

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-27680-1 - Trafficking in Drug Users: Professional Exchange Networks in the Control of Deviance

James R. Beniger

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

**The Arnold and Caroline Rose Monograph Series
of the American Sociological Association**

Trafficking in drug users

Control of illegal drug use and abuse requires an elaborate network of organizations and professions: medical, legal, political, educational, and welfare. This book explores the way in which these diverse sectors coordinate the control of deviance in a complex society and how they respond to a sudden widespread increase in deviance spanning many institutional and professional domains.

The latter of these concerns, James Beniger argues, affords us a unique insight into the more general question of societal control. He takes as an example of this phenomenon the dramatic appearance of the “drug problem” in America in the Vietnam war era of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Exploiting this as an approximation of an experimentally induced disruption of society, Professor Beniger examines its impact on the interorganizational and professional networks that together constitute a system for the control of social deviance. His study produces the startling finding that as various rewards – raises in salary, promotions, government funds, media exposure, enhanced status – accrued to the new social problem, many drug specialists gained increasing stake in the very deviance they were professionally charged to control. Societal control of the drug problem became transformed – quite literally – into a trafficking by professionals in young drug users.

Professor Beniger’s study addresses a question at the very center of sociological theory: How does the self-interested control of events at the individual level influence those relationships – represented by exchanges of professional referrals and feedback of related information and advice – required for control at the community level? His analysis draws widely upon information, communication, and control theory, as well as upon the literature on general systems, interpersonal networks, and social exchange. His book is a valuable contribution to sociological theory and methodology, and will also interest professionals concerned with drug abuse.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-27680-1 - Trafficking in Drug Users: Professional Exchange Networks in the Control of Deviance

James R. Beniger

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Other books in the series

- J. Milton Yinger, Kiyoshi Ikeda, Frank Laycock, and Stephen J. Cutler:
Middle Start: An Experiment in the Educational Enrichment of Young Adolescents
- James A. Geschwender: *Class, Race, and Worker Insurgency: The League of Revolutionary Black Workers*
- Paul Ritterband: *Education, Employment, and Migration: Israel in Comparative Perspective*
- John Low-Beer: *Protest and Participation: The New Working Class in Italy*
- Orrin E. Klapp: *Opening and Closing: Strategies of Information Adaptation in Society*
- Rita James Simon: *Continuity and Change: A Study of Two Ethnic Communities in Israel*
- Marshall B. Clinard: *Cities with Little Crime: The Case of Switzerland*
- Steven T. Bossert: *Tasks and Social Relationships in Classrooms: A Study of Instructional Organization and Its Consequences*
- Richard E. Johnson: *Juvenile Delinquency and Its Origins: An Integrated Theoretical Approach*
- David R. Heise: *Understanding Events: Affect and the Construction of Social Action*
- Ida Harper Simpson: *From Student to Nurse: A Longitudinal Study of Socialization*
- Stephen P. Turner: *Sociological Explanation as Translation*
- Janet W. Salaff: *Working Daughters of Hong Kong: Filial Piety or Power in the Family?*
- Joseph Chamie: *Religion and Fertility: Arab Christian–Muslim Differentials*
- William Friedland, Amy Barton, and Robert Thomas: *Manufacturing Green Gold: Capital, Labor, and Technology in the Lettuce Industry*
- Richard N. Adams: *Paradoxical Harvest: Energy and Explanation in British History, 1870–1914*
- Mary F. Rogers: *Sociology, Ethnomethodology, and Experience: A Phenomenological Critique*

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-27680-1 - Trafficking in Drug Users: Professional Exchange Networks in the Control of Deviance

James R. Beniger

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Trafficking in drug users:

Professional exchange networks in the control of deviance

James R. Beniger

Princeton University

Cambridge University Press

Cambridge

London New York New Rochelle

Melbourne Sydney

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-27680-1 - Trafficking in Drug Users: Professional Exchange Networks in the Control of Deviance

James R. Beniger

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521276801

© Cambridge University Press 1983

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1983

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data

Beniger, James R. (James Ralph), 1946–

Trafficking in drug users.

(The Arnold and Caroline Rose monograph series of the American Sociological Association)

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

1. Drug abuse counseling – United States – Case studies.
 2. Deviant behavior. 3. Youth – United States – Drug use.
 4. Social structure – United States. 5. Social control.
- I. Title. II. Series. [DNLM: 1. Social control, Formal.
2. Social control, Informal. 3. Substance abuse – Prevention and control – United States. WM 270 B4675t]
HV5825.B44 1983 362.2'9386'0973 83–5251

ISBN 978-0-521-25753-4 Hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-27680-1 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate. Information regarding prices, travel timetables, and other factual information given in this work is correct at the time of first printing but Cambridge University Press does not guarantee the accuracy of such information thereafter.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-27680-1 - Trafficking in Drug Users: Professional Exchange Networks in the Control of Deviance

James R. Beniger

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

Acknowledgments	<i>page</i>	vii
Introduction		1
1 The emergence of the “drug problem”: social change versus social control		7
The impact on organizational control systems		8
The drug problem as an ideal case study		10
First approximations: the mass-media perception		11
Social indicators of the drug problem		16
The government response: resource shifts		22
Summary		29
2 Control systems from exchange in networks: toward a synthesis of system and action theory		31
The purposive-action perspective		32
The autonomous-system perspective		34
System and action theory		37
Comparing the two approaches on change and control		40
Toward a method		43
A synthetic model: interpersonal exchanges as system flows		45
Generalized media of exchange		49
Summary		53
3 Stratification in information and referral exchange		56
Exchange and stratification: three propositions		58
The data set		60
Proposition 3.1: exchange and status		62
Proposition 3.2: opposite flows		68
Proposition 3.3: the stratification of professions		73
		v

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-27680-1 - Trafficking in Drug Users: Professional Exchange Networks in the Control of Deviance

James R. Beniger

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

vi	<i>Contents</i>	
	The validation of the exchange hierarchy	85
	Summary	91
4	Exchange relationships in social-control systems	93
	Exchange and control systems: three propositions	95
	Proposition 4.1: identifying individual sectors	99
	Proposition 4.2: the facilitating component	104
	Measuring specialization: knowledge, media, contacts	110
	The arrangement of sectors – first approximations	117
	Proposition 4.3: the social-control system	120
	Testing the control-system model	129
	Summary	131
5	The social system: boundary maintenance and hierarchical control	139
	Four simultaneous flows	140
	Stratification and boundary maintenance	142
	A statistical test	144
	The control-system model	150
	Testing the model	152
	Summary	156
6	Summary: the control system in context	158
	Steps in the control of change	159
	The control system in equilibrium	162
	The empirical evidence	165
	Toward a methodology of control systems	168
	Other applications	169
	The system–action synthesis	172
	Appendix A The data set	175
	Appendix B Subgroup sampling and estimated-density spaces (EDS)	183
	Notes	194
	Bibliography	205
	Name index	215
	Subject index	218

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-27680-1 - Trafficking in Drug Users: Professional Exchange Networks in the Control of Deviance

James R. Beniger

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

Work on this monograph began in autumn 1974, soon after I – as a post-graduates graduate student in sociology and statistics at the University of California at Berkeley – accepted a position as research associate at the Bureau of Social Science Research in Washington, D.C. The survey of drug professionals that provides much of the empirical basis for my study was then in the analysis stage at BSSR. Michael Crotty, a member of the BSSR staff, asked for my opinions on the 48 directed-flow items discussed here in Appendix B. I soon realized that these data would enable me to test theoretical ideas about social-control systems, interpersonal networks, and exchange that – though far removed from the survey initiated by the National Institute of Mental Health – were nonetheless central to my plans for a doctoral dissertation. In autumn 1975 I returned to Berkeley to pursue the possibilities with my professors.

I am grateful to Albert Gollin, principal investigator on the drug survey, and especially to Carol Sosdian, one of his research assistants, for introducing me to the project's records and materials. The report by Dr. Gollin and Barry Feinberg (1975) provided much background information on the conduct of the survey. I am also grateful to Robert Bower, BSSR director, and to Louise Richards, the federal contract officer, for their kind permission to begin analyzing these data at Berkeley even before the final report was completed. Above all, I am grateful to Albert D. Biderman, associate director at BSSR, for his unswerving support – even from the other side of the country. I am proud to have worked with such a fine social scientist and intellectual as Al Biderman and to acknowledge as among my most important teachers this man who has not chosen the classroom as his profession.

Among the many Berkeley teachers who have helped me, I am most indebted to Neil Smelser and Art Stinchcombe, who between them seemed – at least to an impressionable young graduate student – to know everything. I would like to think that each of their distinctly different approaches to social research is well represented in my work. I am also especially grateful to

vii

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-27680-1 - Trafficking in Drug Users: Professional Exchange Networks in the Control of Deviance

James R. Beniger

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

viii *Acknowledgments*

Charlie Glock, who gave me a home at Berkeley's Survey Research Center and whose limitless time and patience in introductory methods pointed me in a better direction than I ever intended to go.

The Survey Research Center provided me for five years with as warm and supportive a home as any graduate student could expect. I am especially grateful to Bill Nicholls, the executive director and my boss at SRC; most of what little I know about survey research is due to years spent at his elbow. Others at SRC who helped me with my work include Merrill Shanks, the SRC director, and Margaret Baker, Charlotte Coleman, Karen Olson, Judy Roizen, and Harvey Weinstein of the SRC staff.

That I managed to get through the master's degree program in Berkeley's Statistics Department in preparation for this project was due largely to the efforts of two fine people, Henry Scheffe and Elizabeth Scott. What statistical tools I have managed to bring to the analysis here are also due to several other good teachers: David Brillinger, Steve Casey, Kjell Doksum, and Roger Purves.

Although it is not usual in acknowledgments to cite one's intellectual debts to teachers known mostly through their written work, such people have played an important role in the development of this monograph. In information and control-systems theory, which has interested me since my undergraduate days at Harvard, I was particularly influenced by the popular books of Shannon and Weaver (1949) and Norbert Wiener (1948). The input-output models of Leontief, the book by Ekeh (1974) on social-exchange theory, and the work on the small-world problem and social networks by Mark Granovetter, Stanley Milgram, and Harrison White have helped to guide my thinking relevant to this monograph.

During an early stage of its writing, I profited from invitations to speak about my ideas at eight excellent departments of sociology, those at Chicago, Cornell, Harvard, Indiana, North Carolina, Princeton, Wisconsin, and Yale. Discussions and subsequent correspondence with various faculty and students of these departments greatly influenced my work during perhaps its most formative period. I regret that space does not permit individual acknowledgment of my many debts to these individuals.

In my five years of teaching here at Princeton, during which time this manuscript was completed and extensively rewritten, I owe particular thanks to my chairman, Marvin Bressler, for his gentle prodding, advice, and patience. Another Princeton colleague, Suzanne Keller, has provided many helpful comments on the final draft in her role as Rose Monograph Series editor.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-27680-1 - Trafficking in Drug Users: Professional Exchange Networks in the Control of Deviance

James R. Beniger

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

ix

To the previous Rose Monograph editor, Robin Williams, who is responsible for the acceptance of this work by the series, I want to pay special tribute. Professor Williams managed to find merit in work that I had buried in a horribly organized and tedious manuscript of almost half again the length here. Few editors would have had Professor Williams's patience in waiting out my revisions over the past two years; my only hope is that the final product in some part repays his confidence in me.

For intellectual stimulation and comfort, which served in equal parts as encouragement, distraction, and assistance, I am indebted to two special friends, Dorothy Robyn and Susan Cotts Watkins. Another friend, John French, who knows as much about drugs and the professional drug community as anyone I have met, has taught me a great deal that has proved useful to this study.

Finally, to my parents, Ralph and Charlotte Beniger, for providing a comfortable refuge in which to rework my manuscript, and for countless other lasting contributions during the previous thirty years, this work is dedicated. My sister, Linda York, and a family friend, Henry Zabel, deserve thanks for their interest and assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

This research was funded in part by predoctoral fellowship 1 F31 DA 05082-01, awarded by the National Institute on Drug Abuse.

Princeton, N.J.

James R. Beniger