An Examination of the Relationship between Drugs and Crime in the Midwest

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Jeffrey B. Stamm
Executive Director,
Midwest High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area
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Introduction

The Midwest HIDTA Region

The Midwest HIDTA consists of 57 law enforcement initiatives whose primary mission is to disrupt and dismantle drug trafficking organizations. The Midwest HIDTA’s seven-state area of responsibility consists of Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Rock Island County, Illinois. The region spans over 428,000 square miles, encompasses 71 HIDTA-designated counties, and is considered the largest of the Office of National Drug Control Policy’s 29 HIDTA regions. It is as varied as it is vast, and incorporates major urban cities, separated by suburban sprawl and rural bucolic settings. Within the Midwest HIDTA are more than 4,300 miles of interstate highways and an international border stretching over 300 miles. Its central location and intertwining roadways make the Midwest region ideal for drug trafficking organizations (DTOs) and criminal entrepreneurs intent on transporting drugs into or through to other destinations.

Purpose

The purpose of this report is to examine the relationship between drug use, drug trafficking, and crime so that the Midwest HIDTA may inform its Executive Board, law enforcement partners, policy makers, and the general public of the nexus between illicit drugs and crime. This report will utilize federal, state, and local data in order to determine the tangible effects of drugs on society. The methodology of this assessment includes modern academic research, Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiative data, federal justice statistics, state-level incarceration data, and Midwestern drug trends. This report was prepared by the Midwest HIDTA’s strategic intelligence unit as an informational product. The findings and conclusion of this report are not intended to disrupt or criticize current federal or state laws and/or policies.
Executive Summary

Overview

The relationship between drug use, drug trafficking, and crime is complex, but irrefutable. The transportation, distribution, and abuse of illicit drugs impact nearly every aspect of society. The consequences of illicit drug use have shaped many of the social, judicial, and economic policies in place today. Crime is not a unitary phenomenon, rather, crime is directly dependent upon numerous factors, including economic health, political climate, social demographics, and policing strategies. Although drugs are but a single factor contributing to crime in the United States, few would refute the role that illicit drugs play as a principal driver of crime in our communities and society.

Key Findings

Using information gathered from modern academic research, drug market trends, substance abuse statistics, law enforcement agencies, and Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives, this report asserts that:

- Methamphetamine is the primary drug threat to the Midwest due to its overwhelming availability, high rate of use, and nexus of violence and other criminal activity.
- Nearly two-thirds of the region’s property crime and violent crime is attributable to drug use and drug trafficking.
- More than 40 percent of the region’s homicides are attributable to drug use and/or trafficking.
- More than half of all known offenders were under the influence of drugs during the perpetration of their offense.
- Drug-related arrests accounted for 16 percent of all arrests within the Midwest HIDTA in 2018, which increased from 13 percent in 2014.
- Forty percent of offenders arrested for a drug crime were also arrested for a weapons violation.
- Midwest HIDTA drug control initiatives identified 626 DTOs operating within the region in 2019.
  - Thirty-seven percent of all identified DTOs were determined to be violent.
- The Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring Program found that the use of illegal drugs is more prevalent among criminal arrestees than the general population.⁴
- With more than 70,000 deaths from drug overdoses across the country in 2017, drug trafficking has rightfully been called the “most murderous criminal activity in the history of the United States” (Walters, 2017).²

The negative consequences of illicit drugs affect not only the individuals who abuse them, but also entire communities, businesses, and government resources. Increased drug availability is associated with increased drug use;⁴ therefore, only through increased supply reduction efforts will we measurably reduce drug-related crime and violence in the United States.
Drugs and Crime: A Historical Perspective

Drug-related crime is one of the most intractable social problems of the modern era. It is illegal to manufacture, distribute, or possess controlled substances, whether it be illicit drugs or possessing a legally prescribed drug for illicit purposes, in the United States (U.S). This applies to both illicit drugs and the illicit use of legal drugs. The Controlled Substances Act categorizes all substances which were regulated under existing federal law into one of five schedules. Each substance’s medical use, safety, potential for abuse, and risk for dependence are taken into account before placement into a scheduling class. Drugs considered to have a high potential for abuse, little to no accepted medical use, and a lack of accepted safety (e.g. heroin, LSD, cocaine, methamphetamine) are placed in the Schedule I and II categories. Abusers of illicit drugs obtain and consume these substances outside of legal channels and, consequently, are more likely to be linked to crime and criminal violence.

Drug use aside, a host of criminal activity is centered on the supply and transportation of illicit drugs. In 2017, U.S.-based think tank Global Financial Integrity estimated that the global drug trafficking market had a value of between $426 and $652 billion annually. The RAND Corporation estimated that the U.S. drug market for the top four illicit drugs (cocaine, heroin, marijuana, and methamphetamine) was worth approximately $150 billion in 2016. These values are likely much higher in 2019, with cocaine, marijuana, methamphetamine, and opium production at record highs. Many individuals involved in the cultivation, manufacture, and transportation of drugs to the end market are affiliated with cartels, paramilitary groups, gangs, or other criminal organizations.

Substantial debate surrounds the dynamic of the drugs-crime relationship. Although the association between drug use and crime is challenging to prove—as many offenses associated with drug use go unreported—very few would dispute that illicit drug production, trafficking, and use yield an assortment of criminal offenses. The idea that drug users only commit crimes to buy drugs is erroneous; rather, the interrelationship of drugs and crime largely reflects the drug user’s choices. Regardless, drugs and crime are directly correlated and intense drug use can intensify and perpetuate preexisting criminal activity.

^ Much of how we think about crime comes from Paul Goldstein’s tripartite framework, which was originally proposed to serve as a basis for comprehending and explaining the connection between drugs and crime.
Drug Threats to the Midwest

Overview

The use and trafficking of drugs across the Midwest poses significant threats to public health and safety. These activities are a driving force of both violent and property crimes. The Midwest HIDTA evaluated the threat posed by each drug type in order to determine a ranking of drug threats by considering the nexus of the drug type to violent and property crimes. The evaluation was comprised of survey responses from the Midwest HIDTA’s annual Law Enforcement Threat Assessment Survey (LES), as well as other information collected from law enforcement initiatives.

Methamphetamine

Methamphetamine is the second-most available and most abused drug in the Midwest HIDTA. Using information from our law enforcement and public health partners, the Midwest HIDTA determined that methamphetamine is the primary drug threat to the region. Methamphetamine was reported as the main contributor to violent crime by the majority (84 percent) of law enforcement initiatives across the Midwest.8

Availability and Use

Methamphetamine availability in the Midwest HIDTA is higher than any other drug type and its use was rivaled only by marijuana. According to the 2016 and 2017 National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH), 0.77% of those aged 12 or older used methamphetamine in the past year.8 Methamphetamine use was most common among those aged 18-25.9

The supply of methamphetamine remains high, which is corroborated by data published by the Midwest HIDTA, the El Paso Intelligence Center (EPIC), and the U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP). According to the Midwest HIDTA Performance Management Process (PMP), Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives removed 3,642 kilograms of methamphetamine from the marketplace in 2019, a 90 percent increase from the previous year.10 EPIC reports that 55,184 kilograms of methamphetamine were seized at U.S. Ports of Entry in 2019. In comparison, 49,338 kilograms of methamphetamine were seized at U.S. Ports of Entry along the U.S.-Mexico border in 2018 and 32,247 kilograms were seized in 2017.12 Nationwide drug seizure data taken from the CBP’s Office of Field Operations claimed more than 68,000 pounds of methamphetamine had been seized in FY 2019, a 19 percent increase from 2018.13 Both EPIC and CBP data represent a substantial increase in the amount of methamphetamine being trafficked into the U.S. over the past several years.

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8 This section will describe violent crime as the LES did not have a question to specifically address property crime.
9 Data collected from EPIC on January 7, 2020.
Contribution to Crime

As the act of drug trafficking itself is inherently violent\(^d\), the sheer demand for and quantity of methamphetamine in the Midwest region likely constitutes a higher percentage of crime than other drug types. Production and trafficking aside, multiple studies have analyzed the relationship between methamphetamine use and violent behavior and determined that heavy users were more likely to engage in violent activity than non-users.\(^{14, 15}\) This may be due to several of the drug’s side effects, which include paranoia, visual and auditory hallucinations, and delusions.\(^{16}\) Individuals addicted to methamphetamine may commit various crimes in an effort to finance their lifestyle.

\(^d\) See “Drug Trafficking & Related Crime” for an explanation on the inherent violence associated with drug trafficking.
Marijuana

Marijuana is both highly available and highly abused throughout the Midwest. Our drug control initiatives report that marijuana is one of the primary contributors to violent crime. Historically, marijuana was grown clandestinely in localized plots of land and shipped in from Mexico. Accompanying acts of violence from its origin to its distribution did occur, though not to the extent now seen in the legalization era of marijuana in the U.S.

Availability and Use

The supply of marijuana and THC-containing products remains high, with Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives seizing 14,440 kilograms in 2019. EPIC reported that 181,282 kilograms of marijuana were seized at U.S. ports of entry in 2019. Nationwide drug seizure data taken from the CBP’s Office of Field Operations claimed that 289,529 pounds of marijuana had been seized in FY 2019, on par with 2018 amounts. According to 2019 data from the Domestic Highway Enforcement program, the vast majority (82 percent) of marijuana seized within the Midwest HIDTA originates from states with either a “recreational” or “medical” marijuana program. Coinciding with relaxed marijuana restrictions in the U.S., the majority of illicit marijuana is now sourced from western states rather than Mexico.

Marijuana had a higher level of past-year use among those aged 12 and older than any other drug within the Midwest HIDTA. According to the NSDUH, marijuana use was highest among those aged 18-25, although marijuana was still the most frequently used drug within every age group. This information is corroborated with data from the 2019 Midwest HIDTA Public Health Survey (PHS). The implementation of “recreational” marijuana in Illinois, as well as “medical” marijuana in Missouri and North Dakota will increase the availability of marijuana in the region. This will likely contribute to a high level of marijuana use among all ages groups. California, Colorado, Oregon, and Washington all experienced an increase in marijuana use among all ages following the proliferation of “medical” marijuana dispensaries; there are no significant reasons as to why the Midwest would not follow suit.

Contribution to Crime

Contrary to public opinion, there is a significant level of crime and violence surrounding marijuana. The increasing potency of THC in marijuana flower, as well as the development of edibles, tinctures, and vaporizable products such as waxes and oils, has established a fiercely competitive international environment where criminal organizations strive to increase their share of the market by any means necessary. The diversion of marijuana from “legal” states, such as California and Colorado, saturates illicit marijuana markets in states without marijuana legalization. The Midwest’s close proximity to Colorado has resulted in an elevated supply of high-potency marijuana, the consequence of which leads DTOs and gangs to aggressively compete against one another for distribution rights. Competition among DTOs can be observed in several metropolitan areas throughout the Midwest.

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\(\text{E Data collected from EPIC on January 7, 2020.}\)
with law enforcement in the region reporting an increase in marijuana-related violence, primarily from drug “rip offs.” This is especially evident in Kansas City, where the U.S. Attorney's Office for the Western District of Missouri asserts that the number of homicides related to marijuana trafficking have increased in Kansas City.

Marijuana has been found to contribute to an assortment of property crime, even in areas with state-sanctioned marijuana programs. A study highlighted by the National Institutes of Health demonstrated that the density of marijuana dispensaries was linked to increased property crimes in spatially adjacent areas. According to the study, which examined whether changes in the density of marijuana dispensaries were related to marijuana-specific crimes in Denver, Colorado, researchers found that neighborhoods near marijuana dispensaries experienced 85 more property crime incidents each year than neighborhoods without a dispensary nearby.

The high potency of today’s marijuana and marijuana-infused products can have significant adverse effects on users. The average marijuana extract contains more than 50 percent THC, with many extracts exceeding 80 percent. Frequent marijuana use has been associated with a higher risk of psychosis, particularly those with pre-existing mental illnesses or other underlying medical conditions. In fact, a recent study published in March 2019 found that high-potency marijuana may increase users’ propensity to experience a psychotic episode. Psychosis and psychotic episodes not only endanger the individual who experiences them, but public safety officers and the general public as well.

Marijuana may contribute to crime in ways that are more difficult to measure, at least directly. According to the 2013 and 2014 NSDUH, 92 percent of heroin or prescription painkiller users first used marijuana in previous years. The high availability of marijuana and its ability to prime the brain for enhanced responses to other drugs increases a user’s likelihood to experiment with other, more dangerous drugs. In effect, marijuana use may initiate a series of events which lead users down a path towards criminality that too often accompanies a drug-infused lifestyle.
Heroin and Synthetic Opioids

Midwest HIDTA initiatives report that heroin and synthetic opioids are a major contributor to crime and violence in the region. Mexican transcontinental criminal organizations, unanimously known for their corrupting and violent criminality, are the primary suppliers of fentanyl to the U.S. The high levels of availability, distribution, and overdose associated with heroin and synthetic opioids contribute to their standing.

Availability and Use

The availability of heroin/synthetic opioids remains high in a majority of the region, as stated by 53% of Midwest HIDTA drug control initiatives. According to EPIC, 2,087 kilograms of heroin were seized from U.S. Ports of Entry along the Southwest Border (SWB) in 2019. 29 F This is similar to the amount of heroin seized in 2018. 30 Nationwide drug seizure data taken from the CBP’s Office of Field Operations claimed more than 5,400 pounds of heroin had been seized in FY 2019, a four percent increase from 2018. 31 More than 1,149 pounds of fentanyl had been seized in FY 2019, a 78 percent increase from 2018. 32 Seizures of heroin by Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives were notably higher in 2019 than previous years, indicating an increase in the regional supply. Additionally, Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives seized 126 kilograms of fentanyl in 2019; higher than all prior years combined. 33

In accordance with the opioid epidemic of recent years, the Midwest has experienced a rise in heroin and synthetic opioid use. Many recreational opioid users and opioid-dependent individuals ultimately lose access to prescription opioids and attempt to feed their habit by turning to alternative drugs like heroin and fentanyl. Obtaining heroin and fentanyl is now easier as Mexican DTOs flood the U.S. market with their increased supply. Additionally, the rise of drug trafficking on the “darknet” allows consumers to anonymously purchase high-purity opioids directly from overseas suppliers, driving new initiates to experiment with heroin and opioids daily.

Contribution to Crime

Heroin and synthetic opioids are highly addictive drugs which cost society more than $500 billion each year. 34 Heroin and synthetic opioid trafficking, from source country to destination, receives some of the highest markups when exported. This adds to the level of crime and violence surrounding heroin and synthetic opioids as rival trafficking organizations compete for a larger portion of the market share. In the Midwest, Mexico-based DTOs dominate the heroin and fentanyl market by controlling the supply, transportation, and distribution. Mexican DTOs maintain control over the SWB smuggling routes and cooperate with U.S. based street gangs and other domestic DTOs to facilitate the distribution of these drugs at the regional and local levels. 35

Research has demonstrated that frequent users of expensive illegal drugs, such as heroin, are more likely to experience a sudden need for additional income than frequent users of less expensive

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F Data collected from EPIC on January 7, 2020.
Researchers explain that, because of the high cost of an expensive drug habit, users of expensive drugs are more likely to commit economic crime than users of less expensive drugs. A 2017 study from the Pennsylvania State University’s Department of Sociology and Criminology found that, of the drug trafficking crimes committed by offenders seeking money for drugs, those trafficking heroin were found to be the most common.

Drug overdose deaths are not “victimless” crimes, particularly because each illicit drug overdose death is preceded by a drug distribution crime. Heroin and synthetic opioid-related overdose deaths represent a significant portion of the total drug overdose deaths in both the U.S. and the Midwest HIDTA. The average drug overdose mortality rate for the Midwest HIDTA is 12.1 deaths per 100,000; a 68 percent increase since 2007. The majority (55 percent) of overdose deaths within the Midwest HIDTA were attributable to opioids, most notably, the abuse of heroin and the synthetic opioid fentanyl.
Cocaine

The transportation, distribution, and use of cocaine has long been a leading contributor to street crimes and social decay in the U.S., as well as a catalyst for chaos and crisis in source and transit countries. The relative stability of cocaine demand over time has solidified its position as a chief drug used to finance narcoterrorism. The past several years of record-setting cocaine production in South America have resulted in increased seizures of cocaine both at the U.S. border and on U.S. interstates. There is little doubt that the increase in supply will escalate crime and violence in the region.

Availability and Use

Cocaine is moderately available across the Midwest, although larger metropolitan areas typically describe higher levels of availability than rural areas. The supply of cocaine nationwide increased significantly in 2019, according to data from EPIC and CBP. Nearly 8,500 kilograms of cocaine was seized at U.S. Ports of Entry along the SWB in 2019, according to the most recent data from EPIC. Data taken from the CBP’s Office of Field Operations stated that 89,207 pounds of cocaine were seized in FY 2019, a 73 percent increase from 2018.41 Midwest HIDTA drug control initiatives seized 236 kilograms of cocaine in 2019.42 The majority of the Midwest HIDTA’s public health partners claim that cocaine is primarily abused by individuals aged 18 and older.43

Contribution to Crime

Crime and violence surround cocaine just as with methamphetamine, marijuana, and heroin. The immense profits that result from the cocaine trade have corrupted government officials, law enforcement officers, and political systems from the source to destination countries. These disruptions negatively affect the lives of millions of people. Historically, DTOs have capitalized on the high retail value of cocaine in the U.S. as an effective means to finance narcoterrorism practices used to further their organizations abroad. Fierce competition for prime drug trafficking corridors among rival DTOs often results in the deaths of not only DTO members, but also civilians caught in the crossfire. As for the users themselves, cocaine is a powerful stimulant known to cause restlessness, irritability, anxiety, panic, and paranoia. These side effects, coupled with the intense and sudden energy experienced by cocaine users represents a significant risk for violent encounters with bystanders and first responders. Those who abuse cocaine are more likely to commit economic crimes (e.g. burglary, robbery, fraud) to offset its high price and to continue their drug use.43 This is especially true for users who are no longer able to self-finance their addictions.

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Data collected from EPIC on January 7, 2020.

This information was gathered from the 2019 Midwest HIDTA PHS.
Controlled Prescription Drugs

Controlled prescription drugs (CPDs) are a lesser threat than in previous years with the rise of heroin and synthetic opioids, although CPDs are still of significant concern. Nearly all Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives reported CPD availability as moderate or high in their area of responsibility (AOR) and the majority reported at least some level of diversion. Their legal, although controlled, status results in high availability rates across the region and remains a driving force for both heroin and fentanyl use.

Availability and Use

CPDs are abused by every age group across the Midwest, although adults aged 26 and older are considered to have the highest level of use. According to the most recent NSDUH data, past-year CPD use within the Midwest HIDTA is slightly above the national average. The diversion and use of opioid-based CPDs are greater than any other CPD type. Sedatives, such as Xanax and Valium, are the second most diverted and abused CPD type. According to Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives, the most common methods of diversion for CPDs are “doctor shopping”, prescription fraud, and theft from family and friends. According to data from EPIC, nearly 262 kilograms of CPDs were seized along U.S. Ports of Entry in 2019. Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives seized more than 93,000 dosage units of CPDs in 2019, significantly more than the 13,500 dosage units seized in 2018.

Contribution to Crime

Legitimate CPDs generally have a high retail value when sold illegally. Depending on the type of CPD and the milligram of the pill, a single pill in the Midwest HIDTA costs between $1 and $40. The high market value of CPDs drives many users and distributors to burglarize, rob, or steal in order to obtain these drugs. In order to accurately track CPDs reported as lost or stolen, the Drug Enforcement Administration’s (DEA) Office of Diversion maintains a database including armed robbery, night break-in, employee pilferage, and customer theft incidents reported by registered pharmacies. Figure 1 illustrates the most common forms of CPD loss in the Midwest HIDTA over the past five years. In 2018, the most common form of CPD loss was employee pilferage, followed closely by night break-ins. The quantities of stolen CPDs in the drug theft losses reported to DEA represent a small fraction of the total diverted CPDs in circulation within the Midwest HIDTA. The actual level of CPDs traded on the region’s black market are likely much higher.

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1 This information was gathered from the 2019 Midwest HIDTA PHS.
Figure 1: Drug Theft Losses Reported to the DEA, 2018

Drug Theft Losses Reported to the DEA, 2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Break-in/Burglary</th>
<th>Employee Pilferage</th>
<th>Robbery</th>
<th>Customer Theft</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>47</td>
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<td>2016</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DEA Office of Diversion
New Psychoactive Substances

Although not considered a major threat to the Midwest, new psychoactive substances (NPS) have been known to cause violent, erratic behavior. Synthetic cannabinoids (e.g. AB-PINACA), synthetic cathinones (e.g. alpha-PVP), and synthetic phenethylamines (e.g. 25I-NBOMe) all mimic the effects of established illicit drugs, but are often accompanied by unpredictable side effects. Some of these side effects are dangerous to both the user and those around them. Although NPS users engage in a variety of crime types, they are most commonly attributed with violent and bizarre behaviors.

Availability and Use

Although not as prevalent as they once were, NPSs are moderately available and remain a threat to the region. Both the availability and use of NPSs are low in the region and are primarily abused by young adults. Many types of NPSs are sold over the internet and in convenience stores around the Midwest. These products are often mislabeled and marketed by manufacturers as plant food, glass cleaner, or incense. According to the PMP, nearly 11 kilograms of synthetic cannabinoids and 61 kilograms of cathinones (Khat) were seized in 2019.47

Contribution to Crime

Synthetic cannabinoids are similar to THC, but their behavioral effects are much more unpredictable. These effects include anxiety, paranoia, aggression, and hallucinations; all of which are known to increase an individual’s propensity for violence. 48 Case reports have chronicled aggressive behavior following the consumption of synthetic cannabinoids, which suggests that these chemicals may affect neural pathways in a way similar to individuals diagnosed with psychosis.49

Synthetic cathinones produce desired effects that are similar to cocaine and “ecstasy” (MDMA). Drugs in this class can also produce a number of undesirable side effects such as paranoia, hallucination, and excited delirium, which pose a danger to both the user and those around them.50 A report from the U.S. Department of Justice found that individuals under the influence of synthetic cathinones are susceptible to violent behavior and have caused harm and death to themselves and others.51

Synthetic phenethylamines are stimulant and hallucinogenic substances that bear similar chemical structures to amphetamines, cathinones, and other drugs. Synthetic phenethylamines are similar to synthetic cathinones in that they may cause hallucinations, agitation, aggression, and violence. Very little research has been conducted on synthetic phenethylamines, although there have been several deaths associated with the ingestion of phenethylamines and instances of aggression and violent behavior have been reported in the media.52
Other Dangerous Drugs

A variety of other dangerous drugs (ODDs) are abused across the Midwest. They pose a dynamic threat, as new formulations and analogues are discovered often. Phencyclidine (PCP), 3,4-Methylenedioxyamphetamine (MDMA), and gamma-hydroxybutyric acid (GHB) have wide-ranging side effects that can affect the user in a variety of ways.

Availability and Use

ODDs are considered to have moderate levels of availability and use throughout the Midwest HIDTA, although recent reports suggest that PCP use has risen. Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives seized 1.2 kilograms of PCP in 2019. Of the other synthetic drugs trafficked throughout the Midwest, drug control initiatives seized 3,270 dosage units of ketamine, 3,316 dosage units of LSD, 2.6 kilograms of MDMA, and 10 kilograms of psilocybin mushrooms in 2019. According to the majority (77%) of the Midwest HIDTA’s public health partners, synthetic drugs are primarily abused by individuals aged 18-25. This general grouping of psychoactive drugs tend to be abused by teens and young adults at bars, parties, nightclubs, and concerts.

Contribution to Crime

PCP is an illegal drug that was found to repeatedly cause agitation, aggression, mania, and hallucinations in users. As psychiatric effects vary widely, PCP usage is considered dangerous and has been linked to violent actions, psychosis, and accidental death. In clinical studies, over 50% of adult patients under the influence of PCP exhibited violent behavior. This behavior has resulted in both severe injury and death to the user and surrounding individuals. Because of this, PCP usage represents a significant danger to both law enforcement and the public. Many of the calls for service to the Kansas City, Missouri Police Department (KCPD) involve PCP, according to a KCPD public relations specialist. Further evidence from Kansas City-based law enforcement initiatives suggests the frequency of police encounters with individuals suspected of being under the influence of PCP is increasing. A spokesman from the National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse stated that PCP usage tends to resurface in the St. Louis area every few years. St. Louis retains a small base of PCP users that tend to grasp the attention of the media on occasion by means of their bizarre and often violent behavior while under the drug’s influence.

Other synthetic drugs such as GHB and MDMA also contribute to crimes, though differently than PCP. GHB and other sedatives are often used as “date rape” drugs to inhibit a person’s ability to fend off sexual assault. GHB has been used in this way for decades as it can be clandestinely administered via a colorless and odorless liquid or powder. MDMA users were found to be at significantly greater odds of participating in violent and non-violent crime than non-MDMA users. While both GHB and MDMA-related crime likely occur within the Midwest HIDTA, there is insufficient data to assess the magnitude at which it occurs.

This information was gathered from the 2019 Midwest HIDTA PHS.
Crime Within the Midwest HIDTA

Most criminal offenses belong to one of three categories: crimes against persons, crimes against property, and crimes against society. The rate of change for both crimes against persons and crimes against society increased between 2014 and 2018 across the Midwest HIDTA. Drug-related arrests accounted for 16 percent of all arrests within the Midwest HIDTA in 2018. This percentage increased from 2014, where drug-related arrests accounted for 13 percent of total arrests. While drugs are not associated with all criminal activity in the region, they do accompany a significant portion of offenses. Data collected from Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives indicated that more than half of the region’s property and violent crime is attributable to drug use and/or drug trafficking. Nearly half of the region’s homicides are attributable to drug use and/or trafficking. More than half of all known offenders were under the influence of drugs during the perpetration of their offense. More than one-third of offenders arrested for a drug crime were also arrested for a weapons violation. These statistics all demonstrate an unassailable connection between drug use, drug trafficking, and criminal activity.

Crimes Against Persons

Crimes against persons (e.g., murder, rape, assault) are crimes in which the victims are always individuals. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s (FBI) National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS), the rate of crimes against persons within the Midwest HIDTA increased seven percent between 2014 and 2018. During the same time period, the rate of arrests for crimes against persons decreased by 22 percent within the Midwest HIDTA, according to state information from the FBI’s Uniform Crime Reporting Program (UCR)\(^K\).

Figure 2: Crimes Against Persons Offenses by State: 2014 – 2018

K Arrest information from the UCR was used in place of NIBRS for this section because state-level arrest data is not available from NIBRS.
Offenses

- Homicide offenses in the Midwest HIDTA increased by 48 percent between 2014 and 2018; from 266 incidents to 393.\(^\text{1}\)
  - Missouri saw the greatest increase (101 percent) in homicide offenses, from 91 in 2014 to 183 in 2018.

- Forcible sex offenses increased 20 percent in the Midwest HIDTA between 2014 and 2018, from 6,539 to 7,815.
  - Missouri reported the greatest increase (63 percent) in forcible sex offenses, from 752 in 2014 to 1,228 in 2018.

- Kidnapping and abduction offenses increased 26 percent in the Midwest HIDTA between 2014 and 2018, from 1,452 to 1,831.
  - Missouri experienced the greatest increase (161 percent) in kidnappings and abductions, from 77 in 2014 to 202 in 2018.

- The number of assault offenses in the Midwest HIDTA increased six percent between 2014 and 2018, from 99,310 to 105,223.
  - Missouri reported the greatest increase (50 percent) in assault offenses during the five-year period, from 15,096 in 2014 to 22,683 in 2018.

Arrests

- The number of murder and non-negligent manslaughter arrests in the Midwest HIDTA increased 21 percent between 2014 and 2018; from 355 to 491.
  - Missouri reported the greatest increase (49 percent) in murder and non-negligent manslaughter arrests, from 248 in 2014 to 369 in 2018.

- Arrests for rape decreased four percent in the Midwest HIDTA between 2014 and 2018, from 889 to 853.
  - Nebraska saw the greatest increase (47 percent) in arrests for rape, from 145 in 2014 to 213 in 2018.

- Aggravated assault arrests decreased 14 percent in the Midwest HIDTA between 2014 and 2018, from 11,325 to 9,726.
  - North Dakota reported the greatest increase in aggravated assault arrests during this time, from 489 to 604.

\(^\text{1}\) According to NIBRS, homicide includes murder and non-negligent manslaughter, negligent manslaughter, and justifiable homicide.
Crimes Against Property

Crimes against property (e.g., robbery, burglary, larceny) are committed to obtain money, property, or other benefits. According to NIBRS, the rate of crimes against property within the Midwest HIDTA decreased six percent between 2014 and 2018. Despite the overall decrease in the region’s total property crime rate during this time, both Missouri and Nebraska saw increases in excess of 20 percent.

Figure 3: Crimes Against Property by State: 2014 – 2018

Offenses

- Robberies decreased five percent across the Midwest HIDTA between 2014 and 2018, from 4,038 to 3,838. With the exception of Iowa and North Dakota, all other states in the Midwest HIDTA experienced an increase in robberies.
  - Nebraska experienced the greatest increase (37 percent) in robberies, from 81 in 2014 to 111 in 2018.

- Burglary offenses decreased 22 percent between 2014 and 2018, from 38,441 to 29,937.
  - Every state within the Midwest HIDTA reported either a decrease in the number of burglaries or no change.

- Larceny offenses decreased nine percent in region between 2014 and 2018, from 139,274 to 126,856.
  - Missouri experienced the greatest increase (29 percent) in larceny offenses, from 20,783 in 2014 to 26,761 in 2018.
Motor vehicle thefts increased 21 percent in the Midwest HIDTA between 2014 and 2018, from 15,738 to 18,974.
  - Nebraska experienced the greatest increase (109 percent) in motor vehicle thefts, from 564 in 2014 to 1,181 in 2018.

Arrests

- The number of arrests for robbery in the Midwest HIDTA decreased by 23 percent between 2014 and 2018, from 2,723 to 1,823.
  - South Dakota reported the greatest increase (22 percent) in robbery arrests, from 59 in 2014 to 72 in 2018.

- The number of burglary arrests in the Midwest HIDTA decreased by 32 percent between 2014 and 2018, from 6,489 to 4,387.
  - North Dakota saw the greatest increase (13 percent) in burglary arrests, from 224 in 2014 to 254 in 2018.

- Larceny-theft arrests in the Midwest HIDTA decreased by 37 percent between 2014 and 2018, from 51,895 to 32,605.
  - All states reported a decrease in larceny-theft arrests during this time period.

- The number of arrests for motor vehicle theft increased 16 percent in the Midwest HIDTA between 2014 and 2018, from 2,823 to 3,268.
  - South Dakota experienced the greatest increase (55 percent) in motor vehicle thefts, from 130 in 2014 to 201 in 2018.
Crimes Against Society

Crimes against society (e.g., drug violations, prostitution, gambling) are crimes that negatively affect society or represent society’s prohibition against engaging in certain types of activity. According to NIBRS, the rate of crimes against society within the Midwest HIDTA increased 34 percent between 2014 and 2018.

Figure 4: Crimes Against Society by State: 2014 - 2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offenses</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2018</th>
<th>% Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drug offenses</td>
<td>73,703</td>
<td>98,693</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>7,941</td>
<td>19,040</td>
<td>140%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon law violation offenses</td>
<td>5,127</td>
<td>7,372</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution offenses</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>-5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>10,510</td>
<td>10,595</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>14,007</td>
<td>11,111</td>
<td>-13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>15,328</td>
<td>18,839</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Offenses

- The number of drug offenses increased 34 percent in the Midwest HIDTA between 2014 and 2018, from 73,703 to 98,693.
  - Missouri reported the greatest increase (140 percent) in drug offenses, from 7,941 in 2014 to 19,040 in 2018.

- Weapon law violation offenses increased 44 percent in the Midwest HIDTA between 2014 and 2018, from 5,127 to 7,372.
  - South Dakota experienced the greatest increase (99 percent) in weapon law violation offenses, from 337 in 2014 to 671 in 2018.

- Prostitution offenses decreased five percent in the Midwest HIDTA between 2014 and 2018, from 574 to 545. Prostitution was the only crimes against society offense that decreased in the region as a whole during the five-year time period.
  - Nebraska experienced the greatest increase (1,183 percent) in prostitution offenses, from six in 2014 to 77 in 2018.
Arrests

- Drug violation arrests decreased by eight percent in the Midwest HIDTA between 2014 and 2018, from 62,548 to 57,773.
  - South Dakota had the greatest increase (50 percent) in drug violation arrests, from 5,406 in 2014 to 8,108 in 2018.

- Arrests for weapon violations increased by seven percent in the Midwest HIDTA between 2014 and 2018, from 4,702 to 5,013.
  - South Dakota saw the greatest increase (72 percent) in drug violation arrests, from 145 in 2014 to 250 in 2018.

- Every state within the Midwest HIDTA experienced a decrease in the number of prostitution and commercialized vice arrests between 2014 and 2018. The region’s overall number of arrests dropped from 708 in 2014 to 388 in 2018.
Drug and Alcohol Involvement

Drug-related crimes constitute a significant portion of total crime in the U.S. The involvement of drugs and alcohol in the perpetration of crimes within the Midwest HIDTA are consistent with national findings from NIBRS. According to law enforcement initiatives, nearly two-thirds of all violent crime and property crime in the Midwest HIDTA is attributed to drug use and/or drug trafficking, further demonstrating the connection between drugs and crime.

The Use and Accompaniment of Drugs with Crime

According to nationwide data reported to NIBRS, approximately 21 percent of the 5.6 million known offenders were connected to drug offenses in 2018. Of the 5.6 million criminal incidents nationwide reported through NIBRS in 2018, 11 percent resulted in the seizure of at least one drug. Nine percent of offenses committed in 2018 involved an offender’s suspected use of drugs. The involvement of drugs and alcohol in the perpetration of crimes within the Midwest HIDTA are consistent with national findings from NIBRS. In 2018, drug-related arrests accounted for 16 percent of all arrests within the Midwest HIDTA. This percentage increased from 2014, where drug-related arrests accounted for 13 percent of total arrests.

North Dakota and South Dakota were the only two states within the Midwest HIDTA that collected data on a state level regarding an offender’s use of drugs during the perpetration of a crime. North Dakota reported that 19 percent of documented offenders were under the influence of drugs as part of perpetrating the crime in 2018. Of the crimes involving an offender under the influence (excluding drug equipment and narcotic violations), 33 percent were violent. That same year, 27 percent of South Dakota offenders were suspected of being under the influence of drugs as part of perpetrating the crime. Of the crimes involving an offender under the influence (excluding drug equipment and narcotic violations), 58 percent were violent. Crime data involving offender use of drugs or alcohol was not available for Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, or Nebraska.

Initiative Responses to Drug-Related Crime Within Their AOR

In an effort to better understand the relationship between drug use, drug trafficking, and crime, the Midwest HIDTA gathered drug-related crime information from its drug control initiatives. Given that this is a new approach to collecting and analyzing the drugs/crime relationship within the Midwest, the following information depicts a broad overview of the region. The Midwest HIDTA determined that 59 percent of the region’s property crime is attributable to drug use and/or drug trafficking. Most Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives reported a strong correlation between property crime and drug use. Drug users, in particular, are believed to participate in burglaries and thefts in an effort to obtain money and valuables that they can use to support their drug habits. Other

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M The NIBRS program began collecting data regarding drug and alcohol involvement in the perpetration of crime in 2017, though only on a national level. As a result, this section will utilize self-reported data from the state governments within the Midwest HIDTA.

N Iowa is excluded as NIBRS arrest data were not available for 2018.

O These numbers reflect the reported number of Group A offenses where an offender is suspected of using.
instances of property crime are thought to occur when drug traffickers flee from law enforcement during an encounter. Fifty-eight percent of the violent crime which occurs in the Midwest HIDTA is attributable to drug use and/or trafficking. Initiatives reported that 43 percent of the region’s homicides are related to drug use and/or drug trafficking. Initiatives stated that many of the assaults, robberies, and homicides are committed by drug users and drug traffickers involved in disputes stemming from drug transactions gone awry or drug debts owed. Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives estimate that 54 percent of offenses are committed by an individual who is under the influence of drugs. Approximately 40 percent of the offenders arrested for drug crimes were also arrested for a weapon violation. Each of these response categories implies there is a connection between drug use, drug trafficking, and other criminal activity.

In St. Louis, 79% of property crime and 81% of violent crime is estimated to be drug-related.

There were several initiatives in particular that reported high levels of property crime associated with drug use and drug trafficking. In Iowa and Illinois, drug control initiatives in Des Moines, Muscatine, Sioux City, and Moline reported that at least 70 percent of the property crime in their AOR was drug-related. In Missouri, drug control initiatives in Cape Girardeau, Jefferson City, and St. Louis Metropolitan Area all reported that at least 70 percent of the property crime in their AOR was drug-related. Drug control initiatives in North Platte, Nebraska reported that 75 percent of the property crime within their AOR was drug-related and initiatives in Rapid City, South Dakota reported that 80 percent of the property crime in their AOR was drug-related.

The nexus between drugs and violent crime is especially evident in Muscatine, Iowa; Cape Girardeau, Missouri; Jefferson City, Missouri and the St. Louis Metropolitan Area. Each of these initiatives reported that at least 70 percent of the violent crime within their respective areas was drug-related. Two of the St. Louis initiatives reported that nearly all (90 percent) of the violent crime in their AORs was drug-related. At least half of the homicides in Des Moines, Iowa; Muscatine, Iowa; Moline, Illinois; Cape Girardeau, Missouri; Jefferson City, Missouri; the St. Louis Metropolitan Area; North Platte, Nebraska; Lincoln, Nebraska; and Rapid City, South Dakota are believed to be drug-related.

At least 50 percent of offenders are believed to be under the influence of drugs during the perpetration of any crime in Des Moines, Iowa; Muscatine, Iowa; Sioux City, Iowa; Moline, Illinois; Jefferson City, Missouri; Joplin, Missouri; the St. Louis Metropolitan Area; and Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives in Muscatine, Iowa; Sioux City, Iowa; Joplin, Missouri; and the St. Louis Metropolitan Area all indicated that at least 50 percent of the offenders they arrested for a drug crime were also arrested for a concurrent weapons violation.

A significant portion of Kansas City’s total crime is drug-related. Drugs were a contributing factor in at least 21 of the 122 homicides this year, according to one KCPD official.
Drug Overdose Fatalities in the Midwest HIDTA

Drug trafficking is not a victimless crime. On the contrary, each illicit drug overdose death is preceded by a drug distribution crime. With more than 67,000 deaths from drug overdoses across the U.S. in 2018, drug trafficking has rightfully been called the “most murderous criminal activity in the history of the United States” (Walters, 2017). The average drug overdose mortality rate for the Midwest HIDTA is 12.3 deaths per 100,000; a 53 percent increase since 2008. The majority (69 percent) of overdose deaths were attributable to opioids, particularly, the abuse of heroin and synthetic opioids.

Drug-related Deaths

Illicit drug distributors knowingly market dangerous drugs for the explicit purpose of turning a profit. This is true not only for heroin and synthetic opioids, but also for illicit CPDs and stimulants. The onset of the opioid epidemic in the U.S. led many states to adopt drug-induced homicide laws. These statutes authorize the prosecution of drug-related deaths as criminal killings. Kansas is the only state within the Midwest HIDTA with a specific drug-induced homicide law, though individual U.S. Attorney’s Offices across the region prosecute drug-related death investigations in a similar way.

The average drug overdose mortality rate for the Midwest HIDTA is 12.3 deaths per 100,000, as reported by the most recent Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) data. This average has steadily risen since 2008, when the Midwest HIDTA’s drug overdose mortality rate averaged 8.0 deaths per 100,000. Figures 5 and 6 below illustrate the ten year shift in drug overdose death rates on a state, regional, and national level. The Midwest HIDTA’s drug overdose death rate mirrors that of the U.S. average, which has continued to increase over the past decade.

Source: CDC National Center for Health Statistics. (2020, February). Multiple Cause of Death Data extracted by ONDCP from WONDER Database.
The rate of drug-related deaths per 100,000 people increased in every state within the Midwest HIDTA but South Dakota between 2008 and 2018, as shown in Table 1. Missouri experienced the greatest increase during this time frame, from 13.1 to 27.5 deaths per 100,000 (110 percent). Kansas and North Dakota experienced the second (55 percent) and third (38 percent) greatest increases during the ten-year period, respectively.

Table 1: Drug Overdose Deaths, Rates of Change, 2008-2018 (per 100,000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2018</th>
<th>Percent Change from 2008 to 2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>+ 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>+ 55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>+ 110%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>+ 35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>+ 38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>- 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Midwest HIDTA States</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>+ 53%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cocaine overdose death data was not available for every state within the Midwest HIDTA. As a result, the rate of change for the entire region cannot be calculated between 2008 and 2017. Of the three states with data for the ten-year period, Kansas and Missouri both experienced an increase in the number of cocaine overdose deaths, while Iowa experienced a decrease.\(^7\) Kansas’ reported deaths nearly tripled from 10 in 2008 to 28 in 2018.

Table 2: Cocaine Overdose Deaths, Rates of Change, 2008-2018 (per 100,000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2018</th>
<th>Percent Change from 2008 to 2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>+180%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>+71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Midwest HIDTA states</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These numbers reflect ICD-10 code T40.5

The total number of opioid-involved drug overdose deaths increased 97 percent across the region between 2008 and 2018.\(^7\) With the exception of South Dakota, every state within the Midwest HIDTA experienced an increase in opioid overdose deaths during this time period, illustrated in Table 3. The increasing availability and potency of synthetic opioids in the Midwest, including non-pharmaceutical fentanyl and its analogs, has significantly impacted both fatal and non-fatal overdoses.

Table 3: Opioid Overdose Deaths, Rates of Change, 2008-2018 (per 100,000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2018</th>
<th>Percent Change from 2008 to 2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>+13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>+63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>1,132</td>
<td>+138%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>+117%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>+13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>-10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Midwest HIDTA states</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>1,558</td>
<td>+97%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These numbers reflect ICD-10 codes T40.0-T40.4, T40.6.
Drug Trafficking & Related Crime

Drug trafficking is a serious crime with widespread consequences that, if left unchecked, is capable of destabilizing entire communities and societies. Drug trafficking charges are not applied to the average user, but rather those with intent to sell or distribute controlled substances across state or national boundaries. The size and scope of drug trafficking may vary, but associated crime and violence accompany DTOs regardless of their scale of operation. The methods, tactics, and practices of modern DTOs mirror that of terrorist organizations. Mexican-based DTOs are the most prevalent criminal enterprises operating within the Midwest. In addition to international criminal organizations, both national-level and neighborhood-based street gangs participate in and exacerbate drug trafficking activities.

The Myth of “Mass Incarceration”

There are countless reports in the media detailing the Federal government’s incarceration of non-violent and low-level drug offenders. The reality of this situation could not be farther from the truth, as the focus of federal law enforcement agencies are transnational criminal organizations and narcoterrorism. Less than one-half of one percent of the U.S. population is incarcerated, according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS). At fiscal year-end 2017, nearly half of federal prisoners were serving a sentence for a drug-trafficking offense. Prisoners serving time for federal drug trafficking charges are not “average” drug users or low level distributors. Rather, they are individuals convicted with the intent to manufacture, distribute, or dispense illicit drugs in large quantities that surpass state thresholds. Furthermore, a 2015 report from the BJS found that nearly all (99.5 percent) drug offenders in federal prison were serving sentences for drug trafficking, not lesser drug charges like possession. Among state prisoners at fiscal year-end 2016, approximately 15 percent had been convicted of a drug offense as their most serious crime. In comparison, more than half (55 percent) of state prisoners were serving sentences for violent offenses during the same time frame. Interestingly, 77 percent of state drug inmates reoffend within five years of release, with one-quarter committing violent crimes.

Nearly all (99.5 percent) drug offenders in federal prison were serving sentences for drug trafficking, not lesser drug charges like possession.

State and local jail prisoners accounted for the majority (88 percent) of the total U.S. prison population at year-end 2017. Offenders incarcerated for drug-related crimes in state prisons within the Midwest HIDTA represent one-fifth of the those incarcerated. Similar to national statistics concerning those serving prison sentences in state facilities, more than 50 percent of state prisoners in the Midwest HIDTA were imprisoned for violent criminal acts. With the exception of North Dakota (31 percent) and South Dakota (33 percent), each of the remaining states within the Midwest HIDTA all reported less than 20 percent of their state prisoners serving time for drug crimes.
Aside from rare extenuating circumstances, people are not sentenced to prison simply for using drugs. More often than not, those convicted with “possession with intent to distribute”, meaning trafficker-level quantities, are either counted as or plead down to a “possession” charge. As the federal and state incarceration statistics demonstrate, prisoners serving time for one or more drug crimes represent less than one-quarter of the prison population, contradicting the misinformed notion that America’s prisons are “filled with people who use drugs.”

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*Refers to murder, negligent manslaughter, rape/sexual assault, robbery, aggravated/simple assault
**Refers to drug possession, drug trafficking, and other drug offenses.
***Refers to weapons violations, court offenses, commercialized vice, and other public offenses.
Source: Individual State Dept. of Corrections
Drug Trafficking Organizations

Drug trafficking is the crime of selling, transporting, or illegally importing unlawful controlled substances within the U.S. These offenses vary in severity and may be applied to individual dealers, multi-state drug traffickers, or heads of DTOs. The size and scope of DTOs may range from local, regional, national, or international. Although some neighborhood-based criminal groups may engage in high levels of crime and violence, this behavior is more prevalent among DTOs with a larger size and scope. Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives identified 626 DTOs operating within the region in 2019, with a total of 6,021 members and 943 leaders. Of these DTOs, Mexican-based DTOs were the most prevalent criminal enterprises, with the Sinaloa cartel serving as the region’s main source of supply. Official reports also document a New Generation Jalisco Cartel (CJNG) presence, although to a lesser extent than the Sinaloa cartel. According to the PMP, 37 percent of all identified DTOs were described as violent. The states with the highest percentage of DTOs also had the highest percentage of gang-related DTOs, indicating a direct correlation between gangs and violent criminal activity.

The drug trade facilitates a host of criminal activity. In fact, international DTOs are now labeled as transnational criminal organizations (TCOs) by an increasing number of U.S. law enforcement agencies as organizations have expanded their operations to include crimes other than drug manufacturing and drug trafficking. These TCOs are known to be involved in a variety of criminal activities, including but not limited to: bribery, embezzlement, extortion, kidnapping, money laundering, murder, prostitution, and robbery.

The methods, tactics, and practices of modern DTOs mirror that of terrorist organizations. Drug traffickers capitalize on the openness of democratic societies, employ the latest communications and transportations technologies, and parasitically exploit the benefits of global trade and finance. Mexican DTOs, more so than others in recent years, are well-armed due to the enormous sums of narco-dollars which finance their operations. Just as the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) did for so many years, Mexican DTOs have proven to be serious military threats able to seize and hold terrain to create ungoverned space.

Few would dispute that Mexican DTOs pose one of the greatest threats to the U.S. In addition to drug trafficking activities, their involvement in a wide variety of criminal activities threatens the stability of both Mexico and the U.S. These organizations have long been identified for their strong links to drug trafficking, money laundering, and other violent crimes. Mexican DTOs have trafficked cocaine, heroin, marijuana, methamphetamine, and increasingly, fentanyl. In addition to the manufacture, transportation, and distribution of illegal drugs, Mexican DTOs, such as the New Generation Jalisco Cartel (CJNG) and Sinaloa cartel, have greatly diversified their operations. A few of

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Q The Midwest HIDTA PMP is a repository of all initiative performance metrics, which includes drug seizure quantities, the dismantlement or disruption of organized criminal groups, and other regional data.
these DTOs even steal petroleum from Mexico’s state owned oil company, with annual losses estimated at up to $1 billion.81 82

Although they participate in a variety of criminal activities, Mexican DTOs are primarily known for their propensity for violence. Mexico’s brutal drug trafficking-related violence has been characterized by beheadings, bodily dismemberment, car bombs, and political assassinations. These tactics resemble that of a foreign terrorist organization rather than a DTO. Government statistics from Mexico’s National Public Security System indicate that there were more than 33,000 intentional homicides in 2018; a significant percentage are suspected to be drug-related.83 Violence from Mexican DTOs is not limited to the border, however, and extends much deeper into the U.S. than publicly known. The most prominent Mexican DTOs have operations spread across the U.S. These operations are composed of compartmentalized cells designated with specific functions such as drug distribution, consolidation of drug proceeds, or money laundering.84 There are many reports of murders within the U.S. committed by “enforcers” working for Mexican DTOs. These murders are often the result of U.S.-based individuals working on behalf of Mexican DTOs who lose quantities of drugs or drug proceeds in instances of police seizure, robbery, or negligence. Drug-related kidnappings also occur across the U.S.

It is difficult to definitively attribute some of these crimes to Mexican DTOs as many law enforcement agencies are not able to formally establish the connection of a crime to a Mexican DTO. Furthermore, U.S.-based Mexican DTOs distance themselves as much as possible from the purveyors of their product in an effort to reduce the chances of identification and prosecution. In doing so, Mexican DTOs enlist street gangs in cities across the country to purchase illicit drugs from them at wholesale prices to sell on the black market. Thirty-six percent of DTOs identified by drug control initiatives in 2019 were affiliated with street gangs.
National-Level and Neighborhood-Based Street Gangs

Of the major metropolitan areas within the Midwest HIDTA, the vast majority of identified gangs are described as neighborhood-based street gangs (NBGs). NBGs are characterized as loosely-knit organizations with few to no ties to national-level gangs. NBGs are fluid in nature and typically identify by the block, street, or geographic area in which they grew up. As a result of these characteristics, these groups are difficult to identify because they lack the traditional hierarchical structure of national-level gangs and frequently disband and regroup. According to drug control initiatives, NBGs are believed to have a greater nexus to drug trafficking and violence in the region than national-level gangs. This is likely due to the absence of a “rulebook” or manifesto that dictates the behavior of NBG members.

Although not as prevalent as local gangs, national-level gangs do exist within the Midwest. National-level gangs are often highly structured with a clear hierarchy and uphold a definitive set of rules. Typically, these gang members will share common colors, symbols, and tattoos. The Bloods, MS-13, and Sureños street gangs have all been identified by Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives as participating in drug trafficking activities with international DTOs in the region. The Hells Angels, Sons of Silence, and Bandidos outlaw motorcycle groups were also identified by Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives as coordinating drug trafficking activities with international DTOs in the region. These groups pose a threat to both urban and suburban areas because they have developed or strengthened relationships with DTOs and TCOs. These relationships allow gangs access to international sources of supply for illicit drugs. Approximately 36 percent of Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives noted the movement of large metropolitan gangs from major cities into smaller more rural areas.

Historically, both NBGs and national-level gangs have had defined boundaries with members working within these boundaries to generate profits for their respective gangs. Gangs that attempt to enter the established boundaries of rival gangs often trigger violence and turf wars, as the two factions fight for control over a specific geographic area. As drug distribution constitutes a large portion of gang revenue, competition for the expansion of territories often yields increased levels of violence and property crime.

Gang Activity Within the Midwest HIDTA

The St. Louis metropolitan area is believed to have the greatest number of active gang members in the Midwest HIDTA, numbering between 3,000 and 3,500. The majority of these gang members belong to NBGs rather than national-level gangs. There are an estimated 500 NBGs in the St. Louis area. St. Louis-based NBGs have a high propensity for violent crime, although the majority is directed toward rival NBGs and other members of the group. According to initiatives in St. Louis, approximately 30 to 40 percent of the city’s violent crime can be attributed to gang activity. Drug trafficking and drug distribution are the primary income source for St. Louis gangs, specifically methamphetamine and fentanyl. Arms trafficking is a secondary source of income for St. Louis-based street gangs, who are known to transport guns north to Chicago where they are sold on the black
market. There is a moderate outlaw motorcycle gang (OMG) presence in St. Louis, though street gangs constitute the majority of known criminal activity.

There are approximately 200 different gangs operating within Kansas City, Missouri. The majority of these gangs are classified as NBGs, according to law enforcement initiatives there. The majority of the gangs in Kansas City are fluid in nature and have little to no ties to national organizations. Gang members are routinely identified in drug trafficking cases, motor vehicle thefts, aggravated assaults, robberies, and other violent crimes.

There are approximately 300 active gang members in Springfield, Missouri. Springfield has both national-level gangs and NBGs, although NBGs represent the majority of active gang members. Springfield Police Department has noted the presence of the Chicago-based Gangster Disciples, which make up the largest portion of national-level gang members in the city. This is followed by smaller numbers of Bloods and Crips. NBGs reportedly commit more violent crime in Springfield than national-level gangs, similar to other metropolitan areas in the Midwest HIDTA. Law enforcement sources report that very few violent crimes are driven by gang activity, yet approximately 25 percent of the city’s violent crime is committed by active gang members. Both national-level gangs and NBGs finance their activities primarily through drug distribution, with heroin and methamphetamine accounting for the majority of drug proceeds. Prostitution is another source of revenue for Springfield-based gangs, although represents a smaller portion of illicit earnings.

Law enforcement initiatives across Iowa report the presence of both NBGs and national-level gangs. The nationally affiliated gangs have ties to Chicago and Minneapolis, but are typically less strict in their membership requirements than their metropolitan counterparts. Law enforcement initiatives in Iowa report that NBGs often fight amongst each other over trivial matters, while national-level gangs do not. A significant portion of the state’s violent crimes are believed to be gang-related. This is believed to be the case for violent crimes within prisons as well. Many of Iowa’s gangs conduct drug trafficking activities. The drugs are sourced from bigger cities and are trafficked into Iowa for lower-level distribution.

There are approximately 2,700 active gang members within the greater Omaha area, according to Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives. Similar to other metropolitan centers in the Midwest, NBGs constitute the overwhelming majority of Omaha’s gang population. A few national-level gangs, such as the Bloods, Crips, Gangster Disciples, and MS-13 have operations in Omaha, but significantly less so than NBGs. There are reports of Bloods and Crips living in the same neighborhood acting as allies, while simultaneously not allying themselves with other Crips or Bloods outside of their neighborhood. This behavior suggests these members are nationally affiliated by name only and do not share the main characteristics of the gangs they represent. Law enforcement initiatives in Omaha report that a significant amount of the area’s violent crime is gang-related, including homicides, non-fatal gunshots, assaults, and robberies. These gangs distribute illegal firearms, methamphetamine, marijuana, and cocaine to finance their operations. OMGs do exist in the area, but there are very few in comparison to street gangs.
Law enforcement initiatives in Wichita have reported more than 100 different NBGs and national-level gangs. Many of the national-level gangs are reported to have strong ties to Chicago, which may be a significant source for the area’s illicit drugs. Wichita-based gangs primarily fund their operations through illicit drug sales and human trafficking, with robberies, burglaries, and car thefts accounting for a lesser amount. Marijuana accounts for the majority of illicit drugs distributed by gangs, although controlled prescription drugs, fentanyl, crack cocaine, methamphetamine, and MDMA are also distributed. Similar to other metropolitan areas within the Midwest HIDTA, violence is more prevalent among NBGs. Wichita’s NBGs have been linked to numerous drive-by shootings, murders, turf wars, and gun violence.

Gang activity in North Dakota is lower than neighboring states, although gangs do exist. Statewide, criminal street gangs appear to be subsets or subservient to larger gangs in other major cities, such as Minneapolis, Detroit, and Chicago. Gang leaders rely upon intimidation, assault, homicide and other forms of violence to maintain control of their respective territories. Similar to other gangs in the U.S., North Dakota-based gangs employ aggressive tactics in order to protect their interests. A significant portion of the methamphetamine distributed in North Dakota is trafficked into the area by California-based street gangs who have ties to local gang members. According to drug control initiatives, heroin dealers with ties to Mexican TCOs are believed to be in competition with gangs in North Dakota, who sell white powder heroin and other synthetic opioids in the illicit market. The Sons of Silence are believed to be the only established OMG chapter in North Dakota, although there have been reports of violent encounters between this group and the Hells Angels.

Sioux Falls, South Dakota has a small, but active gang presence that includes both street gangs and OMGs. According to law enforcement initiatives in Sioux Falls, the major street gangs are loosely affiliated to national-level gangs by name only and have a different structure and organization than that of their national affiliates. Younger gang members are believed to be involved in virtually every criminal activity ranging from shoplifting to homicide. Gangs are known to play a role in the city’s drug-related violence, mostly over marijuana drug rips. Sioux Falls’ OMGs are considered far more organized in their structure than street gangs and make an effort not to draw attention to their activities. In recent years, the Bandidos have been trying to increase their numbers in South Dakota to prevent the Hells Angels from gaining territory. The Hells Angels have reportedly increased their presence in South Dakota since 2014.
Figure 8: Gang Activity in the Midwest HIDTA
Drug Use & Related Crime

Drug use and crime are common aspects of a criminal lifestyle. Much of the drug-related crime that occurs within the U.S. is committed by those who attempt to obtain money (either directly or through the use of stolen goods) to support their drug use behaviors or by those under the influence. Drug-seeking behaviors place users in contact with a larger pool of motivated offenders as illicit drug markets are illegitimate economies that attract a variety of crime. Reducing drug availability is critical to reducing overall crime. The scarcer the supply of drugs, the more expensive and less socially tolerated they become, ultimately reducing both the number of drug users and drug crimes.

Crime Committed by those Seeking Funds to Continue Drug Use

Decades of research has shown that illegal drug use is associated with economic crime.\(^87\)\(^88\)\(^89\) A portion of this association is due to the propensity for those who are addicted to illegal drugs to commit economic crimes in efforts to finance their drug habits.\(^90\) This is especially true among users of expensive illegal drugs, such as heroin or cocaine, which also happen to produce a higher dependency than other illicit drugs.\(^91\) Frequent users of expensive illegal drugs are more likely to experience an immediate earnings imperative than frequent users of less expensive drugs.\(^92\) In short, frequent users of expensive drugs are more likely to commit economic crime once they are unable to continue financing their drug habit through legitimate income.

A 2017 study from the Pennsylvania State University’s Department of Sociology and Criminology examined the effects of drug type and the frequency of drug use of offenders and whether they engaged in economic crimes in order to obtain money for drugs. A nationally representative sample of inmates from the 1997 Survey of Inmates of State and Federal Correctional Facilities was used in the analysis. The results indicated that, for property crimes, 35 percent of burglaries were committed to obtain money for drugs.\(^93\) Robbery and theft were tied for the second most common property crimes committed for drug money, each with 27 percent of offenders stating this.\(^94\) Of the drug trafficking crimes committed by offenders seeking money for drugs, those trafficking heroin were the most common (44 percent) and those trafficking marijuana were the least common (14 percent).\(^95\) Figure 9 illustrates the economic crimes that were reported by offenders who committed an offense in order to obtain money for drugs.
Analysis of the current U.S. prison population serves as a useful tool in understanding just how many crimes are committed in an effort to obtain funds for drug use. In a 2014 report by the BJS, approximately 40 percent of state prisoners and sentenced jail inmates who were imprisoned for property crimes claimed to have committed the crime to get money for drugs. The inmates in the report claimed that they were more likely to commit property crimes to obtain money for drugs than any other offense type, although one in six inmates serving time for a violent offense claimed that they did so to obtain money for drugs. Earlier publications from the BJS report that offenders convicted of burglary, robbery, and larceny/theft were the most likely offender type to have committed the offense to sustain their drug habit, likely because these crimes yield items that one can readily exchange for money.
Individuals addicted to illicit drugs compromise their ability to make sound, complex decisions.\textsuperscript{99} This has been known to result in lower risk, higher reward perceptions; lower self-regulation; decreased inhibition; and a diminished sense of self-preservation.\textsuperscript{100} Often, this change in cognitive judgement, rationale, and decision-making results in negative outcomes for both the drug user and those they interact with while impaired.

According to a 2009 BJS survey of state prisoners, 42 percent claimed they used drugs at the time of the offense for which they were currently incarcerated.\textsuperscript{101} Among the state prisoners involved in the survey, 22 percent reported using marijuana/hashish at the time of the offense, 16 percent reported using cocaine/crack, 11 percent reported using stimulants, and seven percent reported using heroin/opiates.\textsuperscript{102} Table 4 below displays drug use in the month before the offense and at the time of offense among state prisoners in the survey.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Characteristic} & \textbf{State Prisoners} & \\
 & \textbf{Month Prior to Offense} & \textbf{At Time of Offense} \\
\hline
\textbf{All Inmates} & 39.3\% & 42.0\% \\
\hline
\textbf{Sex} &  &  \\
Male & 38.2\% & 40.9\% \\
Female & 46.0\% & 49.1\% \\
\hline
\textbf{Race/Hispanic Origin}\textsuperscript{1} &  &  \\
White & 42.5\% & 47.9\% \\
Black & 36.5\% & 37.2\% \\
Hispanic & 37.5\% & 39.1\% \\
Two or More Races & 41.1\% & 45.2\% \\
Other\textsuperscript{2} & 41.1\% & 41.2\% \\
\hline
\textbf{Age} &  &  \\
18-24 & 46.8\% & 44.8\% \\
25-34 & 41.8\% & 43.5\% \\
35-44 & 39.3\% & 44.2\% \\
45-54 & 36.4\% & 41.6\% \\
55+ & 15.6\% & 18.6\% \\
\hline
\textbf{Most Serious Offense} &  &  \\
Violent & 34.4\% & 39.9\% \\
Property & 47.0\% & 50.1\% \\
Drug & 47.1\% & 50.2\% \\
DWI/DUI & 33.5\% & 27.5\% \\
Other Public Order\textsuperscript{3} & 43.9\% & 29.4\% \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Drug Usage Among State Prisoners, 2007-2009}
\end{table}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}Excludes persons of Hispanic origin, unless specified.
\item \textsuperscript{2}Includes American Indian and Alaska Natives; Asian, Native Hawaiian, and Other Pacific Islanders; and persons of two or more races.
\item \textsuperscript{3}Excludes DWI/DUI.
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Inmate Surveys, 2007 and 2008.}

\textsuperscript{8} These data are the most recent concerning the subject matter. The BJS has increasingly experienced delays in data releases in recent years.
Drug Use Among Criminal Populations

According to the Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring Program (ADAM II), the use of illegal drugs is more prevalent among criminal arrestees than the general population. The ADAM II Program recorded drug testing among arrestees in 10 cities across the U.S. between 2007 and 2013. Findings from the 2013 ADAM II Annual Report found that between 63 percent and 83 percent of adult male arrestees tested positive for at least one drug in their system at the time of arrest. Depending on the locality, 12 to 50 percent of arrestees tested positive for more than one drug. Data from each year of the ADAM II Program demonstrate a strong correlation between drug use and criminal activity.

Approximately 75 percent of state prisoners incarcerated within the Midwest HIDTA were diagnosed as having or scored as high risk for having an alcohol or drug use disorder.

According to data from the 2007-2009 National Inmate Surveys, more than half (58 percent) of state prisoners and two-thirds (63 percent) of sentenced jail inmates were classified with a drug addiction. In comparison, approximately five percent of the U.S. total general population age 18 or older met the criteria for drug addiction.

Although none of the cities used in the ADAM II Program fall under the Midwest HIDTA’s AOR, Five of the Midwest HIDTA’s six states has a Department of Corrections (DOC) component that records inmate drug abuse information. In Fiscal Year (FY) 2019, Iowa DOC had 5,134 incarcerated individuals diagnosed with a substance use disorder, 61 percent of the population. This is up from 46 percent of prisoners having a drug problem in 2011.

The most recent data from the Kansas Department of Corrections states that 38 percent of FY 2018 released offenders had a substance abuse or dependence diagnosis. Kansas DOC conducts an internal risk assessment of its prisoners to determine their dependence to drugs and alcohol while incarcerated. According to this assessment, 57 percent of incarcerated offenders scored as moderate or high risk for alcohol and/or drug dependence. Of the offenders released from the Kansas DOC who return, 65 percent that return with a new sentence have substance abuse issues.

In 2003, the Missouri DOC introduced a substance abuse screening instrument which classifies offenders’ substance abuse or substance dependence upon their admission to prison. According to the Missouri DOC’s 2018 Offender Profile, 90 percent of offenders require some form of substance abuse education or treatment upon admission to prison. Additionally, 83 percent of incoming Missouri DOC prisoners admitted to substance abuse within 12 months prior to incarceration.

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5 The ADAM II program was halted by the ONDCP in 2014 due to funding concerns.

T Individual state Department of Corrections prisoner substance abuse data included in this report represents the most recent data available for each state. Each states’ DOC collects and records substance abuse data differently, including whether alcohol and drug abuse/dependence data is separated. For the purposes of this report, all information is standardized to the best of the Midwest HIDTA’s ability. Nebraska DOC data was unobtainable for the purposes of this report.
According to the North Dakota Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (DOCR), a substance abuse disorder was diagnosed in 78 percent of the adults serving sentences in a North Dakota DOCR facility. The North Dakota DOCR’s Behavioral Health Services Division operates a substance abuse program for incarcerated offenders which aims to reduce offenders’ drug dependence to ultimately reduce criminal recidivism rates.

FY 2018 data from the South Dakota DOC states that 92 percent of offenders (88 percent male, 96 percent female) were evaluated at the time of intake with a substance use disorder. In FY 2018, approximately 12 percent of offenders with a substance use disorder were not recommended for treatment. According to the South Dakota DOC, 4,312 offenders were admitted to the state DOC in FY 2018. Of the incoming offenders, 1,776 were subject to a drug screening within 30 days of admission. Forty-one percent of offenders tested positive for alcohol or drugs. The drugs that appeared most frequently in the positive drug screens were methamphetamine (44 percent), marijuana (28 percent), and amphetamine (12 percent). In FY 2019, 4,232 offenders were admitted to the state DOC. Of the incoming offenders, 1,640 were subject to a drug screening within 30 days of admission. Thirty-seven percent of offenders tested positive for alcohol or drugs. Similar to the previous year, the drugs that appeared most frequently in the positive drug screens were methamphetamine (44 percent), marijuana (26 percent), and amphetamine (14 percent).

\[^{U}\text{FY 2019 data from the South Dakota DOC was unavailable at the time of this report.}\]
Conclusion

There is an incontrovertible nexus between drugs and crime, though this relationship is not always obvious. Identifying the link between drugs and crime proves challenging as many drug-related offenses go unreported. Despite these challenges, this report determined a direct correlation between drugs and crime using academic research, federal justice statistics, and feedback from Midwestern law enforcement agencies. According to data collected from Midwest HIDTA law enforcement initiatives, more than half of the Midwest region’s property crime and violent crime are drug-related. More than half of all known offenders in the Midwest were under the influence of drugs during the perpetration of their offense. More than one-third of the offenders arrested for a drug crime were also arrested for a weapons violation.

Whether criminals are motivated by profit, drug-seeking behaviors, or the effects of drugs themselves, drug markets are illegitimate economies which attract a variety of crime. With no formal regulation to ensure quality, safety, or integrity, violence is the default regulatory mechanism of the illicit drug trade. It is used to settle disputes, maintain employee discipline, and to project the illusion of order among drug suppliers, creditors, and buyers. Modern DTOs, especially those of Mexican origin, have expanded their operations beyond drug trafficking as a means to increase profit and further their organization’s influence.

Drug use and crime are common aspects of a criminal lifestyle. Drug usage, regardless of the frequency, impairs an individual’s ability to make complex decisions. This often results in undesirable outcomes, especially for users who participate in criminal behavior while either under the influence or in pursuit of illicit drugs. A significant body of research has indicated that drug users are more likely than non-drug users to commit economic crimes to obtain money to further their addictions.

With more than 70,000 deaths from drug overdoses across the country in 2017, drug trafficking has rightfully been called the “most murderous criminal activity in the history of the United States” (Walters, 2017). Drugs degrade society, destabilize communities, and destroy lives. As increased drug availability is associated with increased drug use, restricting the supply of drugs is essential to lowering crime. For these reasons, and so many others, the mission of the Midwest HIDTA and its law enforcement partners to reduce drug availability, along with the complementary work being performed by the myriad agencies and organizations involved in treatment and prevention efforts, remains paramount in protecting the citizens of the Midwest, and beyond.
Appendices

Appendix I: Information about the Midwest High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area

The Midwest HIDTA region is a varied and vast area with an equally varied drug threat. The region spans over approximately 428,000 square miles, making it the largest geographic area of the 29 HIDTAs. There are 71 HIDTA-designated counties that fall within the following seven states: Iowa (IA), Kansas (KS), Missouri (MO), Nebraska (NE), North Dakota (ND), South Dakota (SD), and Illinois (IL). The Midwest HIDTA has a total of 57 initiatives (see Appendix III for complete list, by state), including 40 drug enforcement task forces, six domestic highway interdiction initiatives, six intelligence initiatives, two prevention initiatives, and three support initiatives. The 57 initiatives include a total of 156 participating agencies from federal, state and local law enforcement. A map of the Midwest HIDTA region is shown in Figure 10 depicting HIDTA designated counties, interstate highway system and ports of entry with Canada.

The U.S. Census Bureau estimates the population in the Midwest HIDTA to be 15.91 million in 2018. The region is comprised of metropolitan districts, medium and small cities, and many rural areas. The most populous urban centers are St. Louis, MO, and Kansas City, KS-MO, which rank 22nd and 33rd, respectively, amongst the largest metropolitan statistical areas in the U.S. Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA, Des Moines, IA, and Wichita, KS, are other cities ranking in the top 100 most populated metropolitan statistical areas, according to 2018 U.S. Census Bureau information. However, less than half of the overall population of the Midwest HIDTA resides in these large urban areas. Table 5 presents information on the most populous metropolitan areas in the Midwest HIDTA region.

Table 5. 2018 U.S. Population Ranking of the Most Populated Metropolitan Statistical Areas in the Midwest HIDTA Region.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U.S. Population Ranking (#)</th>
<th>City, State</th>
<th>2018 Estimated Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>St. Louis, MO-IL</td>
<td>2,805,465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Kansas City, KS-MO</td>
<td>2,143,651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA</td>
<td>942,198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Des Moines, IA</td>
<td>655,409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Wichita, KS</td>
<td>644,888</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 10: Overall Map of the Midwest HIDTA Region Depicting HIDTA Designated Counties, Interstate Highway System and Ports of Entry with Canada.
The Midwest HIDTA contains more than 4,300 miles of interstate highways and an international border stretching over 300 miles. The key transportation routes are Interstate (I)-70, I-80, I-90, I-94, I-29, and I-35. With its central location, there are a number of transportation hubs in the Midwest HIDTA allowing easy access to other points in the U.S. For instance, Kansas City, KS-MO, located near the geographic center of the U.S. and at the intersection of several of the nation's busiest interstate highways (I-29, I-49, I-35, I-70), is a major transit point for the transportation of drugs and drug proceeds to and from significant market areas across the country. Furthermore, the convergence of I-44, I-55, I-64, and I-70 in St. Louis, MO, provides easy access for the transportation of drugs and bulk cash via commercial and privately-owned vehicles. Other smaller transportation hubs include Fargo, ND, where I-29 and I-94 intersect, and Des Moines, IA, where I-80 and I-35 intersect. Given the 310-mile border, including the 18 ports of entry North Dakota shares with Canada, there is an expansive roadway infrastructure and a large international border for drug traffickers to exploit within the Midwest HIDTA.
Appendix II: List of Midwest HIDTA Initiatives by State

**Illinois:**

Quad Cities Metropolitan Enforcement Group

**Iowa:**

Cedar Rapids DEA Task Force, Des Moines DEA Task Force, Iowa Interdiction Support, Muscatine Task Force, Tri-State Sioux City DEA Task Force

**Kansas:**

Garden City/Finney County Drug Task Force, Kansas City/Overland Park DEA Task Force, Kansas Intelligence and Information Exchange, Kansas Interdiction Support, Topeka DEA Task Force, Wichita DEA Task Force

**Missouri:**

ATF Crime Gun Intelligence Center, Cape Girardeau DEA Drug Task Force, Franklin County Narcotics Enforcement Unit, Investigative Support Center, Jackson County Drug Task Force, Jasper County Drug Task Force, Jefferson City DEA Task Force, Jefferson County Municipal Enforcement Group, Kansas City DEA Interdiction Task Force, Kansas City DEA Northland Task Force, Kansas City FBI Combined Task Force, Kansas City Missouri Metro Task Force, Kansas City Violent Crimes Task Force, Management and Coordination, Missouri Interdiction and Information Exchange, Regional Training, Southeast Missouri Drug Task Force, Springfield DEA Task Force, St. Charles County Drug Task Force, St. Louis County Multijurisdictional Drug Enforcement Task Force, St. Louis DEA Intelligence Group, St. Louis DEA Major Investigation and Conspiracy Group, St. Louis DEA Regional Intercept Center, St. Louis DEA Violent Traffickers Task Force, St. Louis FBI Squad 5, Technology Coordination

**Nebraska:**

Central Nebraska Drug & Safe Streets Task Force, CODE Task Force, Greater Omaha Safe Streets Task Force, Lincoln/Lancaster Drug Task Force, Nebraska Interdiction Support, Omaha ATF Illegal Firearms Squad, Omaha DEA Drug Task Force, Omaha Metro Drug Task Force, Wing Task Force

**North Dakota:**

Fargo DEA Task Force, Grand Forks County Drug Task Force, North Dakota Interdiction

**South Dakota:**

Pennington County Drug Task Force, Sioux Falls Drug Task Force, South Dakota Interdiction
Figure 11: Overall Map of the Midwest HIDTA Region Depicting Midwest HIDTA Initiatives
References


9. Ibid.


23. Ibid.


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