous, to protect the identity of every student, and was to be filled out by hand. Students were given approximately 10 minutes to complete the survey, though more time was allowed to those who needed it. Once completed, the students handed in their survey, which would then be used for data analysis. The data was entered into SPSS, and data were analyzed using descriptive statistics and bivariate analysis (t-tests).

Variables

In this study the independent variable(s) are each student's opinions. These opinions are shaped by a student's: *knowledge, personal beliefs, political beliefs/affiliation, life experiences, and religious affiliation*. In the context of this study, knowledge is defined as student's awareness of drug sentencing.

The dependent variables are the *perception of the War on Drugs* and *knowledge about drug sentencing*. Each student displayed differing amounts of knowledge and opinions, meaning that the results were dependent on the answers of each student.

Hypotheses

H₁: Minorities will view the War on Drugs differently compared to non-minorities

H₂: Men and Women will view the War on Drugs differently

H₃: The student's estimates about the average sentences for drug crimes will differ from the real averages.

Discussion

Results

The purpose of this study was to (1) test for differences in opinion about the Drug War along racial lines, (2) test for differences about the Drug War among gender lines, and (3) evaluate the knowledge of students regarding drug laws and policies. It was hypothesized that (1) minorities will view the War on Drugs differently compared to non-minorities, (2) men and women will view the War on Drugs differently, and (3) the student's estimates about the average sentences for drug crimes will differ from the real averages. As shown in Table 2, results for the first hypothesis, *Minorities will view the War on Drugs differently compared to non-minorities*, were mixed. There were statistically significant differences between the two groups when asked whether they strongly disagreed, somewhat disagreed, were unsure, somewhat agreed, or strongly agreed with the following statements: I believe that racial minorities are treated more harshly by the criminal justice system, compared to their white counterparts ($p=.000$); Marijuana should be legal for recreational use ($p=.001$); I believe there is a racial disparity in sentencing for crimes ($p=.000$); and I would support a policy to reduce the number of non-violent, drug offenders sent to prison ($p=.004$). Minority respondents were more likely to agree with the

above statements, compared to their white counterparts. When asked if they agreed that minorities statistically use illegal drugs at a higher rate than their white counterparts, white students were more likely to agree, compared to minority students ($p=.017$). Similarly, white participants were more likely to support the war on drugs, compared to their minority counterparts (see Table 2). These results go hand in hand with the larger social movement to decriminalize marijuana, lessen the number of non-violent criminals sent to jail, and to address racial disparities in our society, particular in the justice system. Overall, results reveal that minorities were more likely to support marijuana being legal for recreational use, less likely to support mandatory minimums, and more likely to disagree that drug use is a major social problem than their non-minority counterparts (see Table 2). While there was not a significant difference to the statement, "Marijuana should be legal for medical use," it did approach statistical significance ($p=.035$). This could possibly be due to different levels of knowledge about the War on Drugs among the different years (freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior) which is a variable not being compared.

The results for the second hypothesis, *Men and Women will view the War on Drugs differently*, were also mixed (see Table 3). Only three categories showed statistically significant differences, with women being more likely to agree with the following statements: "I believe that racial minorities are treated more harshly by the criminal justice system compared to their white counterparts" ($p=.000$) and "I believe there is a racial disparity in sentencing for crimes" ($p=.000$). Males were more likely than females to agree with the statement, "Minorities, statistically, use illegal drugs at a higher rate than their white counterparts" ($p=.020$). The results illustrate that there is widespread agreement about most aspects of the war on drugs.

Analysis revealed support for the third hypothesis, *The student's estimates about the average sentences for drug crimes will differ from the real averages*. For these questions, students gave a wide variety of answers, with few students answering correctly. For example, according to the Bureau of Prisons (2019), 45% of current prisoners are in prison for drug offenses. As shown in Table 4, only 3 students answered 45% when asked "Approximately what percentage of offenders do you think are in prison on drug charges?". However, a larger percentage of students answered correctly for marijuana possession. According to Kuttner and Associates (2019), possession of more than one ounce of marijuana in GA is a felony with 1-10 years in prison. 88% of students guessed between 1-10 years. These varying results show that there is still a lack of knowledge, even among criminal justice students, of laws pertaining to drugs.

Limitations

There are many limitations to this study that are worth noting. First, I originally planned on surveying, at a minimum, 100 students, however, time constraints caused the sample to be smaller than planned. This smaller sample may not be enough for statistical power. Secondly, all students, except for one were criminal justice majors. This certainly means that the results cannot be used to analyze attitudes and knowledge of the entire student body at Georgia Southern. Lastly, certain survey questions, particularly questions that asked students to guess the amount of prison time a person gets for a particular drug crime, could have been more specific. For example, when asking students to guess how much time a person gets for marijuana possession, it would have been better to include a specific amount (ex: one ounce). This exclusion of an amount might have caused the wide variety in answers.

Conclusion

The findings suggest that there exists a variety of attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge about the War on Drugs among criminal justice students here at Georgia Southern. There are differences along racial lines and among gender lines. Also, many students appeared to lack knowledge about certain drug laws and statistics. Future studies should examine how misconceptions about drug sentencing policies influence public opinion about drug laws.

Table 1: Sample Demographics

<u>Variable</u>		<u>n</u>
<i>Gender</i>	Male	41
	Female	28
<i>Race</i>	White	40
	African American	25
	Hispanic	4
<i>School Classification</i>	Freshman	4
	Sophomore	15
	Junior	30
	Senior	20

Table 2

Minority vs Non-Minority Attitudes About War on Drugs

	Minority			Non-minority			Sig
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
I believe that racial minorities are treated more harshly by the criminal justice system, compared to their white counterparts.	4.7931	.49130	29	3.7500	1.17124	40	.000
Marijuana should be legal for recreational use.	4.6897	.66027	29	3.8500	1.25167	40	.001
Marijuana should be legal for medical use	4.8699	.30933	29	4.6500	.69982	40	.053
I believe there is a racial disparity in sentencing for crimes.	4.7931	.41225	29	3.700	1.06699	40	.000
I would support a policy to reduce the number of non-violent, drug offenders sent to prison.	4.7931	.49130	29	4.2750	.93336	40	.004
I support mandatory minimum sentences for certain drug-related offenses (Ex:a minimum sentence of 10 years for drug offenses that involved 50 grams of crack, 5 kilograms of cocaine, etc.) .	2.7931	1.44863	29	3.1750	1.17424	40	.248
I support the war on drugs.	2.3793	1.32055	29	3.0500	1.19722	40	.035
Minorities, statistically, use illegal drugs at a higher rate than their white counterparts.	1.9655	1.14900	29	2.6250	1.03000	40	.017
Drug use is a major source of modern societal problems	3.4138	1.37626	29	3.2500	1.21423	40	.610

Table 3

Male vs Female Attitudes About War on Drugs

	Male			Female			Sig
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
I believe that racial minorities are treated more harshly by the criminal justice system, compared to their white counterparts.	3.7317	1.6242	41	4.8571	.35635	28	.000
Marijuana should be legal for recreational use.	4.0732	1.27260	41	4.3929	.83174	28	.211
Marijuana should be legal for medical use	4.7073	.64202	41	4.8214	.47559	28	.400
I believe there is a racial disparity in sentencing for crimes.	3.8049	1.10044	41	4.6786	.54796	28	.000
I would support a policy to reduce the number of non-violent, drug offenders sent to prison.	4.3659	.88758	41	4.6786	.66964	28	.100
I support mandatory minimum sentences for certain drug-related offenses (Ex:a minimum sentence of 10 years for drug offenses that involved 50 grams of crack, 5 kilograms of cocaine, etc.) .	3.2439	1.19959	41	2.6786	1.38921	28	.085
I support the war on drugs.	2.9756	1.19348	41	2.4643	1.37389	28	.116
Minorities, statistically, use illegal drugs at a higher rate than their white counterparts.	2.6098	1.04590	41	1.9643	1.13797	28	.020
Drug use is a major source of modern societal problems	3.3902	1.24254	41	3.2143	1.34322	28	.584

Tables: 4-10

*Knowledge of Laws and Statistics***Approximately what percentage of offenders do you think are in prison because of drug charges?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	20	2	2.9	2.9	2.9
	22	1	1.4	1.4	4.3
	25	1	1.4	1.4	5.8
	30	8	11.6	11.6	17.4
	33	1	1.4	1.4	18.8
	35	2	2.9	2.9	21.7
	40	6	8.7	8.7	30.4
	45	3	4.3	4.3	34.8
	5	1	1.4	1.4	36.2
	50	10	14.5	14.5	50.7
	60	10	14.5	14.5	65.2
	62	1	1.4	1.4	66.7
	65	2	2.9	2.9	69.6
	70	7	10.1	10.1	79.7
	72	2	2.9	2.9	82.6
	73	3	4.3	4.3	87.0
	75	1	1.4	1.4	88.4
	80	5	7.2	7.2	95.7
	85	1	1.4	1.4	97.1
	90	2	2.9	2.9	100.0
Total		69	100.0	100.0	

**Approximately what percentage of inmates in jails and prisons do
you think are racial minorities?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	15	1	1.4	1.4	1.4
	25	1	1.4	1.4	2.9
	30	3	4.3	4.3	7.2
	33	1	1.4	1.4	8.7
	40	8	11.6	11.6	20.3
	50	9	13.0	13.0	33.3
	52	1	1.4	1.4	34.8
	55	2	2.9	2.9	37.7
	60	10	14.5	14.5	52.2
	65	3	4.3	4.3	56.5
	70	7	10.1	10.1	66.7
	75	8	11.6	11.6	78.3
	79	1	1.4	1.4	79.7
	80	4	5.8	5.8	85.5
	81	1	1.4	1.4	87.0
	85	1	1.4	1.4	88.4
	87	2	2.9	2.9	91.3
	89	2	2.9	2.9	94.2
	90	4	5.8	5.8	100.0
	Total		69	100.0	100.0

Crack Cocaine Possession

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Valid	1	3	4.3	4.3	4.3	
	10	13	18.8	18.8	23.2	
	11	1	1.4	1.4	24.6	
	13	1	1.4	1.4	26.1	
	15	8	11.6	11.6	37.7	
	18	2	2.9	2.9	40.6	
	2	5	7.2	7.2	47.8	
	20	7	10.1	10.1	58.0	
	3	12	17.4	17.4	75.4	
	4	1	1.4	1.4	76.8	
	5	8	11.6	11.6	88.4	
	6	2	2.9	2.9	91.3	
	7	1	1.4	1.4	92.8	
	7.5	2	2.9	2.9	95.7	
	8	3	4.3	4.3	100.0	
	Total		69	100.0	100.0	

Marijuana Possession

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	.5	1	1.4	1.4	1.4
	0	4	5.8	5.8	7.2
	1	18	26.1	26.1	33.3
	10	3	4.3	4.3	37.7
	15	2	2.9	2.9	40.6
	2	6	8.7	8.7	49.3
	20	1	1.4	1.4	50.7
	21	1	1.4	1.4	52.2
	3	10	14.5	14.5	66.7
	4	1	1.4	1.4	68.1
	5	19	27.5	27.5	95.7
	8	3	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Meth Possession

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	3	4.3	4.3	4.3
	10	14	20.3	20.3	24.6
	15	11	15.9	15.9	40.6
	2	5	7.2	7.2	47.8
	20	2	2.9	2.9	50.7
	22	1	1.4	1.4	52.2
	23	1	1.4	1.4	53.6
	25	1	1.4	1.4	55.1
	3	8	11.6	11.6	66.7
	30	1	1.4	1.4	68.1
	4	1	1.4	1.4	69.6
	40	1	1.4	1.4	71.0
	5	16	23.2	23.2	94.2
	6	2	2.9	2.9	97.1
	8	2	2.9	2.9	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Drug Trafficking

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	2	2.9	2.9	2.9
	10	16	23.2	23.2	26.1
	12	2	2.9	2.9	29.0
	15	9	13.0	13.0	42.0
	2	2	2.9	2.9	44.9
	20	13	18.8	18.8	63.8
	23	1	1.4	1.4	65.2
	25	8	11.6	11.6	76.8
	30	3	4.3	4.3	81.2
	35	1	1.4	1.4	82.6
	40	1	1.4	1.4	84.1
	5	7	10.1	10.1	94.2
	7	1	1.4	1.4	95.7
	8	3	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Selling Crack Cocaine

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Valid	1	1	1.4	1.4	1.4	
	10	6	8.7	8.7	10.1	
	12	3	4.3	4.3	14.5	
	15	12	17.4	17.4	31.9	
	18	2	2.9	2.9	34.8	
	2	2	2.9	2.9	37.7	
	20	8	11.6	11.6	49.3	
	25	5	7.2	7.2	56.5	
	3	5	7.2	7.2	63.8	
	30	2	2.9	2.9	66.7	
	4	3	4.3	4.3	71.0	
	40	1	1.4	1.4	72.5	
	5	11	15.9	15.9	88.4	
	6	1	1.4	1.4	89.9	
	7	4	5.8	5.8	95.7	
	8	3	4.3	4.3	100.0	
	Total		69	100.0	100.0	

Selling Powder Cocaine

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	1	1.4	1.4	1.4
	10	10	14.5	14.5	15.9
	12	4	5.8	5.8	21.7
	15	9	13.0	13.0	34.8
	2	2	2.9	2.9	37.7
	20	8	11.6	11.6	49.3
	25	2	2.9	2.9	52.2
	3	3	4.3	4.3	56.5
	30	1	1.4	1.4	58.0
	4	4	5.8	5.8	63.8
	40	1	1.4	1.4	65.2
	5	17	24.6	24.6	89.9
	7	3	4.3	4.3	94.2
	8	3	4.3	4.3	98.6
	9	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Appendix A.

Survey

By completing the survey you are acknowledging that you understand there will be no negative consequences if you do not participate. Furthermore, you are acknowledging that you are aware that you can stop participating at any time for any reason and that you voluntarily agree to be in this study. If you have any questions, please contact my professor at lgould@georgiasouthern.edu

Please read each question and circle the answer that best characterizes your response.

1. Are you familiar with the term "War on Drugs?"
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

2. How closely have you followed recent news reports about drug laws?
 - a. Very Closely
 - b. Somewhat closely
 - c. Not closely

3. Where do you receive most of your information about drug laws and issues?
 - a. Network News (e.g. CNN, Fox, MSNBC)
 - b. Local News
 - c. Social Media
 - d. Newspapers
 - e. Friends/Family

4. Approximately what percentage of offenders do you think are in prison because of drug charges?

5. Approximately what percentage of inmates in jails and prisons do you think are racial minorities?

6. Please provide your best estimate of the average prison sentence in Georgia for the following drug crimes:

Crime	Number of Years in Prison
Crack Cocaine Possession (ounces)	
Powder Cocaine Possession	
Marijuana Possession	
Methamphetamine Possession	
Drug Trafficking	

Selling Crack Cocaine (ounces)	
Selling Powder Cocaine (ounces)	

7. Have you ever used an illegal drug?

- a. Yes
- b. No (please skip to question 9)

8. If you answered yes, how often?

- a. Daily
- b. Weekly
- c. Monthly
- d. Only used a few times
- e. Only used once

9. Does anyone you are friends/family with use illegal drugs?

- a. Yes
- b. No

10. Have you ever gotten in legal trouble for drug use?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I don't use drugs

11. Has anyone you are friends/family with gotten in legal trouble for drug use?

- a. Yes
- b. No

12. Please indicate whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, disagree strongly, or are uncertain about the following statements.

Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Uncertain	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
1	2	3	4	5

I believe that racial minorities are treated more harshly by the criminal justice system, compared to their white counterparts.	1	2	3	4	5
Marijuana should be legal for recreational use.	1	2	3	4	5
Marijuana should be legal for medical use.	1	2	3	4	5
I believe there is a racial disparity in sentencing for crimes.	1	2	3	4	5
I would support a policy to reduce the number of non-violent, drug offenders sent to prison.	1	2	3	4	5
I support mandatory minimum sentences for certain drug-related offenses (Ex: a minimum sentence of 10 years for drug offenses that involved 50 grams of crack, 5 kilograms of cocaine, etc.) .	1	2	3	4	5
I support the war on drugs.	1	2	3	4	5
Minorities, statistically, use illegal drugs at a higher rate than their white counterparts.	1	2	3	4	5

Drug use is a major source of modern societal problems

1

2

3

4

5

In this section I am interested in learning about your personal characteristics. Please read each question and circle the answer that best characterizes your response.

7. What is your racial identity?

- a. African American
- b. Asian
- c. Caucasian
- d. Hispanic
- e. Multi-Racial
- f. Other: _____

8. What is your gender?

- a. Male
- b. Female
- c. Transgender
- d. Other. Specify _____

9. What is your class identification?

- a. Freshman
- b. Sophomore
- c. Junior
- d. Senior
- e. Graduate Student

15. What is your current major? _____

Appendix B.

Georgia Southern University Office of Research Services & Sponsored Programs Institutional Review Board (IRB)		Veazey Hall 3000 PO Box 8005 Statesboro, GA 30460
Phone: 912-478-5465 Fax: 912-478-0719	IRB@GeorgiaSouthern.edu	

To: Hollingshed, Sherrod; Gould, Laurie

From: Office of Research Services and Sponsored Programs
Administrative Support Office for Research Oversight Committees (IACUC/IBC/IRB)

Approval Date: 1/23/2019

Subject: Status of Application for Approval to Utilize Human Subjects in Research

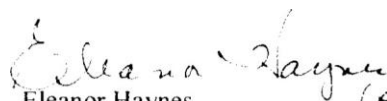
After a review of your proposed research project numbered HI 9180 titled "Drug War in American, How Much Damage Has it Done?," it appears that your research involves activities that do not require full approval by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) according to federal guidelines. In this research project research data will be collected anonymously.

According to the Code of Federal Regulations Title 45 Part 46, your research protocol is determined to be exempt from full review under the following exemption category(s):

32IR research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior- unless: (I) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (II) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

Any alteration in the terms or conditions of your involvement may alter this approval. Therefore, as authorized in the Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects, I am pleased to notify you that your research, as submitted, is exempt from IRB approval. You will be asked to notify the IRB upon project completion. After the project, it is your responsibility to notify the IRB and acquire a new determination of exemption.

Sincerely,


 Eleanor Haynes (sac) Eleanor Haynes
 Research Integrity Officer

Bibliography

- “2014 Annual Report.” *Correction Corporations of America*, 31 Dec. 2014, pp. 1–223.
- Balko, Radly. *Overkill: The Rise of Parliamentary Police Raids in America*. Cato Institute, 2006.
- Banking on bondage. Private prisons and mass incarceration* (2015). American Civil Liberties Union.
- Bobo, L. D., & Johnson, D. (2004). A Taste For Punishment: Black and White Americans’ Views on the Death Penalty and the War on Drugs. *Du Bois Review*, 151-180.
- Bobo, L. D., & Thompson, V. (2006). Unfair by Design: The War, on Drugs, Race, and the Legitimacy of the Criminal Justice System. *Social Research*, 73(2), 445-472.
- “BOP Statistics: Inmate Offenses.” *Federal Bureau of Prisons*, 23 Mar. 2019, www.bop.gov/about/statistics/statistics_inmate_offenses.jsp.
- Cooper, Hannah. “War on Drugs Policing and Police Brutality.” *Substance Use and Misuse*, vol. 50, 1 Jan. 2015, pp. 1188–1194.
- Drucker, Ernest M. *Decarcerating America: From Mass Punishment to Public Health*. New York: The New Press, 2018. Print.
- Dickinson, Tim. “The War on Drugs Is Burning Out.” *Rolling Stone*, Rolling Stone, 8 Jan. 2015, Dickinson, T., & Nadelman, E. (2016, May 19). The War on Drugs. *Rolling Stone*, 30-35.

“Georgia Drug Crime Penalties.” Kuttner & Associates, 2019,

www.kuttnerandassociates.com/georgia-drug-crime-penalties.

Graff, Gilda. “Redesigning Racial Caste in America via Mass Incarceration.” *Journal of Psychohistory*, 1 Oct. 2015, pp. 120–133.

Lesser, Jeremy. “Today Is the 100th Anniversary of the Harrison Narcotics Tax Act.” *Drug Policy Alliance*, 16 Dec. 2014, www.drugpolicy.org/blog/today-100th-anniversary-harrison-narcotics-tax-act.

Pappas, Stephanie. “Opioid Crisis Has Frightening Parallels to Drug Epidemic of Late 1800s.” *LiveScience*, Purch, 29 Sept. 2017, www.livescience.com/60559-opioid-crisis-echoes-epidemic-of-1800s.html.

Pauly, Madison. “A Brief History of America's Corporate-Run Prison Industry.” *Mother Jones*, 23 June 2016, www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/06/history-of-americas-private-prison-industry-timeline/.

Rosenfeld, Derek. “80 Years Ago Today We Repealed Alcohol Prohibition...Now It's Time to End Drug Prohibition.” *Drug Policy Alliance*, 4 Dec. 2013, www.drugpolicy.org/blog/80-years-ago-today-we-repealed-alcohol-prohibition-time-end-war-drugs.

Schanbacher, K. (2013). Behind the Veil of the War on Drugs: An Institutional Attack on the African American Community. *The Scholar: St. Mary's Law Review on Minority Issues*, 16, 103.

Smith, Katherine. “Racialized Mass Incarceration and the War on Drugs: A Critical Race Theory Appraisal.” *Journal of Addictions Nursing*, vol. 29, Mar. 2018, pp. 65–72.

“The Political Bribe That Turned Prisoners into Profits.” *Us Represent*, 2018,
represent.us/action/private-prisons-1/.

Willis, S. “War on Drugs.” *Salem Press Encyclopedia of Health*, 2017.

Decarcerating America: From Mass Punishment to Public Health (Cite)