This is to certify that the
thesis entitled

African Americans and Cocaine: A Historiography

presented by

Daniel Ryan Davis

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for the

Master's degree in African American and African Studies

Major Professor's Signature

August 22, '08

Date

AFRICAN AMERICANS AND COCAINE: A HISTORIOGRAPHY

by

Daniel Ryan Davis

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

African American and African Studies

2008

ABSTRACT

AFRICAN AMERICANS AND COCAINE: A HISTORIOGRAPHY

by

Daniel Ryan Davis

This historiographical document discusses the scholarship on the intersection of cocaine and African Americans. The scope of this thesis will range from the Progressive Era beginning in approximately the 1890's until the present, 2008. This thesis is divided into two parts. Part 1 is a chronological review of the scholarship on African Americans and cocaine use. Part 2 is organized thematically and sub-divided into two sub sections. The first section focuses on African American women and cocaine use, the second section focuses on African American men and cocaine use. Historicizing African Americans and cocaine use thematically is effective for several reasons. First, scholarship on this topic at the turn of the century was somewhat scarce. Secondly there is a gap in research or reference to African American cocaine use during the mid 20th century due to several causes including the popularity of other drugs during that period. Thirdly, writing on African American men and women's cocaine use are very different from each other in content.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION..... 1

LITERATURE REVIEW.....8

AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN and COCAINE USE.....23
- African American Women and Cocaine during the Progressive Era.....23
- African American Women and Cocaine during the Mid-20th Century.....24
- African American Women and Cocaine during the 1970's, 80's and 90's.....26
- Reasons for Use.....27

AFRICAN AMERICAN MEN AND COCAINE USE.....29
- African American Men and Cocaine during the Progressive Era.....29
- Cocaine Use by African American Males during the Mid-20th Century.....32
- African American Men and Cocaine Use 1970-1990's.....32

CONCLUSION.....37

NOTES.....42

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....44

Introduction

The drug cocaine is extracted from a plant, the coca leaf, which has been cultivated in South America for thousands of years. "Europeans began to learn about the coca leaf soon after the discovery of America." Originally, the effects of the coca leaf could be felt by chewing it. According to Pedro Cieza de Leon, a traveler from the 16th century and one of the first writers to describe coca chewing for a European audience, Indians told him that coca leaf chewing prevented them from feeling hungry and gives them "great vigor and strength." Scholar Joseph Spillane cites Von Schuldi, a Swiss naturalist, who visited South America in 1838 as stating that "modern use of Coca is not merely innocuous, but that it may even be very conducive to health." "He marveled at the Indians who chewed coca three times a day over the course of years and who nevertheless enjoyed perfect health." Other positive comments appeared by European writers in the 19th century. Travelers and observers, including Johann Jakob von Tschudi, Clements Markham, and several others were also impressed with the coca leaf's "power of physical invigoration."[1]

Perhaps the zenith of praise for the coca leaf was reached in Europe in 1859 when neurologist Paolo Mantegazza wrote a popular essay about the powers of the coca leaf that inspired the famous Sigmund Freud, among many others, to experiment with the drug. "Through the late 1870's and early 1880's the literature on coca and cocaine continued to grow." The praise and excitement about coca and cocaine was understandable being that invigoration, increased strength, and prevention of hunger can all be considered positive things. Cocaine was also recommended for treatment of many illnesses and effects of illness such as "fatigue, nervousness, and small physical

complaints." The drug impressed him so much that he even endorsed cocaine as a cure for addiction to morphine and alcohol. Freud's writings during the mid 19th century described his personal cocaine use. He noted feelings of "exhilaration and lasting euphoria"; he also stated that cocaine "increased his self control and vigor." The praise of cocaine was so popular that many optimists mistakenly presumed that if all these claims were true "cocaine will indeed be the most important therapeutic discovery of the age, the benefit of which to humanity will be incalculable."[2]

Cocaine's presence in the United States came in the late 19th century. The overwhelming praise of this new drug in Europe undoubtedly led to its arrival in the United States. Cocaine was used in United States largely for its medicinal capabilities but also served other purposes. The drug was "sold cocaine in cigarettes, in an alcoholic drink called Coca Cordial, and in sprays, ointments, tablets, and injections. One of the most popular drinks containing coca extract was Coca-Cola, first concocted by John Styth Pemberton, a Georgia pharmacist, in 1886."[3]

Eventually, cocaine became a "drug menace" because of what had been regarded as the very sign of its curative power, the pleasure it gave, became a source of what we now call drug dependence and drug abuse. Toward the end of the 19th century, doctors began to conclude that cocaine abuse was "a habit that develops more easily and destroys the body and soul faster than morphine." In spite of these negative reports on cocaine, its "potentialities as a recreational drug soon became obvious; along with those older euphoriants and panaceas, opium and alcohol, it now became a drug with a dubious social reputation. Its users were described as "bohemians, gamblers, high-and low-class prostitutes, night porters, bellboys, burglars, racketeers, pimps, and casual laborers."

Beginning during the 20th century, African Americans would be added to that list of cocaine users. This MA thesis focuses on the issues created by African American's involvement with the drug. In the historiography on cocaine, African American's cocaine use has been severely under acknowledged.[4] This study critically analyzes the available scholarship on African Americans and cocaine.

"By 1903, despite the decline of medical interest in cocaine for therapeutic purposes, the level of cocaine consumption in the United States had grown to about five times that of 1890. Nonmedical use accounted for nearly the entire increase. In the process, the image of cocaine as an exclusive drug for "brain workers" gave way to the image of cocaine as the common man's drug, associated with laborers, youths, blacks, and the urban world." James B. Bakalar and Lester Grinspoon offer one of the earliest texts discussing African Americans and cocaine use in the early 20th century. In *Cocaine (1971)*, Bakalar and Grinspoon discuss some of the earliest references to African Americans or "Negroes" and cocaine use in various press releases. The authors also discuss how African Americans' use of cocaine was viewed by pharmaceutical companies during this same period. One of the first press releases to touch upon this subject was an article titled "The Growing Menace of Cocaine" published in *The New York Times* in 1908. In this article the authors stated that cocaine "was easily available in patent medicines and popular among Negroes in the South, where 'Jew peddlers' sold it to them." This statement implies that while cocaine was available as medicine, African American's went to "peddlers" to obtain the drug. This could be due to rejection from medical practitioners to serve African Americans based on racism, or their fear of

"negroes" getting high off the drug. African American reliance on peddlers to supply cocaine may have also been based on their usually low financial status as well.

The fear of African American cocaine use began to impact the medical world's view of the drug. "Pharmacists concerned for their reputations began to worry about cocaine early. In September 1901, at a meeting of the American Pharmacological Association, Vice-President S. F. Payne presented the issue of 'Negro Cocainists'." Bakalar and Grinspoon reference statements made by members of this association. One member of the association stated that "Indiana reports that a many good negroes and a few white women are addicted to cocaine"; the negroes, the lower and criminal classes, are naturally most readily influenced." Bakalar and Grinspoon also cite a 1914 report which stated that of 2,100 African American admissions into Georgia's insane asylum, only 2 were cocaine users. While this report states that there were only two cocaine using Black admissions to the asylum, it still reveals that there was indeed some usage in the Black community. In 1910, a State department official responsible for drug policy by the name of Hamilton Wright is reported as saying that "cocaine is often the direct incentive to the crime of rape by the Negroes of the South, and other sections of the country." These statements regarding African Americans and cocaine use are among the earliest acknowledgements of the drug's presence in the Black community. This study will include an in depth analysis of several other references similar to this one, which speak to African American's relationship with cocaine throughout the 20th century.[5]

In the early 20th century, attention to African Americans and cocaine use was not nearly as common as it became later in the 1900's. Due in large part to the "crack epidemic" beginning in the mid to late 1980's writing on African Americans and cocaine

increased dramatically. Crack is a purified form of cocaine that after a few minutes produces "an intense but brief euphoria." The introduction of crack cocaine to the African American community has been discussed by various authors, starting with its introduction to the United States in the 1980's, and leading into the end of the 20th century. "Crack first received media attention in 1984." Some authors, such as Patricia Turner, have suggested that crack's introduction into the Black community was a government plan to destroy African Americans.[6]

James and Johnson (1996) connect the influx of cocaine in the United States with Colombian drug cartels and their domestic drug market. "By 1983, in Medellin, Colombia, 80 percent of the drug users had switched to a smokeable form of cocaine base called *bazukos*. This type of cocaine is highly addictive. Soon those who marketed cocaine found a way to chemically transform the cocaine base into a more purified form called 'crack.' It became the mass-market drug on which the Colombian cartel placed their hopes." By the mid 1980's, African American communities across the United States were in the midst of a crack epidemic. In 1985, the number of people who admitted using cocaine on a routine basis increased from 4.2 million to 5.8 million. Also, "in 1985, cocaine-related hospital emergencies rose by 12 percent, from 23,500 to 26,300. In 1986, they increased 110 percent, from 26,300 to 55,200; between 1984 and 1987, cocaine incidents increased 400 percent. By 1987, crack was reported to be available in all but four states in the United States". A report published by the Arizona Center for Health Statistics states that African Americans had the highest rate of drug related deaths between 1985-1995, with cocaine being the most popular drug of choice. According to this report, "Cocaine-type drugs were responsible for the majority of drug-related deaths

among Blacks. The eleven-year rate of cocaine-related deaths among Blacks (2.8/100,000) was 4.7 times greater than that of non-Hispanic whites or American Indians."[7]

The rate that African Americans began using and distributing crack cocaine during the 1980's was alarming and could not be ignored. According to Earl Ofari Hutchinson, in his study *The Mugging of Black America (1990),* " in the minds of white America the typical drug user is a Black, male, high school drop-out, unemployed, and living in a large urban ghetto." As a result of this image and the reality of large amounts of cocaine in the black community, "African Americans bear the brunt of crime, disease, death, and prison that result from the lucrative trade." Hutchinson adds that of all emergency room admissions for cocaine addiction African Americans make up 55 percent. The history of African Americans' relationship with cocaine is over a century long. There have been many changes over the years in the ways African Americans have been involved with cocaine.[8]

Cocaine's presence within the African American community has been causing serious problems, especially within the last twenty- twenty five years. African American's relationship with this drug has been harmful in many ways. On an individual level, those who abuse cocaine suffer from its dangerous and dramatic effects on the human body and mind. Crack users may experience comas, convulsions, liver damage and respiratory problems as well as many other serious ailments. In some cases, crack users may even experience death from overdosing. Further, the Black family has been disproportionately impacted by cocaine. African American women addicted to crack-cocaine are commonly associated with prostitution and other dangerous behaviors. Many

of these women are mothers whose children suffer from this behavior often in the form of neglect. Occasionally, these crack abusing women may become impregnated while prostituting themselves for the drug. Ultimately, this may lead to children being born to a crack addicted mother and an absent unknown father. Also, "crack house prostitution" or sex in exchange for crack-cocaine increases ones chance of becoming infected with HIV/AIDS. As suggested by Sonja Singleton from the University of Miami's Health Crisis Network, "It turns out that the women get infected by having sex in exchange for the high-grade crack cocaine every crack house has an extra room for sex." There are only two things that go on in crack houses - drugs and sex." African American men, many of them fathers, brothers and sons, are being incarcerated at alarming rates for distributing cocaine. For example, "in 1995, 88 percent of individuals sentenced for dealing crack-cocaine were African American!" Black Americans arrested for dealing crack cocaine are also more likely to be sentenced and sentenced longer than White Americans.[9]

Cocaine has had a strong negative influence on several other segments of the African American community as well. An enormous street gang culture has been heavily influenced by cocaine's presence as well as hip hop culture and rap music which is arguably the dominant genre of music for youth today. Gang related crime and homicides are directly related to crack cocaine distribution. Street gangs often use their members as foot soldiers for drug dealers and many become small time dealers themselves. "Because of the enormous profits to be made, drug traffickers battle for territory and clientele, resulting in increased crime and violence." Hip hop culture, rap music specifically, has been influenced by cocaine use and distribution. Hip hop was created and practiced in the

very same neighborhoods crack-cocaine became so popular. Rap music, hip hop's most popular art form, is often performed by individuals who are familiar with crack cocaine on an intimate level either through a past history of distribution themselves or close association to users and distributors. This relationship between many rappers and cocaine is illustrated continuously through lyrics and video imagery, and as a result, listeners all over the world are influenced by the messages delivered by these artists related to the drug. Many argue that rappers glorify cocaine distribution and as a result they are contributing to the youths continued involvement with crack cocaine. Clearly, cocaine and African Americans have a serious and intimate relationship. The results of this relationship are overwhelmingly negative and crippling to the Black community, making it an important and necessary topic of research and discussion. [10]

This MA thesis carefully dissects the scholarship on the intersection of cocaine and African Americans. This study lays the foundation for my future dissertation project, which will be an in-depth analysis of African American's relationship with cocaine throughout the 20th century. The scope of the present ranges from the Progressive Era beginning in approximately the 1890's until the present, 2008. During the Progressive Era, African American's drug use was supposedly relegated to criminals, prostitutes, and employees of white business owners. The mid 20th century saw a decline in African American cocaine use as heroin became a more popular drug of choice. The later part of the 20th century witnessed the arrival of crack cocaine, which is perhaps the most detrimental and noteworthy period in history involving African Americans and cocaine.

This study is divided into two parts. Part 1 is a chronological review of the scholarship on African Americans and cocaine use. Part 2 is organized thematically and

sub-divided into two sections. The first section focuses on African American women and cocaine use. The second section focuses on African American men and cocaine use. Historicizing African Americans and cocaine use thematically is effective for several reasons. First, writing on this topic at the turn of the century was somewhat scarce. Another reason is because there is a gap in research or reference to African American cocaine use during the mid 20th century due to several causes, including the popularity of other drugs during that period. Furthermore, writing on African American men and women's cocaine use are very different from each other in content. [11]

Literature Review

The history of writing on African American's involvement with cocaine is not very vast. Few publications during the Progressive Era discuss African Americans and cocaine use. The references to African American drug use during that period are all very similar to each other. African Americans who used cocaine were either part of society's underworld or given the drug by their employers. While cocaine was believed to be a popular drug for White Americans of all social classes and societal ranks only marginalized African Americans were believed to have been involved with cocaine. This belief could be due to a lack of research focusing on upper class Black cocaine use, or simply a result of cocaine's low cost and availability to lower or under class blacks. As noted by William Julius Wilson, "the Black underclass were plagued by massive joblessness... and ...low-achieving schools" making a cheaper recreational drug more attractive to this impoverished segment of the Black community. Another cause for lower class Black's cocaine use could be White employer's habit of giving their Black workers the drug. [12]

Various articles at the turn of the 20th century reference cocaine use among African Americans. Early references on the subject unanimously state that "by 1900, cocaine had become by far the most common hard drug taken by poorer blacks and the prostitutes". In addition to poorer Blacks and prostitutes, rapists and convicts would also be added to the list of Black cocaine users. For instance, an essay, entitled "The Increase of the Use of Cocaine among Laity in Pittsburgh," (1903) indicated Black convicts favored cocaine over any other drug at that time. This article goes on to discuss the availability of cocaine for Black people at the turn of the 20th century in Pittsburg. Simonton (1903) asserts that "Negroes in Pittsburgh called one thoroughfare "Cocaine Street". In Pittsburgh at the turn of the century, cocaine was sold with "glass tubes for sniffing."[13]

One of the first recorded publications directly discussing African American cocaine use was published in 1902,"The Cocaine Habit Among Negroes" in the *British Medical Journal*. Bakalar and Grinspoon (1971) mention White people's fear that cocaine increased the strength of "Negroes" by referencing this article. Whites believed that cocaine "increased [Negroes] cunning and strength and enhanced their tendency toward violence." This attitude toward Blacks and cocaine use was mirrored and expanded upon in perhaps the most influential published report on African American cocaine use during the Progressive Era. It was titled "Negro Cocaine Fiends, New Southern Menace" by Edward Williams in 1914. Williams serves as the prime example of writing on African American cocaine usage during this period in history. [14]

Williams (1914) stated that while Whites used other drugs including opium and morphine "the negro drug fiend uses cocaine almost exclusively." Williams argued that cocaine created "crazed negro fiends" who, among other unique qualities were criminals immune to bullets. Williams writes, "The drug produces several other conditions which make the fiend a peculiarly dangerous criminal. One of these conditions is a temporary immunity to shock--a resistance to the knockdown effects of fatal wounds. Bullets fired into vital parts, that would drop a sane man in his tracks, fail to check the fiend--fail to stop his rush or weaken his attack." Williams provides a specific account by a police chief who reportedly encountered a "crazed negro fiend" firsthand. In describing his experience with the "crazed negro," the chief was quoted as saying, "the crazed negro drew a long knife, grappled with the officer, and slashed him viciously across the shoulder. Knowing that he must kill this man or be killed himself, the Chief drew his revolver, placed the muzzle over the negro's heart, and fired-'Intending to kill him right quick.' And a second shot that pierced the arm and entered the chest had as little effect in stopping his charge or checking his attack". Depictions such as this are clearly the result of historically rooted stereotypes about African American men. White Americans fears of Blacks are continuously exposed in newspaper articles and reports discussing African American cocaine use at the turn of the century.[15]

In "Negro Cocaine Fiends, New Southern Menace", Williams offered his explanation for why African Americans "dabbled" with cocaine during that time period. Williams believed that their lack of access to whiskey was the main cause in African Americans' cocaine use. During an interview with an African American male cocaine user, Williams claimed that when asked, the man claimed that he used cocaine "cause I

couldn't git nothin' else boss". Williams claimed that Blacks could not get anything else to get high with, since laws were put in place to keep poor Blacks from drinking whiskey. Based on fear of the "crazed Negro," Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Tennessee, and West Virginia passed laws intended to abolish the saloon and keep whisky and the negro separated." In defending his point of view, Williams asked: "Should anyone doubt that prohibition is directly responsible for the introduction, and increase, of cocaine-taking in the South? Hospital and police records show that during the prohibition period drug habits have increased with alarming rapidity. Physicians, officers, and 'fiends,' with very few dissenting opinions, attribute the rise of cocainism to the low-class negro's inability to get his accustomed beverages." Is it possible that this African American cocaine user could have meant something different with this statement? Could he have been referring to his lowly status in American society and his inability to "git" ahead or his lack of access to "anything else" that brings him pleasure? In the early years of the Progressive era, African Americans endured stifling amounts of oppression, discrimination and social isolation. According to Pero Dagbovie in *The Early Black History Movement: Carter G. Woodson, and Lorenzo Johnston Greene* (2007), "for the vast majority of African Americans, the Progressive Era was synonymous with a period of widespread Jim Crow segregation, unprecedented racial intolerance and violence, political disenfranchisement, labor restrictions, and economic exploitation." In fact, the realities of African Americans during this time period could have been perceived as anything but progressive leading many scholars to refer to this period, for African Americans, as the "nadir." As a result of these harsh realities, cocaine could have been desirable to African Americans more than other ethnicities of people due to these

strenuous circumstances and oppressed status. The "brief euphoria" presented by cocaine could have been an escape from an otherwise deprived, depressing existence.[16]

Other references about African Americans and cocaine use from the Progressive Era, have been cited by more recent authors from sources that were not dedicated exclusively to Black cocaine use. Bakalar and Grinspoon (1971) cite an article from 1908 titled "The Growing Menace of Cocaine" suggesting that cocaine was "popular among negroes in the south where Jew peddlers sold it to them". Notes from a meeting of the American Pharmacological Association state that their Vice President brought up "Negro Cocainists" as a point of discussion. This same Association set up a committee called the Committee on the Acquirement of the Drug Habit. This committee reported statements made by its members from across the country. A member from Georgia said, "almost every colored prostitute is addicted to cocaine"; an Indiana man stated that "a many good negroes and a few white women are addicted to cocaine...the negroes, the lower and criminal classes, are naturally most readily influenced."[17]

Of all the references to Black cocaine use during the Progressive Era, the claims presented by Williams in "Negro Cocaine Fiends" offer us one of the first and most important published reports dedicated exclusively to African Americans and cocaine use. Since it is believed that cocaine's significant presence in the United States did not occur until the late 19th century, this article can also be considered one of the first articles of its kind all together. The commentary offered by Williams is the foundation for most historical writing about African Americans and cocaine use for generations to come.

More writings about African Americans and cocaine use appeared only sparingly in the future. [18]

Situating the next significant period of writings which are specifically about African Americans and their cocaine use is a difficult task, since writing dedicated to this subject is so disappointingly scarce. Books and articles dedicated exclusively to African Americans involvement with cocaine immediately following the Progressive Era are limited. The lack of writing on African Americans' cocaine use during this period appeared to be caused by the increase in heroin use. When discussing American drug use during the 1940's, 1950's, and 1960's, James and Johnson say that "heroin addiction, concentrated in urban areas, constituted the largest drug problem in African American communities during this period."[19]

According to Timothy W. Kinlock, Thomas E. Hanlon, and David N. Nurco (1998) "the 1950's were characterized by increases in heroin use among inner-city residents, particularly blacks and Hispanics." Heroin use after World War II increased throughout the United States; however, along with Hispanics, the number of Black heroin addicts dramatically increased with these two groups consisting of 51% of the heroin addict population by 1960. Kinlock, Hanlon and Nurco credit this trend to changes in the ethnic composition of inner cities. Following the Great Migration of an estimated 1.5 million Black people from the South during the early part of the century, many African Americans found themselves settled in areas where heroin was easily accessible. Interestingly, Kinlock, Hanlon, and Nurco state that "most immigrants to inner cities

worked in blue-collar jobs and avoided heroin addiction, many of their children did not."[20]

Deindustrialization, which greatly impacted blue collar job opportunities during the mid 1950's, could have been the cause of this change in heroin addiction. With big industry and factory employment leaving the inner city, the Black community in some areas, such as Chicago and Detroit, began to wear down due to the depletion of economic resources. As noted by Detroit scholar Richard Thomas, "when the 1920-21 recession hit Detroit, 17,000 black workers found themselves on the streets with no jobs. Many had never experienced urban unemployment." Overall, community depression in some spaces caused by this decrease in economic stability may have contributed to second generation Black immigrants from the south's increased heroin addiction. [21]

Conversely, another possible explanation for second generation heroin addiction could be increased financial status in comparison to first generation immigrants from the south. First generation Black immigrants from the South came North in search of employment and financial opportunities. For example, in the 1920's Black workers at Ford Motor Company in Detroit received an average wage of about 54.2 cents per hour compared to 26.5 cents per hour in the South. The ability of some of these immigrants to form working to middle class communities benefited their children. Initially, their financial status may not have afforded them the ability to purchase recreational drugs in comparison to their children whose work ethic and financial outlook may have been different from the first generation. This idea is supported by the fact that most African American heroin users were between the ages of 15 and 21 for second generation Black

immigrants. In most cases, this is too young to support a family and hold the same work ethic as one's parents, yet old enough to experience the benefits of one's elder's increased financial status.[22]

Whatever the cause, heroin was the drug of choice for Americans and African Americans, rather than cocaine, specifically in the mid 1900's. Referring to heroin use, Ball and Chambers (1970) reported that the number of Lexington Hospital patients admitted during each year of the period from 1950 to 1953 doubled that for 1946. This increase was particularly evident among Blacks, for whom the total for 1950 was twice the 1949 total and five times the 1948 total. During the 1950's, approximately one third of both male and female heroin admissions were Black, as opposed to 10-15% in earlier years. Black admissions were largely from New York City, Chicago and Washington D.C.[23]

A second factor impacting the amount of work written on African American cocaine usage was the lack of availability. There was not much availability of cocaine for African Americans and the cocaine industry overall "had been a cottage industry largely limited to Chile" until the mid 1970's. James and Johnson state that even during the 1970's, "the high cost of 'powder' cocaine, used intravenously or intranasally, limited its use among African Americans". Thus, there may not have been much reason to write about Blacks & cocaine use. It was not accessible geographically or financially for African Americans. In 1971, James Bakalar and Lester Grinspoon wrote *Cocaine.* This book was about cocaine in general, discussing the drugs' creation and expansion across different parts of the world. Its only references to African Americans and cocaine use

concerned cocaine use during the Progressive Era. Other books and articles such as, *The Mugging of Black America (1990, I Heard It Through the Grapevine: Rumor in African American Culture (1993), Women and Crack Cocaine (1993), Doin' Drugs: Patterns of African American Addiction (1996), Cocaine: From Medical Marvel to Modern Menace in the United States 1884-1920 (2000),* and "Jim Crow's Drug War: Race, Coca Cola, and the Southern Origin of Drug Prohibition" (2006) all mention African Americans and drug use; however, none of these narratives is dedicated solely to this issue.[24]

In *The Mugging of Black America,* Earl Ofari Hutchinson briefly discusses cocaine's presence in the Black community. He highlights that cocaine abuse is not an African American problem but an American problem, "despite the carefully contrived impression given by the media". Hutchinson suggests that America's cocaine problem is lead and maintained by international politics, namely the American government beginning with the Reagan Administration. "The Reagan-Bush administration, for instance, provided Afghan insurgents with weapons, supplies, and cash to the tune of $625 million, but looked the other way while the guerillas earned more cash through drug trafficking." While Hutchinson's examination is inclusive of America as a whole, he does specifically discuss the problems cocaine and other illegal drugs pose to the Black community.[25]

In discussing the rampant crack cocaine use among African Americans, Hutchinson stated that "by the mid 1990's more than 4 million crack babies will reach school age. They will have speech defects, hyperactivity, and a propensity to violence. They will require billions of dollars in special medical and educational services. Since

most of them are black and poor, they will be stigmatized by a fearful society." *The Mugging of Black America* affectively introduces the reader to the problem of African American drug abuse within the context of American drug abuse overall. Its discussion is interesting and informative, yet brief and only scratches the surface of this complex issue concerning the African American community.[26]

Cocaine: From Medical Marvel to Modern Menace in the United States 1884-1920 discusses some of the various reports which mentioned African American cocaine use during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Spillane discusses how African Americans received cocaine from their employers to increase productivity during the late 19th and early 20th century. Initially, cocaine was seen as a positive drug and a potent tool which could be used for financial benefit. "Medical opinion, shared by most employers, held that Black workers were not only better able to endure physical labor but to endure environmental conditions that white workers could not. Cocaine supposedly increased these advantages, adding strength, endurance, and making the black user 'impervious to the extremes of heat and cold.' Again, the racist and ignorant beliefs and attitudes of Whites during this time period reveal themselves in connection with Blacks and cocaine use. According to Spillane, cocaine's reputation would quickly change and reports began to caution against providing cocaine to African Americans.[27]

Spillane cites a letter in the *American Druggist* from 1894 as the earliest popular reporting of cocaine use in Dallas, Texas. This letter stated that "the use of cocaine embodied a social threat far beyond simple health effects and that the drug held a special appeal among blacks and in "the lower quarters of the city." Many assumed that "the

cocaine habit has assumed the proportions of an epidemic among the colored people." These feelings motivated White's action to keep cocaine away from African Americans. "Whites perceived cocaine taking as the manifestation of a newer, bolder attitude on the part of a "new generation" of young, urban Blacks. The *Atlanta Constitution* complained that "negroes can be seen at any time on the streets or in the Police Court sniffing the white powder." As was the trend throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, extremely racist and fearful views towards Blacks by Whites fueled their commentary on African American cocaine use. Both movements to provide cocaine to African Americans and take it away were fueled by racist stereotypes, fear, and overall ignorance. The belief that African Americans were "strong as mules" and born to work carried over from the days of American slavery. Therefore, the belief that cocaine use would make the "working buck" that much more effective and productive would make perfect sense to White employers during that time. African American men have been viewed by Whites as strong physical creatures for centuries. Whites have also been known to view Black males as "crazed", violent and "sexually aggressive" as discussed previously. The deep fear of unruly Blacks held by Whites during the early 20th century greatly contributed to their overreaction to black cocaine use which ultimately led to their push to prevent African American's use of the drug.[28]

Although the range and depth of writing about African American women and cocaine use has increased and expanded to different issues, prostitution still appears to be dominant in discussions about this topic. An influential book about women and cocaine use by James Inciardi, Dorothy Lockwood, and Anne Pottieger, *Women and Crack-Cocaine (1993),* makes reference to African American women and cocaine use

specifically. Inciardi, Lockwood, and Pottieger discuss women's use of cocaine across racial lines in the United States, however, specific attention is paid to African American women. The authors discuss how HIV transmission is related to crack cocaine use and they also examine prevention and intervention strategies. Yet most importantly they highlight how African American women participate in prostitution as a means to attain crack cocaine and support their addiction. Interestingly, Inciardi, Lockwood and Pottieger separate prostitution for crack on the street from prostitution for crack in "crack houses." "In crack houses, prostitution takes on a very different character than soliciting on the streets. In the crack house a barter system exists in which sex and crack are the currencies. Moreover, in the descriptions that follow, it becomes readily clear that there are a number of very real differences between prostitutes who use crack and crack users who exchange sex for drugs." Inciardi, Lockwood, and Pottieger argue that the addiction to and need for crack cocaine was the motivation for women to become prostitutes.[29] "For almost all of the women encountered, particularly those trading sex for crack in crack houses, the drug controlled their lives in that everything they did revolved around seeking and smoking crack." Earlier references about African American female prostitutes and cocaine never state that cocaine addiction caused prostitution. At that time, cocaine was seen simply as something that prostitutes and other members of the "underworld" used.[30]

As discussed, few scholars have dedicated their time and effort to exclusively discussing African American women and cocaine use throughout the 20th century. This trend continues when discussing African American women and crack cocaine use specifically in the post 1980's era. However, works such as JM Edward's; CT Halpern's

and WM Wechsberg's "Correlates of exchanging sex for drugs or money among women who use crack cocaine" (2006) and KS Riehman's, WM Wechsberg's, W. Zule's, WK Lam's and B. Levines's "Gender differences in the impact of social support on crack use among African Americans," (2008) are two articles, among few others, in opposition to this unfortunate history. Both of these works focus on African American female crack cocaine use specifically and offer insight to what kind of issues this situation creates.[31]

Predictably, Edward's, Halpern's, and Wechsber's work on African American female crack cocaine use centers around prostitution and sexual activity. In their study of African American female crack cocaine users, Edwards, Halperns and Wechsberg found that, "heavier crack use, homelessness, and unemployment are all associated with trading sex." This study is part of the long, yet sporadic, history of research on African American women and cocaine.[32]

Tanya Telfair Sharpe's book titled *Behind the Eight Ball: Sex For Crack Cocaine Exchange and Poor Black Women (2005)* is a detailed study about African American women prostituting themselves for crack-cocaine. Similar to Inciardi, Lockwood and Pottieger's work, as well as Edward's, Halpern's and Wechsber's research, Sharpe's study provides information about sex for crack within the crack house, and separates this activity from general street prostitution. Describing the commonalities of prostitution in crack houses, Sharpe says that "it is not unusual for crack-using females to engage in unprotected sex with anonymous partners in the genre of crack houses that have emerged. These are houses, or more commonly, apartments in public housing where people can either purchase the drug, use the drug, engage in sex, or a combination of all three for

various monetary charges." Again, this work adds to the over century long trend of writing related to African American women, cocaine and prostitution. Like Inciardi, Lockwood and Pottieger this study illustrates a change in the behavior of prostitutes related to cocaine.[33]

This work is important because, although it is published in 2005, it is one of the first studies dedicated exclusively to a segment of the African American community and cocaine use. Sharpe states that "the cycle of crack addiction fills the void in the lives of many disenfranchised women. Therefore, poor black women are disproportionately at risk for engaging in sex-for-crack exchanges to support their drug habit." Sharpe interviewed several African American female crack addicts and the book is filled with excerpts from their discussions. These interviews allow the reader to get inside the minds of the women and hear their stories firsthand. Also, gaining information from the women themselves is beneficial because it limits the amount of assumptions and generalizations that must be made, which can lead to falsifications and skewing of reality.[34]

The nature of the interviews found in Sharpe's work vary in content; however, prostitution is a common topic of discussion. One woman, describing her time as a prostitute for crack cocaine, stated that "when I was whoring professionally, I practiced safe sex. My pimp gave us condoms. And a man couldn't do anything to me if he didn't use a condom, no matter how much money he had. My pimp told me, even if the man had a hundred dollars, he had to use a condom. When I was doing it for crack that's when I didn't practice it [safe sex]." Another woman, discussing the differences between being a prostitute versus a "crack head" prostitute stated that "the difference is that when you are

prostituting, it's like a profession. The men know that you are a prostitute and not a crackhead; they handle you different....when they know that you are doing it when you are addicted to dope, you just might wind up getting anything done to you." These testimonies illustrate the harshness of and health risks related to sex for crack activity. Prostitution may be considered by many to be an undesirable and frowned upon profession. Some may consider becoming a prostitute hitting "rock bottom" as far as life style choices are concerned what becomes apparent by reading Sharpe's work is that sex for crack prostitution is an even "lower" level of activity. Sex for crack prostitutes find themselves in a world where, on a consistent basis, "they are subjected to humiliation and ridicule" by drug dealers.[35]

Interviewees in *Behind the Eightball* described various ways that drug dealers humiliated them and took advantage of their addiction to crack cocaine. One woman discussed how drug dealers would treat them when their girlfriends from college came around. She recalled: "This is when they [dope boys] would really torment us. [The dope boys said to the college girls] 'That's a dope ho right there. I can get any one of them hos right now. I can have her suck my dick right now, in this car, with you sitting here, for five dollars.' And he could!" On some occasions, if a woman was known for having sex for crack by the drug dealers, "the male crack holders refuse to sell" to them. They are viewed as too familiar or too needy by the drug dealers and are penalized for it. Another woman, describing the treatment she received from drug dealers as an addict who had become "too familiar" stated that "they treat you like shit. Won't even sell you any. Tell you to get the fuck off. Treat you like no better than a cockroach."[36]

Sharpe's primary focus was undoubtedly sex for crack in *Behind the Eightball.* However, Sharpe included a discussion about how crack cocaine use affected motherhood for African American women. She notes three main points of concern related to this issue. "First motherhood is extremely important to most poor women. However, balancing the roles of motherhood while addicted to crack is nearly impossible. The tension between the crack-user lifestyle and the responsibilities of mothering are often irreconcilable. For example, women would "devise methods to separate their children from drug-use- sessions, for example, by temporarily placing the children in someone else's care. Eventually, as the crack compulsion became stronger, these strategies were abandoned and the women lost custody of their children through family intervention or state-ordered foster care." This is an example of how crack use and motherhood can increase pressure on the extended family as well, being that the aunts, uncles, brothers, sisters and grandparents are the individuals who may become responsible for the children of crack addict mothers.[37]

Dr. Sharpe's research exposes some of the harsh realities experienced by African American female crack cocaine addicts especially by those who exchange sex for crack. This work gives the women involved in the drug and sex industry a voice, which also allows others a glimpse into their world. References to African American women cocaine users in the past did not include information from interviews with the women, mainly assumptions and eneralizations largely based on stereotypes and racism.

African American Women and Cocaine Use

African American Women and Cocaine during the Progressive Era

"It is generally recognized that immoral women and their cadets [pimps] are addicted to the use of cocaine"-Vice Commission of Chicago, 1911[38]

Historical writing about African American women and cocaine use, like African Americans and cocaine use overall during the Progressive Era, is scarce. However, references to African American women in connection with cocaine use during this era do exist and they mostly share the same theme. Virtually every reference to African American women using cocaine is connected to prostitution.

Joseph Spillane's *Cocaine* (2000) states that African American women's introduction to cocaine was connected to prostitution. Further, Spillane states that, "some suggested that cocaine was a lure to prostitution, an idea often linked to the Progressive Era crusade against 'white slavery'. The fight against prostitution emphasized the victimization of young women, enticed or forced to prostitute themselves by predatory white slavers. Entrapping women with a ready supply of drugs seemed to an obvious way in which agents might, as one journalist described, 'cunningly persuade young girls who have fallen into their power to take up cocaine". Spillane writes that "By 1900, cocaine had become by far the most common hard drug taken by poorer blacks and the prostitutes, black and white." This claim is supported by other authors discussing African American women and cocaine use during this era. For example, James Bakalar and Lester Grinspoon's *Cocaine: A Drug and its Social Evolution* also supports the notion that African American women's use of cocaine was originally connected to prostitution. Citing a report from 1903 by the Committee on the Acquirement of the Drug Habit, they point out that the state of "Georgia reports almost every colored prostitute is addicted to

cocaine". This claim was not supported by any qualitative or quantitative research and is a clear illustration of the blatant racist climate of that time period.[39]

Repetitive references to African American women and cocaine use in relation to prostitution make the historiography on their cocaine use very narrow. Information about African American women's cocaine use during the Progressive Era in relation to something other than prostitution would be beneficial. There's evidence that suggests cocaine was used for many different reasons during this era, by several segments of the population. In fact, "the best documented cases of cocaine abuse were white professional men, especially physicians." Since cocaine was very popular among white professionals during this time, it would be interesting to find out if women who were considered Black elite, while small in number, used cocaine. Was cocaine use looked down upon by the Black elite because of its use by the poorer classes of Blacks and criminals? Were upper class Black women during this able to use cocaine for medicinal purposes like many Whites during the time? Answers to these questions are not found in writings about African American women's use of cocaine in the late 19th and early 20th century. [40]

African American Women and Cocaine during the Mid-20th Century

The overall de-popularization of the drug in addition to it becoming illegal during the Progressive Era are among the factors that help explain the scarcity of writing on African American women's use of cocaine. The historiography on Black women and cocaine use goes from minimal references during the Progressive Era to virtually no mention during the mid 20th century. Presumably, if the dominant trend of society as a whole is decreasing use of cocaine, African Americans' use would have also lessened.

This idea is offered by David F. Musto in an article, titled "America's First Cocaine Epidemic."

Musto argues that America's first cocaine epidemic started in the late 19th century and ended shortly after the Harrison Act of 1914. Commenting on the end of the first cocaine epidemic, Musto writes "the public's adamant anti-cocaine sentiment, which had reduced the drug's appeal after the turn of the Century and resulted in legal restrictions, now facilitated operation of the laws. Unlike Prohibition, which was not backed by a public consensus, the Harrison Act, which Congress made more restrictive over the years, was largely successful." Musto posits that "of course some Americans continued to use it, but their numbers eventually shrank. By the time I was in medical school, during the late 1950's, cocaine was described to medical students as a drug that used to be a problem in the United States." Bakalar and Grinspoon appear to agree with Musto and believe that cocaine use and popularization decreased dramatically during the mid 20th century. "Between 1930 and the late 1960's the use of cocaine and medical and general interest in the drug seem to have declined greatly." They suggest that "most of the books that deal with cocaine as a social issue or a clinical problem were published in the 1920's; most of the novels, stories, and memoirs that show familiarity with its recreational use are from the same period. Even in the first decade of the new drug culture's flowering, cocaine remained relatively unpopular, expensive, rarely available, and bracketed with heroin as a drug to be avoided."[41]

According to James A. Inciardi, Duane C. McBride, and Hilary L. Surratt in"The Heroin Street Addict: Profiling a National Population," "from the 1920's through the late 1950's, heroin addiction was a visible part of the American drug scene." The authors also

stated that "In 1965, based on the number of narcotics-related hepatitis cases being reported to the Centers for Disease Control, it appeared that an epidemic of heroin use was under way in the United States. Moreover, empirical studies of crime and drugs were finding that heroin users accounted for growing proportions of felony arrestees in major metropolitan areas." Although this work suggests that heroin use was used throughout the United States as the most popular narcotic of choice during the mid 20th century, it does not dedicate attention to African American women specifically.[42]

While the use of cocaine may have indeed decreased after the Progressive Era, its use probably did not entirely disappear. The gap in research on African American women's cocaine use, and African Americans use overall, from the 1930's and into the 1970's needs improvement. The likelihood of cocaine use completely ceasing, being that it was so highly addictive, is minimal. More research in the African American "underworld" during this time period would undoubtedly expose the presence of cocaine. If not in the "underworld", research on the recreational practices of the Black elite of this period could possibly bring cocaine use to the surface.

African American Women and Cocaine during the 1970's, 80's and 90's

The virtual disappearance of writing about African American women and cocaine use during the mid-20th century mirrored the belief that cocaine use overall had decreased dramatically during this time period. The re-emergence of cocaine that began in the late 1970's, and the birth of crack cocaine in the 1980's, created an interest in African American women and cocaine use. Interestingly, the content about African American women using drugs during the 80's crack crisis is very similar to that of the Progressive

Era. Prostitution is still a dominant theme concerning African American women and cocaine use. However, unlike the turn of the 20th century, writing about African American women and cocaine use during the 1980's and 90's is much broader and detailed. In addition to prostitution, issues related to Black women's cocaine use such as incarceration, disease, and reasons for addiction are now discussed.

Scholarship on African American women and cocaine use are clearly not popular. Most references to African American women and cocaine during this period are mentioned in passing or receive a section in a general book about drug addiction. Only a small number of sources devote themselves in a major way to African American women's cocaine habits: James Inciardi, Dorothy Lockwood, and Anne Pottieger's *Women and Crack-Cocaine* and Tanya Telfair Sharpe's *Behind the Eight Ball: Sex For Crack Cocaine Exchange and Poor Black Women (2005).*[43]

Reasons for Use

The writing at the turn of the 20th century that dealt with African Americans failed to discuss women's reasons for use of the drug. Noted articles such as "Negro Cocaine Fiends, New Southern Menace" in 1914 barely discuss women's use overall. As stated earlier, previous references to women's cocaine use did little more than mention them as prostitutes that used the drug. No mention of social or psychological factors contributing to their cocaine use is discussed. In addition to the only full text dedicated to black women's use of cocaine by Dr. Sharpe, other researchers have discussed some of the factors contributing to African American women's cocaine use in passing. Books such as *Crack Cocaine Crime and Women: Legal, Social and Treatment Issues (1996)* and *Fast*

Lives: Women Who Use Crack Cocaine are examples of this trend. One of the more informative works on this issue was written by Grace Xuegin Ma and George Henderson. Like Sharpe's work, Ma and Henderson's book was published after 2000.

Grace Xueqin Ma and George Henderson discuss some of the various reasons African Americans use crack cocaine in *Ethnicity and Substance Abuse: Prevention and Intervention (2002,* pay particular attention to women. Ma and Henderson suggest that there are several reasons African American women use crack cocaine. For one, they state "childhood adversity, including inadequate parenting" as possible reasons for cocaine use. They argue that inadequate parenting can make children "vulnerable to maladaptive behaviors in their adulthood." Ma and Henderson also list many other reasons why African Americans begin to use crack cocaine. "The initiation to drug use is more likely to occur when adversarial demands of life exceed a person's adaptational capacity." Henderson and Ma refer to an interesting study from 1993 on African American women, who used crack cocaine. This study found that "a significant number of women who used crack cocaine have a history of sexual abuse and depressive symptoms. Those who were victims of incest or rape had greater drug use and were younger than women without such sexual trauma."[44]

Ma and Henderson also suggest that "African American women, similar to African American men, may use drugs in large part in response to the stresses they face in their adult lives including conditions such as minority status and reduced economic, social and political expectations." These stresses were also experienced by African American women and men earlier in the 20th century and may have contributed to their use as well. Again, these suggested factors go unmentioned in earlier writings about

African Americans and cocaine use. The changing content of writings about African Americans and cocaine use suggest that the use of cocaine in the community has taken on increased seriousness.[45]

African American Men and Cocaine Use

African American Men and Cocaine during the Progressive Era

One of the few and perhaps the most important and most cited works discussing Black cocaine use during this era was an article titled "Negro Cocaine Fiends" in 1914. Williams discussed what were considered at the time, some of the positive and negative aspects of Black male cocaine use. Williams clearly believes that the use of cocaine only enhanced or confirmed the racial stereotypes already held by Whites of this era. Medical opinion, shared by most employers, held that black workers were not only better able to endure physical labor but to endure environment conditions that white workers could not. Cocaine supposedly increased these advantages, "adding strength, endurance, and making the black user impervious to the extremes of heat and cold." "These beliefs in cocaine and increased worker productivity were so strong that some believe "the popularity of cocaine in workplace settings dominated by black laborers, often promoted by employers, suggests one way in which the generalized use of cocaine could have begun in Black communities." Among others, author Joseph F. Spillane cites "Negro Cocaine Fiends" in his book titled *Cocaine: From Medical Marvel to Modern Menace in the United States, 1884-1920.* Spillane discusses how Black men's use of cocaine was viewed as a positive, as was cocaine in general at the time.[46]

The generally accepted positive aspects of cocaine use among African Americans during the Progressive Era fail in comparison to the negative references and ideas Whites had about Black male "cocaine fiends." Around the turn of the century, Whites expressed a significant amount of fear of their white women being raped by "coke crazed" Black men. While the use of cocaine in the late 19th century was not unusual for the general population, Bakalar and Grinspoon note that negative ideas about the drug were connected to male African American users specifically. "It is obvious that the race issue exposed sometimes directly and sometimes in the guise of a fear of crime, appears prominently in the condemnations of cocaine. Just as opium was associated with the Chinese in the drive to outlaw it, so cocaine was associated with blacks." Whites began to fear the power and effects of cocaine on Black men. Some whites during the progressive era believed that "cocaine made black men invulnerable to bullets." In the south some police departments "convinced that black 'cocaine fiends' could withstand normal .32 caliber bullets reportedly switched to .38 caliber revolvers." "They thought it increased the cunning and strength of blacks and enhanced their tendency toward violence- especially of course, sexual violence against white women."[47]

White Americans fear of male Black "coke fiends" raping their women was the popular belief in the beginning of the 20th century. Michael Cohen expanded on this discussion in his article titled, "Jim Crow's Drug War: Race, Coca Cola, and the Southern Origin of Drug Prohibition." Here, Cohen cites the 1902 article "Negro Cocaine Fiends" that stated "Cocaine users themselves did not become criminals until urban police and civic leaders in the New South generated a moral panic over the casual use of cocaine among urban blacks, blaming everything from rape to urban riots on the drug's

influence. By the dawn of the twentieth century, the South's fear of Negro cocaine fiends running amok trumped the drug's commercial profits and medical benefits." The idea that fear of the male "Negro cocaine fiend" was able to cause businessmen to lose profits, illustrates the overwhelming feelings of panic and paranoia experienced by whites concerning cocaine use and Black men. Also, this action illustrates their strong belief that Black cocaine use was prevalent during this time. However, Cohen as well as Bakalar and Grinspoon agree that cocaine use was far more prevalent among whites, including white women. "Progressive reform measures focused on a single aspect of the complex social problem of mass drug addiction; by scapegoating Black male cocaine users, reformers overlooked the far more deeply rooted problem of an epidemic of narcotics addiction among southern white women at this time." "In actual fact, the best-documented cases of cocaine abuse were white professional men, especially physicians." It is probable that black people used cocaine at a much lower rate than White people being that "they had less money and less access to physicians." "A report in 1914 on 2,100 consecutive black admissions to a Georgia insane asylum, for example, indicated that only two were cocaine users." Given the high probability that these Black insane asylum admissions were most likely poor and possibly vagrants, which was the presumed population of Black cocaine users, the fact that only two used the drug speaks to the likely lack of use throughout the community.[48]

Although the writing on African American men and cocaine use during the Progressive Era is scarce, it appears to be extremely static. Reports on cocaine use in the African American community were also low in number, but society's perception of prevalent "Negro" cocaine abuse is evident. Whether or not Black male cocaine use was

actually common or a serious problem is not important since "in any case, the cocaine-crazed black dope fiend played an important role in the campaign to prohibit the drug." This campaign to end the legalization of cocaine led to the Harrison Act of 1914. The Harrison Act "forced every opiate addict and cocaine user outside the law." The public's fear of cocaine also contributed to the its "adamant anti-cocaine sentiment, which had reduced the drug's appeal after the turn of the century." According to Inciardi and McElrith, the Harrison Act coupled with the general public's growing dislike for cocaine made it far less common, illegal, and basically an underground unpopular drug for decades to come. The prohibition and de-popularization of cocaine presumably drastically decreased African American consumption as well. Consequently, the already scarce writing about African Americans and cocaine use virtually disappeared after the Progressive Era until its re-emergence into the public during the mid 20th century.[49]

Cocaine Use by African American Males during the mid-20th Century

According to William H. James and Stephen L. Johnson in their study *Doin' Drugs: Patterns of African American Addiction,* after 1914, "The Harrison Act put habit-forming drugs under federal control closed the drug stores that were dispensing addictive drugs, and for a time forced the sellers of these drugs underground." Although Blacks' use of cocaine decreased after the Progressive Era, drug use altogether in the African American community did not. James and Johnson note that the decreasing availability of cocaine after the Harrison Act along with the rising price of the drug, led "African Americans to be numbered among those selling as well as using opium, heroin, and morphine". In fact, in their discussion of African American drug use during the 1940's, 50's and 60's, James and Johnson say that "heroin addiction, concentrated in urban areas,

constituted the largest drug problem in African American communities during this period." There was not much availability of cocaine for African Americans, and the cocaine industry overall "had been a cottage industry largely limited to Chile" until the mid 1970's. James and Johnson state that even during the 1970's, "the high cost of 'powder' cocaine, used intravenously or intranasally, limited its use among African Americans." The writing or lack of writing on African American men and cocaine use during this period is similar to that of African American women of this same period.[50]

African American Men and Cocaine Use 1970-1990's

Cocaine made its comeback in the United States beginning with the rise of drug lords like Escobar, Ochoa, and Lehder in Colombia beginning in the late 1970's and early 1980's. These drug traffickers began to send large amounts of cocaine into the United States. According to James and Johnson, "by 1980, the DEA estimated that the cocaine trade brought $7 billion annually into southern Florida...large amounts of cocaine were coming into the United States, and much of it was heading directly into African American communities." This flooding of the black community with cocaine became the foundation for the "crack era" or crack epidemic of the 1980's and beyond. This period in history saw a dramatic increase in young African American male's involvement with distribution of the drug. As a result, writing on African American men and cocaine would be found in relation to distribution and issues related to this activity, usually in connection to street gang activity, gun violence and increasing incarceration rates.[51]

The disproportionate rate that African Americans are using and possessing illegal drugs is alarming. The National Survey on Drug Use and Health also states that

reportedly, crack cocaine was the most common drug type for African Americans. "At year end 2003, there were an approximate total of 1, 256, 400 sentenced State prison inmates, 250,900 of who were incarcerated for drug offenses. The majority of drug offenders in State prisons were black men (133,100)." In 2004, 695 Whites were arrested for possessing crack cocaine, while 3,161 Blacks were arrested for possessing crack cocaine; again most of these were black men. That same report states that during 2006, there were "25,763 federal defendants charged with a drug offense whose race was reported the U.S. Sentencing Commission. Approximately one quarter (29.2%) were black with most these being males."[52]

Some have blamed the "crack epidemic" within the African American community on a conspiracy by the White United States Government to specifically destroy Black people. In *I Heard It Through The Grapevine* (1993), Patricia Turner discusses why African American cocaine use became an epidemic by examining various conspiracy theories which are prevalent in the Black community. Within the Black community, many believe that neighborhoods predominately populated with African Americans were targeted by the White U.S. government as locations to distribute crack cocaine. This theory of purposeful cocaine infestation in Black neighborhoods fits perfectly within the context of the overall belief that they (White people) "will do anything to keep the black race down." Turner asked several individuals to "describe any theories you may have heard linking drug abuse among blacks to a white conspiracy or plot". Most of her respondents noted that either "the government," "the powers that be," or "higher ups" were conspirators in infesting the African American community with crack cocaine. Turner reports that 10 percent of respondents cited the CIA as responsible for this

problem, and another 10 percent cited the Reagan Administration specifically as the major conspirator.[53]

Among other responses cited by Turner, one respondent stated that "I've heard that it is the work of the government or an even more powerful group to destroy the black race with drugs, mainly powerful artificial substance today-crack cocaine. It is an effort to rid the country of an unwanted element. Crack cocaine became a major problem during the term of Ronald Reagan, as did an increase in black on black crime. Some say he is the devil in human form." Another respondent stated that "I have heard on several occasions that drugs were brought into black communities by whites so that the blacks could be controlled. Blacks would die out due to the power struggle in the drug market." Interestingly, many respondents to Turner's questions about possible conspiracies would point to "illegal drugs" overall; however, when asked specifically what drugs were involved in the conspiracies most specified cocaine, crack cocaine, and heroin. This illustrates a clear connection between conspiracy theories involving drugs, African Americans and cocaine as the particular drug of emphasis. Theories such as this gain relevance when the disproportionate statistics involving African American male's connection to cocaine distribution are illustrated. It would have been interesting to hear White American's opinions about conspiracy theories related to cocaine and the Black community. Are these theories exclusively relegated to African Americans? When examining the work of authors who discuss the connection between gang activities, black males and crack cocaine distribution, acknowledging conspiracy theories, such as those described above, will assist in contextualizing the issue at hand.[54]

Books about gang activity in the late 20th century usually have some discussion about crack cocaine distribution. In these discussions, African American males are the primary subject. *Gangland: Drug Trafficking by Organized Criminals (1989)* is an example of this. In Lyman's overall discussion of gang activity, he discusses the prevalence of crack selling by gangs such as the Black Guerilla Family, Bloods, Crips, Black Stone's and others. He states that crack "has evolved into the most sought after illicit drug commodity on the street, with widespread involvement by organized gangs of criminals." Each of these gangs is predominately populated by Black males. [55]

These same sentiments are shared in *Gangsters (1997)* by Lewis Yablonsky. Yablonski describes African American male gang bangers involvement with crack cocaine by stating "crack is a commodity for both Black and Chicano gangs; crack is a heavily addicting drug that has dominated hoods and barrios throughout the United States since about 1985. Gangsters are involved in the distribution and sale of these drugs at all levels. Some OGs and Gs have direct contact at the very top of the drug business with manufacturers and distributors on an international level. Gs and WBs, at the lower rungs of the drug business ladder, deliver and sell drugs on the street."[56]

In his discussion of crack cocaine's presence in gang culture, Yablonski also mentions how occasionally the gang member distributor can becoming addicted themselves. Yablonski says that "some of the purveyors of the commodity get hooked on their product. This usually leads to the abuser being ostracized from the gang." This part of the relationship between young African American male gang members and crack cocaine is not often discussed in books related to this issue. The overwhelming majority

of discussion about gang members and crack cocaine are designated for distribution of the drug and consequences related to it. Particularly, the violence surrounding crack distribution, the incarcerations of gang members who distribute cocaine, and the hierarchy of gangster distributors within their organizations, are the points of discussion for authors on this topic. Other books such as *Gangs and Gang Behavior* (1997), and *Gangs in America* (1996), mention African American males and cocaine distribution in their discussions about gang activity.[57]

In a chapter titled, "Crack" Street Gangs, and Violence" in *Gangs and Gang Behavior* (1997), authors Malcolm W. Klein, Cheryl L. Maxson and Lea C. Cunningham add to the discussion about the relationship between crack cocaine and street gangs. Their research is located in California, specifically the Los Angeles area. Klein, Maxson and Cunningham state that Black gangs' drug involvement initially was that of use and addiction as opposed to control and distribution. The authors cite the police and press reports as the sources which began to connect predominately Black street gangs such as the 'Bloods' and the 'Crips' as the main distributors of crack cocaine throughout several cities. These reported connections coincide with the overall crack boom of the mid 1980's throughout the country. Interestingly, the authors state that "street gangs would not become the principal mechanism for crack distribution in their neighborhoods." In their research, based in South Central, L.A., the researchers found that while most cocaine arrests in the area were in the form of crack, there were few recorded differences between gang and non-gang cases. They find that "there is little evidence that gang membership brings anything special to the crack trade". This study is cited by Jeffrey

Fagan in his discussion about street gang activity and cocaine in an article titled "Gangs, Drugs, and Neighborhood Change" found in *Gangs in America (1996).*[58]

In Fagan's discussion about crack cocaine distribution among street gangs, he states that Klein, Maxson and Cunningham found no evidence that gang members were arrested more often than non-gang members for crack sales. However, Fagan goes on to mention that "among gangs, involvement in the drug trade varies by locale and ethnicity. Chicano gangs in L.A. do not sell cocaine but sell small quantities of other drugs. The crack and cocaine trades in that city are dominated by African American youth both gang members and non-gang youth". This is an interesting occurrence. Why are African American gang members, who are located in the same environment as gang members of other ethnicities, the predominant cocaine dealers? Fagan also states that Chinese gangs specifically "have remained outside the cocaine and crack trades." These statements, although small in number, again connect African American gang members specifically to cocaine distribution. While works such as these do mention African American gang member's involvement with crack cocaine in passing, more research in this area is needed. Since a vast majority of literature about African American males and cocaine during the turn of the 21st century has been related to gang activity, this relationship deserves more in depth attention.[59]

Conclusion

The historiography on African Americans and cocaine dates back to 1900. This scholarship does not include many books and articles dedicated solely to the issue of African American cocaine use. Writings about African Americans and cocaine during the

Progressive Era were scarce. Positive references to African American cocaine use during this time would mention cocaine's aiding in the believed "increased strength and endurance" of African American laborers. Writing about the negative aspects of Black cocaine use during this time far outweighed positive narratives. References to prostitution, sexual aggression, and an overall "crazed negro state" dominated comments made in writing about African Americans during the progressive era. These writings only focused on lower class Blacks and lacked any mention of other classes of African Americans who may have used cocaine. Also, firsthand accounts from African American cocaine users themselves appear to be absent from writings during that time. Unfortunately, the absence of primary accounts and more in depth research on African Americans from all social classes during the progressive era severely limit and impair the writing from this period.

In the decades following the Progressive Era, writing about African American cocaine use virtually disappeared. This was due to many explanations, ranging from lack of use among African Americans to an increase in heroin addiction during the mid-20th century. Whatever the reason, writings about African American cocaine use were dormant until the later years of the 20th century and the rise of cocaine in a hardened formed called crack. Even more so than in the Progressive period, the mid 20th century witnessed a severe lack of information about African American cocaine use. Without more information about cocaine habits concerning African Americans during this period, an accurate, efficient and fluid history of African Americans cocaine use in the 20th century is impossible.

Crack cocaine's emergence in the United States during the 1980's led to a change in the writing about African Americans involvement with the drug. Gone were the days of "crazed negro" references and fear of white women being rape victims. Late 20th century writings about African American cocaine use focused on many other issues related to cocaine use and abuse. Similar to references about Black women and cocaine use at the beginning of the 20th century, writing about women during the later part of the century also focused on prostitution and cocaine use. Tonya Sharpe, James Inciardi, and Anne Pottieger among others, discussed African Americans activities in prostitution related to cocaine addiction. While these books and their focus are appreciated, more research on other segments of African American women's and men's cocaine and/or crack habits is necessary. A total picture of the drug's effect on the Black community is not possible when attention is only paid to street and crack house prostitutes.

Writings from the last period and turn of the 21st century related to African American men focus primarily on distribution of the drug and issues related to that activity. Gang affiliation and incarceration are the dominant issues of discussion in more recent writing about African American men and cocaine. Books such as *Gangsters, Gangland, American Street Gangs* and *Gangs and Gang Behavior* all highlight this point. More writing on cocaine and/or crack use by African American males is necessary. The current information about Black men and crack suggests that use among this group is virtually invisible. Also, who are all these young men selling this drug to? What is being done with the profits of these crack sells? What impact is this business having on the community as a whole? These questions have not been answered and analyzed in enough detail within the current scholarship on African American cocaine use. More research in

broader areas and segments of the African American community must be done to paint a more accurate picture of African American's involvement with cocaine.

In my future dissertation research, I will critically explore cocaine's relationship to the African American community on several levels. One area that I will study is the connection that cocaine has with hip hop culture and rap music in particular. Overwhelmingly, rap artists make references to distributing cocaine more so than any other drug. In fact, references to dealing cocaine are the most mentioned criminal activity by rap artist. I will argue that this history or experience of dealing cocaine has become celebrated by rap artists and fans alike. Reflections on past cocaine dealing or "hustling" comprises a majority of many rap artists overall content in their songs and albums. An apparent addiction to the money and the drug dealer lifestyle has captured the imagination and souls of many rap artists and fans. I will research the effects of this current trend of cocaine dealing popularization on the youth of the Black community. Why is this harmful practice so prevalent and increasingly accepted by many youth in the Black community? How are the abusers and addicts of this drug viewed within hip hop culture and rap music?

Conversely, the argument could be made that drug distribution, which at times is a complex example of organized crime, is a business comprised of "ghetto entrepreneurs" determined to make "something out of nothing". Is drug dealing viewed as a viable option of obtaining the American dream of wealth and financial prosperity for those born into oppressive financial situations in the Black community? Is this business possibly a positive escape for some at the expense of others who were going to fall victim to some form of destruction anyway? As the saying goes, "if I don't sell it they'll just get it from

somebody else anyway". Have legal financial resources and optimism abandoned many Black communities to the point where a form of genocide has strangely become acceptable even desirable behavior to be glorified in song, video and culture? In my future analysis of cocaine's relationship to hip hop and Black America, I will attempt to answer these questions.

Another area of focus that I will research will be an expansion on some of the conspiracy theories mentioned in this paper. Clearly, there has been speculation about how this "crack crisis" came about in United States however, I would like to do a comprehensive examination of the subject. I will analyze all the various theories about how cocaine infiltrated and continues to infiltrate the Black community in an attempt to find an actual answer. Until someone gets to the core of the problem concerning African American's involvement with cocaine, this relationship will continue to harm the Black community.

NOTES

[1] James B. Bakalar and Lester Grinspoon, *Cocaine*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971. 17; Joseph F. Spillane, *Cocaine: From Medical Marvel to Modern Menace in the United States, 1884-1920*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. 9

[2] Bakalar and Grinspoon, *Cocaine*, 17, 22; David F. Musto, "A Brief History of Cocaine". *American Scientist*. Nov-Dec. 1998. V86. 587.

[3] Bakalar and Grinspoon, *Cocaine*, 22.

[4] Bakalar and Grinspoon, *Cocaine*, 29, 37.

[5] Spillane, *Cocaine: From Medical Marvel to Modern Menace in the United States, 1884-1920*, 91; Bakalar and Grinspoon, *Cocaine*, 38, 40; Earl Ofari Hutchinson. *The Mugging of Black America*. Chicago: African American Images, 1990. 56.

[6] Hutchinson, *The Mugging of Black America*, 56; Fullilove, Mindy Thompson and Watkins, Beverly Xaviera, "Crack Cocaine and Harlem's Health". Marble, Manning, Editor, *Dispatches from the Ebony Tower*. 2000. 123.

[7] Hutchinson, *The Mugging of Black America*, 56, 28; http://www.usdoj.gov/dea/pubs/history/1985-1990.html; Christopher Mrela, "Drug Related Mortality, Arizona, 1985-1995", *Arizona Center for Health Statistics*.

[8] Hutchinson, *The Mugging of Black America*, 51.

[9] http://www.doitnow.org/; Shilts, "How Crack Cocaine Spreads AIDS", *San Francisco Chronicle*, Feb 13, 1989; William Brown and William Sheldon, "The New American Apartheid", *The Black Commentator*, July 15, 2004, Issue 99.

[10] Auriana Ojeda, *Drug Trafficking*. San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, Inc., 2002. 63.

[11] Maureen Flanagan, *America Reformed: Progressives and Progressivism 1890's-1920's*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006; Bakari Kitwana. *The Hip Hop Generation: Young Blacks and The Crisis in African American Culture*. New York: Basic *Civitas* Books, 2002.

[12] William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987. 58; Bakalar and Grinspoon, *Cocaine*, 1971.

[13] Thomas Simonton, "The Increase of the Use of Cocaine among Laity in Pittsburg". *Philadelphia Medical Journal*. 1903; Spillane, Co*caine: From Medical Marvel to Modern Menace in the United States, 1884-1920*, 84; Bakalar and Grinspoon, *Cocaine*, 38.

[14] Bakalar and Grinspoon, *Cocaine*, 39; Edward Williams, "Negro Cocaine Fiends, New Southern Menace", Feb. 8, 1914.

[15] Williams, "Negro Cocaine Fiends, New Southern Menace", Feb. 8, 1914.

[16] Pero G. Dagbovie, *The Early Black History Movement, Carter G. Woodson, and Lorenzo Johnston Greene*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007. 110; Williams, "Negro Cocaine Fiends, New Southern Menace", Feb. 8, 1914.

[17] Bakalar and Grinspoon, *Cocaine*, 38.

[18] Bakalar and Grinspoon, *Cocaine*, 38.

[19] William H. James and Stephen L.Johnson, *Doin' Drugs: Patterns of African American Addiction*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.

[20] Thomas E. Hanlon, Timothy W. Kinlock, and David N. Nurco, "Heroin Use in the United States: History and Predsent Developments". *Heroin in the Age of Crack-Cocaine*. London: Sage Publications, 1998. 12, 13; Mitz, S. http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu. 2007.

[21] Richard W. Thomas, *Life for Us Is What We Make It:Building Black Community in Detroit, 1915-1945*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992. 45.

[22] Thomas, *Life for Us Is What We Make It: Building Black Community in Detroit, 1915-1945*, 31.

[23] Hanlon, Kinlick, Nurco, "Heroin Use in the United State", 13.

[24] Hanlon, Kinlick, Nurco, "Heroin Use in the United State", 20; Bakalar and Grinspoon, *Cocaine*, 1971; Hutchinson, *The Mugging of Black America*, 51., Inciardi, Lockwood, Dorothy and Pottieger, *Women and Crack-Cocaine*, 1993., James and Johnson, *Doin' Drugs*, 1996., Spillane, *Cocaine: From Medical Marvel to Modern Menace in the United States, 1884-1920*, 2000., Patricia Turner, *I Heard It Through the Grapevine: Rumor in African American Culture*, University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles,

1993; Michael Cohen, "Jim Crow's Drug War: Race, Coca Cola, and the Southern Origin of Drug Prohibition", Fall 2006.Vol. 12, Iss. 3.
[25] Hutchinsion, *The Mugging of Black America,* 52.
[26] Hutchinson, *The Mugging of black America,* 53.
[27] Spillane, *Cocaine: From Medical Marvel to Modern Menace in the United States, 1884-1920,* 91.
[28] Spillane, *Cocaine: Medical marvel to Modern Menace,* 94, 95.
[29] Inciardi, Lockwood, Pottieger, *Women and Crack-Cocaine,* 68.
[30] Inciardi, Lockwood, Pottieger, *Women and Crack-Cocaine,* 68.
[31] Edwards JM, Halpern CT, Wechsberg WM, "Correlates of exchanging sex for drugs or money among women who use crack cocaine". *Aids Education and Prevention.* 2006. 18; Lam WK, Levine B, Riehman KS, Wechsberg WM, Zule W, "Gender differences in the impact of social support on crack use among African Americans", *Substance Use and Misuse.* 2008. 43.
[32] Edwards JM, Halpern CT, Wechsberg WM, "Correlates of exchanging sex for drugs or money among women who use crack cocaine". 2008.
[33] Tonya Telfair Sharpe, *Behind the Eight Ball: Sex for Crack Cocaine Exchange and Poor Black Women.* New York and Oxford: The Haworth Press, 2005. 15.
[34] Sharpe, *Behind the Eight Ball,* 14.
[35] Sharpe, *Behind the Eightball,* 109.
[36] Sharpe, *Behind the Eightball,* 115, 114.
[37] Sharpe, *Behind the Eightball,* 18.
[38] Inciardi, Lockwood, and Pottieger, *Women and Crack-Cocaine,* 67.
[39] Spillane, *Cocaine: Medical Marvel to Modern Menace,* 98, 94; Bakalar and Grinspoon, *Cocaine,* 39.
[40] Bakalar and Grinspoon, *Cocaine,* 39.
[41] David Musto, "America's First Cocaine Epidemic", Summer 1989, pp. 59-64; Bakalar and Grinspoon, *Cocaine,* 43.
[42] Inciardi, McBride and Surratt, "The Heroin Street Addict: Profiling a National Population", 32.
[43] Sharpe, *Behind the Eight Ball,* 2005.
[44] George Henderson and Grace Ma, *Ethnicity and Substance Abuse: Prevention and Intervention.* Springfield: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 2002. 127, 128.
[45] Henderson and Ma, *Ethnicity and Substance Abuse,* 128.
[46] Henderson and Ma, *Ethnicity and Substance Abuse,* 128; Williams, "Negro Cocaine Fiends, New Southern Menace", Feb. 8, 1914; Spillane, *Cocaine: Medical Marvel to Modern Menace,* 92.
[47] Spillane, *Cocaine: Medical Marvel to Modern Menace,* 92.; Inciardi and McElrath, *The American Drug Scene,* 192.
[48] Cohen, "Jim Crow's Drug War", Fall 2006. Vol. 12, Iss. 3.; Bakalar and Grinspoon, *Cocaine,* 41.
[49] Bakalar and Grinspoon, *Cocaine,* 39; Inciardi and McElrath, *The American Drug Scene,* 192; Spillane, *Cocaine: Medical Marvel to Modern Menace,* 105.
[50] James and Johnson, *Doin' Drugs,* 14, 20, 27.
[51] James and Johnson, *Doin' Drugs,* 27; Sullum, Jacob, "Exorcising the twin demons, guns and drugs", *Voodoo Social Policy.* October, 1994.
[52] James and Johnson, *Doin' Drugs,* 27.
[53] Turner, *I Heard It Through the Grapevine: Rumor in African American Culture.* University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993. 180, 182.
[54] Turner, *I Heard it Through The Grapevine, 182, 183, 186.*
[55] Michael D. Lyman, *Gangland: Drug Trafficking by Organized Criminals,* 1989.
[56] Lewis Yabloski, *Gangsters: Fifty Years of Madness, Drugs, and Death on the Streets of America.* New York: New York University Press, 1997. 99.
[57]Yabloski, *Gangsters: Fifty Years of Madness, Drugs, and Death on the Streets of America,* 200; Ronald C. Huff, Editor, *Gangs in America,* Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1996, and Larry Mays, *Gangs and Gang Behavior,* Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1997.
[58] Lea C.Cunningham, Malcolm W. Klein, and Cheryl L. Maxson, "Crack", Street Gangs, and Violence". Mays, *Gangs and Gang Behavior,* 274, 276, 284; Jeffrey Fagan, "Gangs, Drugs, and Neighborhood Change". *Gangs in America 2nd Edtion.*Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1996.
[59] Fagan, "Gangs, Drugs, and Neighborhood Change", 49, 50.

Bibliography

Bakalar, James B. and Grinspoon, Lester. *Cocaine*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971.

Brown, William and Sheldon, Randall. "The New American Apartheid". *The Black Commentator.* July 15, 2004, Issue 99.

Cohen, Michael. "Jim Crow's Drug War: Race, Coca Cola, and the Southern Origin of Drug Prohibition". *Southern Cultures.* Chapel Hill: Fall 2006. Vol. 12, Iss. 3.

Cunningham, Lea C., Klein, Malcolm W. and Maxson, Cheryl L. "Crack", Street Gangs, and Violence". Mays, Larry G. Editor. *Gangs and Gang Behavior.* Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1997.

Dagbovie, Pero G. *The Early Black History Movement, Carter G. Woodson, and Lorenzo Johnston Greene.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007.

Edwards JM, Halpern CT, Wechsberg WM, "Correlates of exchanging sex for drugs or money among women who use crack cocaine". *Aids Education and Prevention.* 2006.

Fagan, Jeffrey. "Gangs, Drugs, and Neighborhood Change". *Gangs in America 2nd Edtion.* Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1996.

Flanagan, Maureen. *America Reformed: Progressives and Progressivism 1890's-1920's.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Fullilove, Mindy Thompson and Watkins, Beverly Xaviera. "Crack Cocaine and Harlem's Health". Marble, Manning. Editor. *Dispatches from the Ebony Tower.* 2000.

Hanlon, Thomas E., Kinlock, Timothy W., and Nurco, David N. "Heroin Use in the United States: History and Present Developments". *Heroin in the Age of Crack-Cocaine.* London: Sage Publications, 1998.

Henderson, George and Ma, Grace. *Ethnicity and Substance Abuse: Prevention and Intervention.* Springfield: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 2002.

http://www.doitnow.org/

http://www.usdoj.gov/dea/pubs/history/1985-1990.html

Huff, Ronald C. Editor. *Gangs in America 2nd Edtion.* Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1996.

Hutchinson, Earl Ofari. *The Mugging of Black America.* Chicago: African American Images, 1990.

Inciardi, James A., Lockwood, Dorothy and Pottieger, Anne E. *Women and Crack-Cocaine.* Macmillan Publishing Company: New York, 1993.

Inciardi, James A., McBride, Duane C. and Surratt, Hilary L. "The Heroin Street Addict: Profiling a National Population". James A. Inciardi and Lana D. Harrison. Editors. *Heroin in the Age of Crack-Cocaine: Drugs, Health, and Social Policy Series Vol. 6.*Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1998.

Inciardi, James and McElrath, Karen. *The American Drug Scene.* Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Company, 2001.

James, William H. and Johnson, Stephen L. *Doin' Drugs: Patterns of African American Addiction.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.

Kitwana, Bakari. *The Hip Hop Generation: Young Blacks and The Crisis in African American Culture*. New York: Basic *Civitas* Books, 2002.

Lam WK, Levine B, Riehman KS, Wechsberg WM, Zule W, "Gender differences in the impact of social support on crack use among African Americans", *Substance Use and Misuse.* 2008.

Lyman, Michael D. *Gangland: Drug Trafficking by Organized Criminals.* 1989.

Mays, Larry. *Gangs and Gang Behavior.* Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1997.

Mrela, Christopher. "Drug Related Mortality, Arizona, 1985-1995". *Arizona Center for Health Statistics.*

Musto, David. "America's First Cocaine Epidemic". *The Wilson Quarterly.* Summer 1989, pp. 59-64.

Ojeda, Auriana. *Drug Trafficking.* San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, Inc., 2002.

Sharpe, Tonya Telfair. *Behind the Eight Ball: Sex for Crack Cocaine Exchange and Poor Black Women.* New York and Oxford: The Haworth Press, 2005.

Shilts, Randy. "How Crack Cocaine Spreads AIDS". *San Francisco Chronicle,* Feb 13, 1989.

Simonton, Thomas. "The Increase of the Use of Cocaine among Laity in Pittsburg". *Philadelphia Medical Journal.* 1903.

Spillane, Joseph F. *Cocaine: From Medical Marvel to Modern Menace in the United States, 1884-1920.* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

Sullum, Jacob, "Exorcising the twin demons, guns and drugs", *Voodoo Social Policy.* October, 1994.

Thomas, Richard W. *Life for Us Is What We Make It:Building Black Community in Detroit, 1915-1945.* Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992.

Turner, Patricia. *I Heard It Through the Grapevine: Rumor in African American Culture.* University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993.

Williams, Edward. "Negro Cocaine Fiends, New Southern Menace". *New York Times.* Feb. 8, 1914.

Wilson, William Julius. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Yabloski, Lewis. *Gangsters: Fifty Years of Madness, Drugs, and Death on the Streets of America.* New York: New York University Press, 1997.