White/Black: Part 2 Descendants of the Crack Epidemic

Historical Trauma and Addiction in the Black Community

JOSEPH PHIPPS, BA &
IAN MCLOONE, LPCC, LADC
ST. PAUL, MN MARCH, 12TH 2021

Contact Information



Joseph Phipps, BA



jpjrconsulting@gmail.com



612.232.7747



St. Paul, MN



Today's Agenda

I	Summary of White/Black Pt. 1
2	Additional Consequences of the War on Drugs Campaign
3	Case Study 1 & 2
4	National Response to Drug Use Throughout the Years
5	Benefits of Culturally Adapted EBPs
6	Tools and Tips to Implement in Practice



Part One: Summary of White/Black Pt. 1

Summary

WHITE/BLACK PT. 1



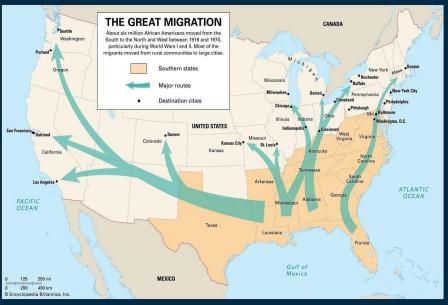


Discriminatory Practices Seen in Homeownership





Disparities in Treatment options



www.Britannica.com

- From 1916 through the
 1970s an estimated 6 million
 Blacks migrated from the
 Deep South to Northeastern,
 Western and Midwestern
 cities
- Racial Violence, segregation,
 Northern labor shortages,
 escaping Jim Crow Laws, as
 root causes
- Estimated 3,500+ Black
 Americans lynched between
 1882-1968

September 30th – October 1st - Elaine, AK

White Publications





Chicago Defender: Black Pub.



The Red Summer of 1919- Total Incidents

Date	Place	July 19-24	Washington, D.C.
January 22	Bedford County, Tennessee	July 20	New York City, New York
February 8	Blakeley, Georgia	July 21	Norfolk, Virginia
March 12	Pace, Florida	July 23	New Orleans, Louisiana
March 14	Memphis, Tennessee	July 23	Darby, Pennsylvania
April 10	Morgan County, West Virginia	July 26	Hobson City, Alabama
April 13	Jenkins County, Georgia	July 27 - A	ugust 3 Chicago, Illinois
April 14	Sylvester, Georgia	July 24	Newberry, South Carolina
April 15	Jenkins County, Georgia	July 31	Bloomington, Illinois
May 5	Pickens, Mississippi	July 31	Syracuse, New York
May 10	Charleston, South Carolina	July 31	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
May 10	Sylvester, Georgia	August 1	Whatley, Alabama
May 21	El Dorado, Arkansas	August 3	Lincoln, Arkansas
May 26	Milan, Georgia	August 4	Hattiesburg, Mississippi
May 29	New London, Connecticut	August 6	Texarkana, Texas
May 27-29	Putnam County, Georgia	August 21	New York City, New York
May 31	Monticello, Mississippi	August 22	Austin, Texas
June 13	Memphis, Tennessee	August 27-	-29 Ocmulgee, Georgia
June 13	New London, Connecticut	August 30	Knoxville, Tennessee
June 27	Annapolis, Maryland	August 31	Bogalusa, Louisiana
June 27	Macon, Mississippi	September	10 Clarksdale, Mississippi
July 3	Bisbee, Arizona	September	28-29 Omaha, Nebraska
July 6	Dublin, Georgia	September	29 Montgomery, Alabama
July 7	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	October 1-	-2 Elaine, Arkansas
July 8	Coatesville, Pennsylvania	October 1-	2 Baltimore, Maryland
July 9	Tuscaloosa, Alabama	October 31	Corbin, Kentucky
	Longview, Texas	November	2 Macon, Georgia
July 11	Baltimore, Maryland	November	11 Magnolia, Arkansas
July 15	Louise, Mississippi	November	13 Wilmington, Delaware
July 15	Port Arthur, Texas	December	27 West Virginia

Based on a New York Times report

Duluth, MN -1920



WOOD BRANDS BUTLER'S WORDS MALICIOUS LIE



HANGED ATSTREET CORNER

Lymber Will
Be Presented
By Arry Green
FACE OF ANGRY CROWD
FIRED BY VENGEANCE

4HOUR BATTLE WAGED BY MOS TO TO GET VICTORS



Discriminatory Home Ownership Practices

SEPARATE BUT UNEQUAL

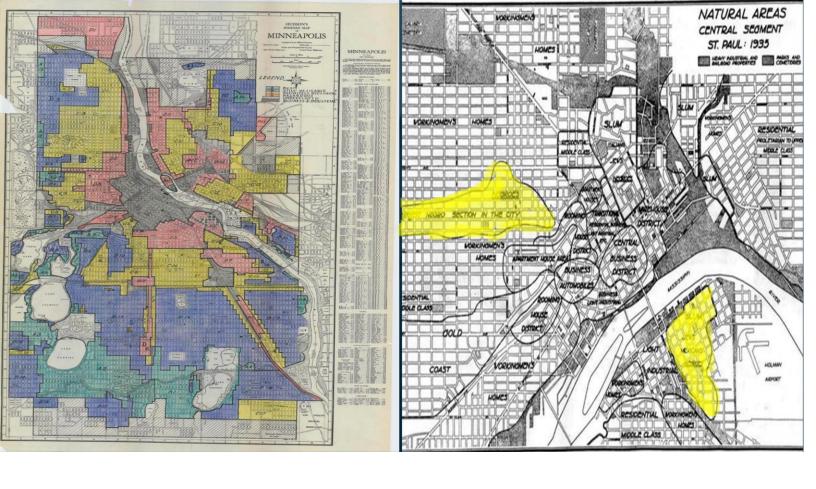
- Exclusionary Zoning and Racial Covenants
 - ✓ Both introduced in early 1900s
 - ✓ Restrictive covenants (agreements) written into real estate instruments (deeds)
 - ✓ Purpose: Keep Blacks from owning homes in middle/upper class neighborhoods (racial segregation)

G.I. Bill

- ✓ low-cost mortgages, low-interest loans to start businesses, unemployment aid
- ✓ Many Black American WW2 veterans were not allowed access to this benefit

Redlining

- ✓ Home Owner's Loan Corp. Act of 1933
- ✓ Credited with creation of redlining
- ✓ Fed gov. denial of various services (i.e. home loans, homeowners insurance)
- ✓ Targeted Population: Poor Black communities



Summary of White/Black Pt. 1

The War on Drugs

- 1989- African Americans represented 12-15% of all drug use in the U.S.—they made up 41% of all arrests, an increase of 38% from 1988
- White individuals comprised 47% of those in state-funded treatment facilities—they made up less than 10% of those sent to prison
- 80% of people in federal prison, and 60% in state prison for drug related offenses are Black or Latino
- 1993–88% of federal crack cocaine distribution convictions were Black, only 4.1% were white
- 1993—2,100 federal prisoners serving time for crack convictions, 92% were Black

Summary of White/Black Pt. 1

DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES IN RECEIVING TREATMENT

- Lack of access to prescription pain medication
- Preconceptions, racial biases and stereotyping of Black people seeking pain relief:
 - ✓ Black people are perceived as drug seeking.
 - ✓ More likely to abuse drugs
- In 2012, 20 years of published research found Blacks were 34% less likely than whites to be prescribed opioids for conditions such as backaches, abdominal pain and migraines
- 14% less likely to receive opioids for pain caused by traumatic injuries or surgery
- White children with appendicitis were three times more likely to receive opioids in the emergency room than Black children

Disparities in Treatment Options

Table. Demographic Characteristics Associated With Buprenorphine Prescribing in Outpatient Care in the United States in 2004-2007 and 2012-2015

	2004-2007	2004-2007		2012-2015	
Variable	Visits Without Buprenorphine (n = 244 274), % ^a	Visits With Buprenorphine (n = 183), % ^a	Visits Without Buprenorphine (n = 204 527), % ^a	Visits With Buprenorphine (n = 718), % ^a	Adjusted OR (95% CI) ^b
Race/ethnicity ^c					
White	83.5	90.5	83.1	94.9	1.00
Black	11.5	6.5	10.6	2.7	0.23 (0.13-0.44)
Other	5.0	3.0	6.3	2.4	0.27 (0.08-0.90)
Payment method					
Private insurance	52.0	19.8	49.2	33.9	1.00
Medicare/Medicaid	35.1	31.5	38.1	18.9	1.16 (0.74-1.82)
Self-pay	4.5	37.8	4.5	39.6	12.27 (6.86-21.91)
Other or unknown	8.5	11.0	8.2	7.5	1.35 (0.78-2.35)
Sex					
Female	58.8	47.5	58.3	39.7	1.00
Male	41.2	52.5	41.7	60.3	2.22 (1.82-2.70)
Age, y					
<30	29.9	40.0	25.4	30.3	1.00
30-50	23.8	47.5	21.4	47.2	1.68 (1.33-2.12)
>50	46.3	12.5	53.2	22.4	0.38 (0.27-0.52)

Abbreviation: OR, odds ratio.

for a given visit characteristic during 2012 to 2015. The 2004 to 2007 visit characteristics are provided for comparison; they are not included in the logistic regression.

- From 2012-2015, out of the 13.4 million
 patients receiving buprenorphine
 prescriptions, white patients accounted for
 12.7 million, and minorities accounted for
 only 363,000.
- Studies show Black patients are 77% less
 likely to be prescribed buprenorphine and
 more likely to receive methadone treatment
- Lack of access to full range of treatments due to: restrictive protocols, insurance status, geography

JAMA Psychiatry

^a Analyses were completed using survey design elements accounting for visit weight, clustering, and stratification to generate nationally representative estimates.

 $^{^{\}circ}$ Adjusted odds ratios (AOR) were generated using logistic regression (1 = buprenorphine prescribed; 0 = no buprenorphine), including the variables reported in the Table. The AOR reflects the OR for buprenorphine treatment

⁶ White (Hispanic and non-Hispanic), black (Hispanic and non-Hispanic), and other (Asian, native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, American Indian/Alaskan native, and multiple race, both Hispanic and non-Hispanic).

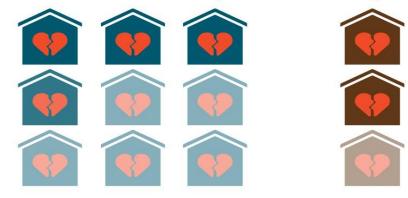


Part Two: Additional Consequences of the War on Drugs Campaign

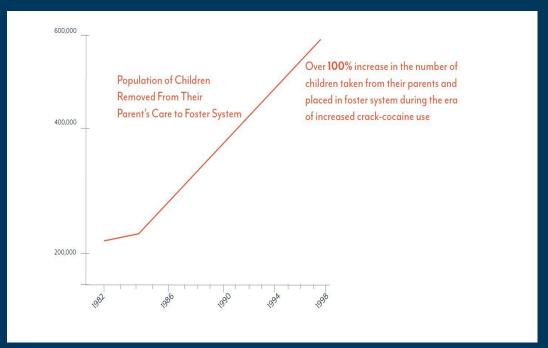
Over one-third of American children

and over half of Black children

have been the subject of a child abuse/neglect investigation



https://www.movementforfamilypower.org/



https://www.movementforfamilypower.org/

Between 2000 and 2011

1 in 17



✓ US Pop: 60%

1 in 9 Black children * TATATATA

US Pop: 12%

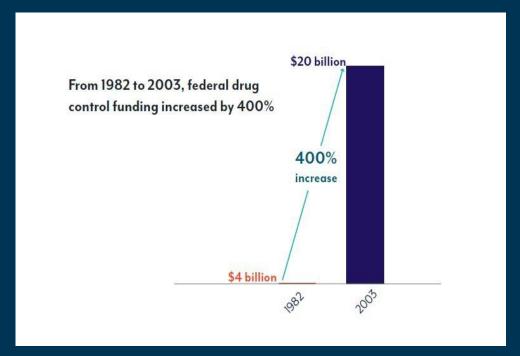


✓ US Pop: 1.3%

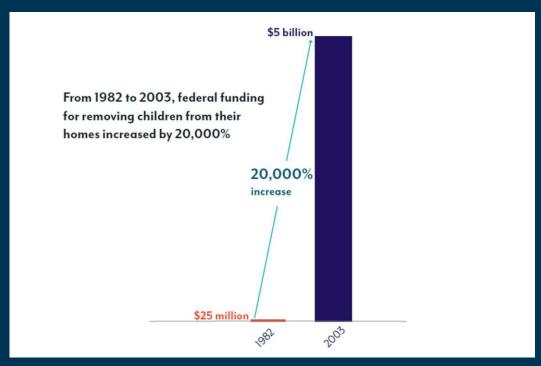
2019 U.S. Census Bureau Estimates

had been removed from their parents' care.

https://www.movementforfamilypower.org/



https://www.movementforfamilypower.org/

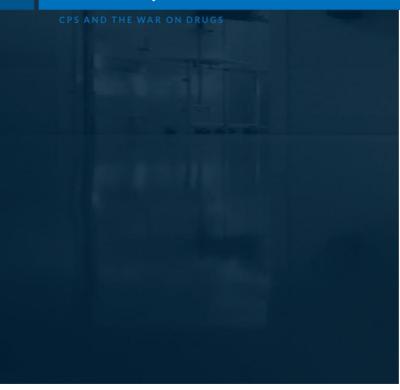


https://www.movementforfamilypower.org/



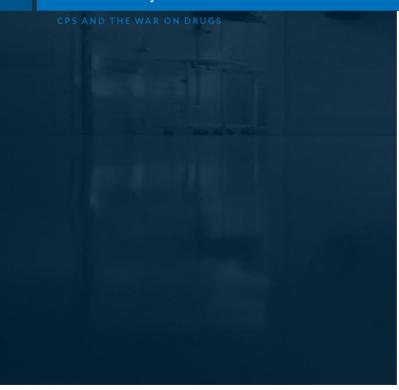
Case Study #1

Case Study #1



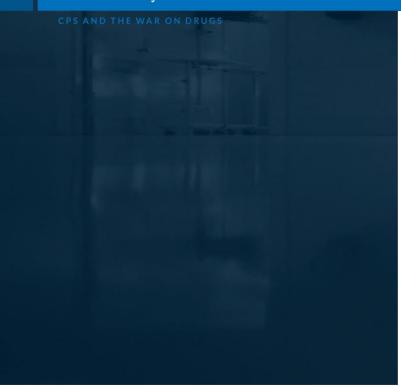
- J. D.
- Age: 43
- Black American woman
- High School Graduate
- Resides in N. Minneapolis
- Parents (deceased)
- 3 Children- 1 male child currently in home
- Mother worked multiple jobs

Case Study #1



- Role as CM— to advocate for student at his school
- While working with student—
 discovered two older siblings were
 placed in foster care
- Mother regretted getting police involved

Case Study #1



- Partner was arrested, and mother was questioned by law enforcement regarding capacity to care for children
- Questions revolved around drug use
- CPS case was opened—accused of parental negligence
- The mother's two children were eventually placed in foster care



Part Three: National Response to Drug Use Through the Years

History of Drug Laws in the U.S.

8,000 BC	1875	1880	1909	1914
Drug	First Drug	Angell Treaty	Opium	Harrison Narcotics
Consumption	Law	of 1880	Exclusion Act	Act
Humans have been consuming substances with the goal of altering consciousness forever. Actual evidence exists dating as far back as 10,000 years ago	The first drug law passed in the US was a local ordinance in San Francisco meant to curb the proliferation of opium dens. Anti-Chinese sentiment was growing	The Angell Treaty, intended to formalize aspects of the US relationship with China, included a clause that outlawed the importation of opium by Chinese nationals (but not US citizens)	Fully banned the import of opium and its derivatives into the US. The law was a thinly-veiled attempt to appease anti-Chinese sentiment growing throughout Western US	

History of Drug Laws in the U.S.

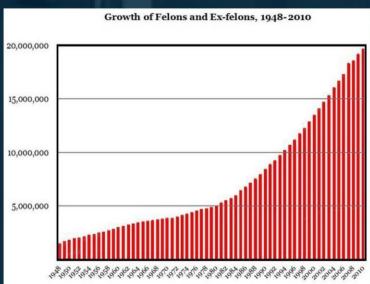
1937	1950s	1970	1971	1973
Marijuana	"Tough on	Controlled	War on Drugs	Rockefeller Drug
Criminalization	Crime"	Substances Act	Declared	Laws
Henry Anslinger, commissioner of the newly formed US Narcotics Bureau, spread fear about Mexican immigrants to push 46 states to outlaw cannabis	Politicians began to adopt the "tough on crime" stance, in response to rising crime rates "inner cities" across the country. In the 60s, Nixon ran for president on this message	The CSA regulated the manufacture, distribution, sale of certain substances. It also created the Scheduling system of drugs and medications. It set the stage for the War on Drugs	The Nixon Administration declares the war on drugs during a special message to congress. Funding increased, DEA was created, and eventually mandatory minimum laws passed	

History of Drug Laws in the U.S.

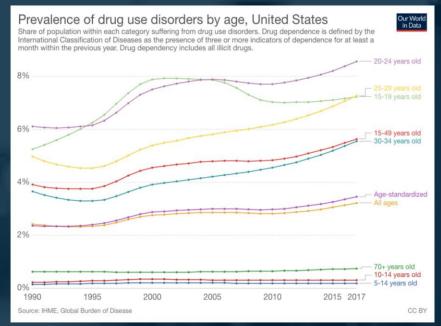
= ,	1982	1985	1986	1994	2010
	Reagan's War	Crack Epidemic	Anti Drug-	Clinton Crime	Fair Sentencing
	on Drugs	Begins	Abuse Act	Bill	Act
	Ronald Reagan announced his own War on Drugs, shifts responsibility from state to the federal level and oversees an increase in budgets of DEA, FBI and DoD	Crack cocaine is introduced to cities across the US. Famously, it has been alleged that the US Govt played a role via CIA funding to Nicaraguan Contras	Much harsher penalties for possession, sale of drugs. Notably the 100-1 discrepancy was included: 5g of crack = 500g powder cocaine (5 years)	Written by then- senator Biden, this bill included \$30B in anticrime funding. The 3- Strikes portion of the law contributed to the largest increases in state and federal inmate populations than any admin	Congress finally passed the Fair Sentencing Act to repair the crack-to-cocaine discrepancies, but only reduced them to 18-to-1

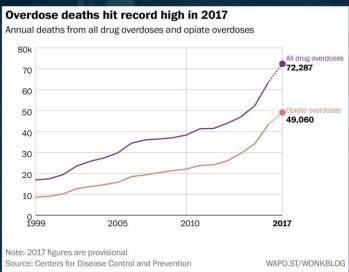
Incarceration & Felony Rates Soar



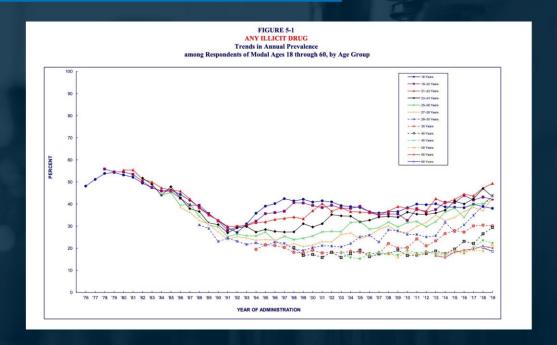


While Drug Use Disorder OD Deaths Rise





Drug use Rates Remain Stable



Nothing New



"Coloreds with big lips lure white women with jazz and marijuana."

HARRY J. ANSLINGER FOUNDING COMMISSIONER OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF NARCOTICS

Nothing New



'The only victim in this case is dead': Mourning for 5-year-old Eric

CRIME

'Superpredators' Arrive

Should we cage the new breed of vicious kids?

BY PETER ANNIN

N OCT. 13, 1994, 5-YEAR-OLD ERIC
Morse and his 5-year-old brother,
Derrick, ran into two of the toughest
bullies their South Side Chicago
neighborhood had to offer. The intimidating bows lured the brothers to a vacant

VS

VS

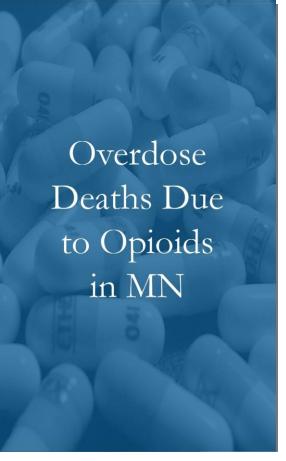




Racism and Drug Criminalization:



Updated Opioid Overdose Figures



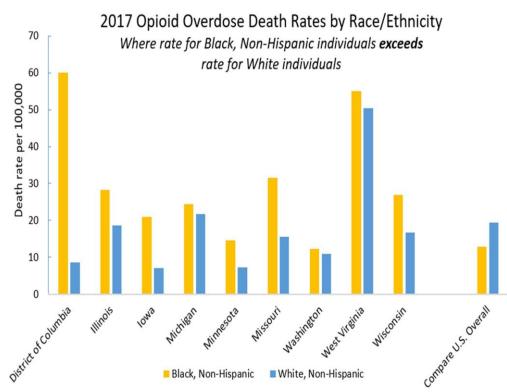
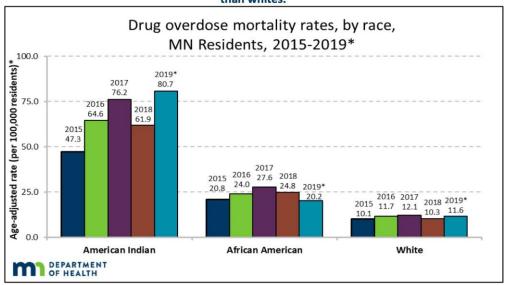


CHART 2. In 2019, African Americans were almost two times more likely to die of a drug overdose than whites. American Indians were seven times more likely to die of drug overdose than whites.



SOURCE: Minnesota death certificates, Injury and Violence Prevention Section, Minnesota Department of Health, 2015-2019*

NOTE: 2019 data are preliminary and are likely to change when finalized.

Opioid Fatal and Non-Fatal Overdoses

COVID-19 IMPACT IN PHILADELPHIA, PA

Race/ethnicity	Period A, April to June2019		Period B, December 2019 to February 2020		Period C, April to June 2020		P value	
	Total, No.	Monthly mean (SD)	Total, No.	Monthly mean (SD)	Total, No.	Monthly mean (SD)	Period A and C	Period B and C
Fatal								
Non-Hispanic Black	96	32 (3.6)	91	30.3 (10.4)	146	48.7 (3.1)	.004	.04
Non-Hispanic White	139	46.3 (2.1)	136	45.3 (4.2)	106	35.3 (7.2)	.06	.11
Hispanic	49	16.3 (3.1)	38	12.7 (1.5)	42	14 (3.5)	.43	.57
Nonfatal								
Non-Hispanic Black	253	84.3 (3.1)	264	88 (9.2)	309	111 (28.8)	.19	.26
Non-Hispanic White	361	120.3 (2.5)	336	112 (5.6)	333	103 (6.9)	.02	.15
Hispanic	127	42.3 (6.0)	113	37.7 (4.9)	124	41.3 (6.4)	.85	.48

jamanetwork.com



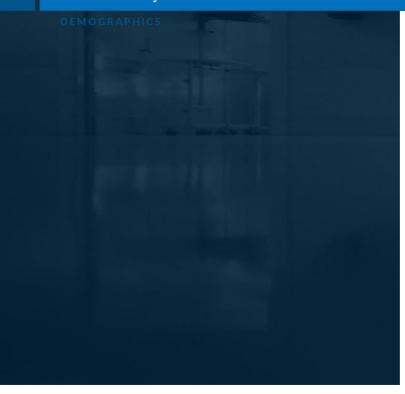
 Jan
 Feb
 Mar
 Apr
 May
 Jun
 Jul
 Aug
 Sep
 Oct
 Nov
 Dec
 Jan
 Feb
 Mar
 Apr
 May
 Jun

 2019
 2019
 2019
 2019
 2019
 2019
 2019
 2019
 2019
 2019
 2019
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 2020
 <t



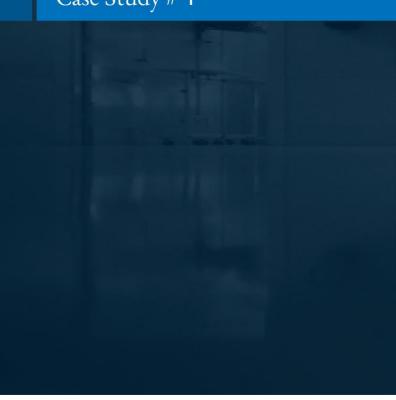
Case Study #2

Case Study # 1



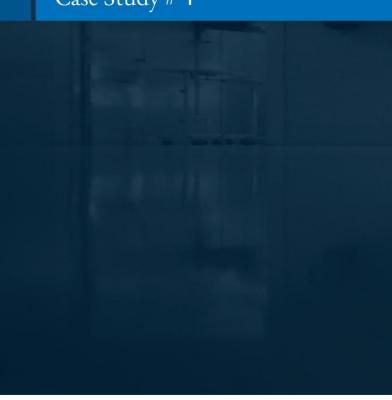
- J.D.
- Age 40
- Black American man
- High School Graduate
- Grew up in S. Minneapolis
- Oldest of two
- Has one adult child
- Currently homeless (at time of interview)

Case Study # 1



- Mental health issues: anxiety, depression, PTSD, suicidal ideation
- Attended primarily white high school, was bullied
- Has been shot on two separate occasions
- Growing up parents were addicted to crack cocaine

Case Study # 1



- As an adult he worked with a therapist for one year
- Therapist did not attempt to connect with client
- A therapeutic alliance was not established
- Lack of empathy and compassion
- Pushed him to work on homework instead of talking to him

Culturally Adapted EBPs

- Racism and discrimination have traumatic effects
- Making it difficult to develop and maintain feelings of self-worth and self-esteem
- The field of psychotherapy has been heavily biased towards the investigation and treatment of white, middle class individuals
- Historically, psychotherapeutic approaches have focused on the therapeutic needs of upper-and middle class Euro-Americans.

Traditional Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT)

WHAT IS CBT?

- ✓ A commonly used psychotherapeutic approach
- ✓ It aims to adjustment unhelpful cognitive distortions and behaviors,
- √ improving emotional regulation
- Develop personal coping strategies
 that target solving current problems

- CBT may exacerbate ethno-racial minority clients' psychological distress
- It typically does not identify and address effects of prejudice and discrimination on the client
- EBPs may not be adequately addressing the psychological harm associated with systemic and institutional racism

Traditional CBT vs A-CBT

- Several meta-analytic studies indicate that culturally adapted mental health interventions have overall positive effect
- Culturally adapted mental health interventions may be more effective when adaptations are specific or targeted to a particular racial/ethnic group
- Studies found that A-CBT group produced a greater decrease in depressive symptoms when compared to demographically-matched African American women receiving non-adapted CBT in the same clinic.



Tips and Tools

Clinical pearls

This section is dedicated to individuals who work with Black Americans

- Be mindful when speaking with Black mothers about their substance use. As we discussed earlier there is historical precedent on the significant issues regarding how CPS and the foster care system interact with Black families.
- Mental health professionals must earn trust. The first several sessions should be more conversational, developing a rapport with the client.
- Listen to their story and understand their individual and cultural experience. Ask questions about what it means to them to be Black in America.
- There is extensive trauma seen in the Black community, PTSD being underdiagnosed, particularly in Black men.
- Don't look at resistance or lack of disclosure as a red flag.

Clinical pearls

This section is dedicated to individuals who work with Black Americans

- Reframe from using worksheets or homework until you have established a sound working alliance and trust of the client.
- Many of us come into this work assuming that the trust and rapport is already established because we
 are the professional.
- Communities of color have seen things go bad when they are honest and disclose personal and private information, be mindful of this.
- Disclosing information about your own addiction history as the one of the means of gaining trust and rapport building is over relied upon.

Contact Information



Joseph Phipps, BA



jpjrconsulting@gmail.com



Ian McLoone 612.232.7747



St. Paul, MN



- American Medical Association "National opioid policy roadmap highlights state efforts on epidemic" 2019. Accessed from: https://www.ama-assn.org/press-center/press-releases/national-opioid-policy-roadmap-highlights-state-efforts-epidemic
- Cicero TJ, Ellis MS, Surratt HL, Kurtz SP. The Changing Face of Heroin Use in the United States: A
 Retrospective Analysis of the Past 50 Years. JAMA Psychiatry. 2014;71(7):821–826.
 doi:10.1001/jamapsychiatry.2014.366
- Mauer, 2015. from "How White Users Made Heroin a Public-Health Problem" The Atlantic Monthly. Accessed from: https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/08/crack-heroin-and-race/401015/

- M., & Damp; Sangoi, L. (2020, June). Https://www.movementforfamilypower.org/ground-zero (Rep.).
- Kenn Kennedy, O. (2019). The Opioid Crisis in Black Communities: Who is Paying Attention? edy, O. (2019). The Opioid Crisis in Black
- Kennedy, O. (2017). How Structural Racism Fuels the Response to the Opioid Crisis.
- Eversman, Michael H. (2014). "Trying to Find the Middle Ground": Drug Policy and Harm Reduction in Black Communities. Race and Justice 4(1), 29-44. Retrieved from doi:10.7282/T34T6MBT
- Meghani, S. H. (2012). Time to Take Stock: A Meta-Analysis and Systematic Review of Analgesic Treatment Disparities for Pain in the United States.

- Schneider, C. (1998). Racism, Drug Policy, and AIDS. *Political Science Quarterly*, 113(3), 427–446. https://doi.org/10.2307/2658075
- Alexander, M. (2010). The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness. The New Press.
- Rodney L. Engen, S. S. (2002). Racial Disparities in the Punishment of Youth: A Theoretical and Empirical Assessment of Literature. *Social Problems*, 194-220.
- Haskins, A. R. (2014). Unintended Consequences: Effects of Paternal Incarceration on Child School Readiness and Later . *Social Science*, 141-158.
- Miller, Susan L. (February 12, 1998). Crime Control and Women: Feminist Implications of Criminal Justice Policy. SAGE Publications. ISBN 9781452250489.
- Windsor, Liliane C.; Benoit, Ellen; Dunlap, Eloise (2010). "Dimensions of oppression in the lives of impoverished Black women who use drugs". *Journal of Black Studies*. **41** (1): 21–39.

- Lagisetty PA, Ross R, Bohnert A, Clay M, Maust DT. Buprenorphine Treatment Divide by Race/Ethnicity and Payment. *JAMA Psychiatry*. 2019;76(9):979–981. doi:10.1001/jamapsychiatry.2019.0876
- Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration: The Opioid Crisis and the Black/African American Population: An Urgent Issue. Publication No. PEP20-05-02-001. Office of Behavioral Health Equity. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2020.
- Scholl L, Seth P, Kariisa M, Wilson N, Baldwin G. Drug and Opioid-Involved Overdose Deaths United States, 2013–2017. MMWR Morb Mortal Wkly Rep 2019;67:1419–1427.
 DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.15585/mmwr.mm675152e1
- Differences in Rates of Drug Overdose Deaths by Race. Minnesota Department of Health, (2019).

- Taxy, S. Samuels, J. Adams, W. (2015). Drug Offenders in Federal Prison: Estimates of Characteristics Based on Linked Data. U.S. Department of Justice
- Yankah, E.N. When Addiction Has a White Face, (2016).
- <u>"I. Summary and recommendations"</u>. Punishment and Prejudice: Racial Disparities in the War on Drugs. Human Rights Watch. 2000. Retrieved February 3, 2010.
- (2012). 2012 REPORT TO THE CONGRESS: CONTINUING IMPACT OF UNITED STATES V. BOOKER ON FEDERAL SENTENCING. United Stated Sentencing Commission.

- Windsor, L. C., Alessi, E., & Jemal, A. (2015). Cognitive Behavioral Therapy: A Meta-Analysis of Race and Substance Use Outcomes. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*.
- Phipps, R., & Thorne, S. (2019). Utilizing Trauma-Focused Cognitive Behavioral Therapy as a Framework for Addressing Cultural Trauma in African American Children and Adolescents: A Proposal. *The Professional Counselor*, 9(1).

Utsha G. Khatri, MD; Lia N. Pizzicato, MPH; Kendra Viner, PhD, MPH; Emily Bobyock, MPH; Monica Sun, MPH; Zachary F. Meisel, MD, MPH, MSHP; Eugenia C. South, MD, MSHP. (2021). Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Unintentional Fatal and Nonfatal Emergency Medical Services–Attended OpioidOverdoses During the COVID-19 Pandemic in Philadelphia. *JAMA Network Open.* 2021;4(1):e2034878. doi:10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2020.34878

- Whitmore, C. C., White, M. N., Buntin, M. B., Fry, C. E., Calamari, K., & Patrick, S. W. (2019). State laws and policies to reduce opioid-related harm: A qualitative assessment of PDMPs and naloxone programs in ten US States. *Preventive medicine reports*, 13, 249-255.
- First Slide Images taken from: https://www.life.com, https://www.poynter.org/reporting-editing/2014/how-to-cover-what-comes-next-in-the-pittsburgh-school-stabbing-case/">https://www.businessinsider.com/opioid-crisis-conspiracy-2017-9
- Katznelson, I. (2006). <u>When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America. ISBN 9780393347142</u>.

- American Medical Association "National opioid policy roadmap highlights state efforts on epidemic" 2019. Accessed from: https://www.ama-assn.org/press-center/press-releases/national-opioid-policy-roadmap-highlights-state-efforts-epidemic
- Cicero TJ, Ellis MS, Surratt HL, Kurtz SP. The Changing Face of Heroin Use in the United States: A Retrospective Analysis of the Past 50 Years. *JAMA Psychiatry*. 2014;71(7):821–826. doi:10.1001/jamapsychiatry.2014.366
- Mauer, 2015. from "How White Users Made Heroin a Public-Health Problem" The Atlantic Monthly. Accessed from:

https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/08/crack-heroin-and-race/401015/

- Whitmore, C. C., White, M. N., Buntin, M. B., Fry, C. E., Calamari, K., & Patrick, S. W. (2019). State laws and policies to reduce opioid-related harm: A qualitative assessment of PDMPs and naloxone programs in ten US States. *Preventive medicine reports*, *13*, 249-255.
- -First Slide Images taken from: https://www.greenrush.com/blog/brief-history-of-marijuana-united-states, https://www.businessinsider.com/opioid-crisis-conspiracy-2017-9