**BOOK OF ABSTRACTS** 

# ESSD

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# Symbolic Function of Alcohol and Cannabis

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**Objectives:** The aim is to analyse the symbolic function of alcohol and cannabis in scientific and political discourse to explain fundamental contradictions between attitudes and substance use behaviour.

**Methodology**: References to literature, empirical research results and observations in contact with addiction workers and researchers.

**Background**: In catholic cultures, alcohol was usually viewed positively and only excessive drinking was morally problematized. This perception is quite different in the protestant world, where alcohol prohibition commonly was an issue. The mercilessly prohibition of opiates and cannabis in the 20th century took place in the catholic and protestant world alike. The US has been a driving force and the motivation behind this step is often described as an indirect approach against undesirables by publicly associating them with these drugs. Opium was associated with Chinese workers and cannabis with Afro-Americans as well as Mexicans. In the course of the 1968 movement, which radically questioned the traditional establishment, illegal drugs were propagandistically associated with another group of undesirables - with individuals who opposed the positions of the establishment.

**Significant Results:** For those threatened to be prosecuted under drug laws and those who identify with the victims of these laws, alcohol became a symbol for a conservative, bourgeois ideology supporting these laws. Scientific publications classifying alcohol as far more dangerous than other drugs, especially cannabis, have been enthusiastically welcomed by critics of merciless drug policies. Even after cannabis use in the Western World became more and more normalized and spread throughout all sectors of society, cannabis remained a symbol of a progressive and critical perspective, and alcohol continued to be seen as a symbol of conservative and bourgeois attitudes, especially among addiction workers and researchers.

**Conclusions**: This symbolism increasingly contradicts the actual behaviour of those who share these perspectives. For many years, surveys of young people have shown that those who idealize and/or consume cannabis drink significantly more alcohol on average than those who perceive cannabis negatively. To describe alcohol as a dangerous "neurotoxin", to call the occasional consumption of two pints of beer " binge drinking" and then to go to a pub with friends and colleagues and consume alcohol well beyond the drinking binge threshold is a common phenomenon, especially among addiction preventionists and researchers.

These observations offer hypothetical explanations how the demonization of alcohol consumption in the Western World can be explained in line with contradictory behaviour.

#### Drugs and the dangerous poor: exploring the policy construction-response nexus

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**Objectives:** Contemporary constructions and assumptions about drug-related 'risk' (in relation to at-risk groups and risk behaviours) are not fixed. They are constructed, de-constructed and reconstructed in multiple ways, influenced by factors that change over time and from place to place. And, they inevitably influence the nature of formal responses to the perceived threats and the control and management of behaviours, people and environments. These constructions and responses have been enshrined in national and local legislation and policy; and they have been implemented in a variety of – often inconsistent – ways that impact differently on different sections of the population (thereby often sustaining or further exacerbating negative constructions rather than addressing the risk status of identified groups or locations).

This paper examines the role of drugs (including alcohol) in the framing of groups and locations – such as inner cities, *banlieues*, housing projects, and ghettoes - considered to be a threat to the status quo as 'dangerous classes' and 'dangerous spaces'. We explore the ways in which evidence on drugs and alcohol use has been selected to construct images of the pathological poor over time and in different countries. We will show how these images have shaped policy responses and indicate how a more balanced approach to the evidence gives a different picture of poorer people and of their drug and alcohol use. Issues of marginalisation, intersectionality, stigmatisation, human rights and social expectations will be discussed and illustrated.

**Methodology:** This paper takes a critical interpretive approach to analysing the social production of drug policy documents (see Coffey, 2013) in the UK, Ireland and internationally. We draw on the works of Baachi (2009, 2012); Fraser and Moore (2011); Houborg & Bjerge, (2011); Roumeltis (2014) and Lancaster and Ritter (2014) who posit that problems are constituted through their representation in policy and the media. Such representations involve descriptions of problems, the organisation of knowledge, implied causations and the implications which follow from the specific problem representations (Bacchi, 1999, p. 36). In this paper, we trace how the use of drugs and alcohol has featured in the manufacturing of a social problem of dangerous classes over time and space.

**Significant Results and Conclusions:** This paper offers a way of understanding how a social phenomenon – such as the definition of a particular group or space as 'risky' or 'dangerous' – is constructed by stakeholders - the media, advocacy groups, political or social movements, or other actors. Drug-related harms pertaining to issues of health and social exclusion which should be best managed politically on a structural level have become matters of values and behavioural concerns to be addressed by modifying individual behaviour. Stigma reinforced through 'dangerous' and 'scrounger' narratives reinforces coercive approaches to addressing drug dependency. Drug and alcohol use is framed as part of a complex of problems concentrated in one strata of society, a facet of intergenerational poverty and explained in moralistic terms. In real life, class, race, gender, age, sexuality etc. overlap intersectionally to structure social relations and social responses.

Groups in Social Fabric Prison and their Intercourse with Drug Consumption in German Custody

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**Objectives:** Health care in prison and the accompanied issue of drug consumption amongst inmates has not yet been given much consideration in scientific research in Germany. Prevalences and other indicators relating to addiction in an intramural setting are frequently outdated and therefore often not reliable. For that reason a qualitative study is planned and the drawing up of a hypothesis for further scientific work is targeted. Despite the aim of incarceration to prepare inmates for a life without criminal behaviour and therefore without trafficking, possession and consequently without drug consumption, the little information and data that are available point to continued drug consumption in prisons.

**Methodology:** A range of resources is needed on the part of the penal system to cope with the drug consumption of inmates. Distribution of resources concerning drug consumption and addiction in a correctional facility in Wittlich (Rhineland-Palatinate/Germany) will be outlined within the description of the organizational framework. A project which was implemented for detecting new psychoactive substance (NPS) consumption will be the focus of this work. Especially the fact that NPS consumption is reported by the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction to be an increasingly important aspect in prison settings around Europe is a reason for choosing this particular project. More knowledge about NPS use in prisons is needed for implementing a proper handling with this topic in penal facilities not only in Germany, but as well in Europe. The prison in question has been selected due to their proactive handling of drug consumption and its implications for innovative health care within prisons. A subsequent qualitative study involving different social groups located within the prison-setting is planned. The different needs and perceptions pertaining to drug consumption and addiction in prisons will be surveyed with the help of structured qualitative interviews.

**Results:** Dispersion of resources concerning drug consumption in prison is a current issue which is expressed by the fact of introducing new programs for identification of drug consumers. A program which is designated to be introduced in every prison in Rhineland-Palatine and which is already implemented in the prison in Wittlich shall be presented. The program faces the consumption of new psychoactive substances and data concerning this topic will be presented. A comparison will be made with a prison not yet running this project.

**Conclusions:** Particularly the impact of directives given by the upper management of a prison regarding proactive handling of drug consumption and addiction in an intramural setting will be discussed and depicted in the course of the project.

*In girum imus nocte et consumimur igni*: clubbers' drug-related pleasures as technologies of the self

#### Enrico Petrilli

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**Background and aims:** In the last decade several authors in the biopolitical debate are trying to redefine the place of drugs within the contemporary neoliberal horizon. Whether or not we can call it a narcocapitalism or a pharmacopornographic regime, it is clear that social discourses have radically changed, nowadays illegal and legal drugs are embedded in mechanisms of consumption and empowerment, or, using Foucauldian terminology, they have been reframed as technologies of power and *dispositif d'assujettissement*. The purpose of this paper is to fill a gap in this debate, investigating whether drugs can be understood also as technologies of the self.

**Methodology:** A long-term multi-sited ethnography has been conducted exploring electronic dance music clubs in Berlin and Milan in order to produce knowledge about drug-related pleasures. The choice to develop the research in two cities is due both to the global, diasporic and intercultural nature of contemporary club culture, and to limit the so-called "methodological nationalism", namely the use of national cultures as a reference unit and self-explanatory category. Following a relational comparative approach, Berliner and Milanese clubbers' drug-related practices are not analysed as if they were two separate and self-excluding objects, but it is established a dialogue between them to bring out transnationally similarity.

Due to social science biases against pleasure, a more-than-textual and embodied methodology has been developed, challenging traditional research modalities. First of all, 18 months of sensory participation at EDM event has been realized, due to its ability to inform about embedded and embodied experiences, allowing to approach carnal phenomena such as clubbing and drug-related pleasures. Secondly, 32 out-of-the field interviews with clubbers were carried out to collect their sensory memories and representations. Clubbers were asked to make drawings while interviewed, this technique was chosen for its participatory nature: in addition to allow interviewees to be less passive, it lets to observer their meaning-making production and to convey complex experiences, not easily synthesized through oral or written communication.

**Results:** The presentation of the research findings focuses on clubbers' experiences and somatic works, observing how clubbers actively engage with other people, drugs and other non-human actors. Then attention will be paid to clubbers' embodied knowledge about themselves, their bodies, drugs and pleasures. In particular, it is investigated whether drug-related pleasures may become a vehicle to enhance counter-hegemonic practices in the production of subjectivity, which resist to the entrepreneurial subjectivities shaped and regulated by neoliberal technologies of power.

#### **SESSION 2: NPS MOTIVES AND USAGE SPECIFICS**

#### "Because it's a grey area for the user" – studying the motives for and against the use of NPS

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**Background.** New psychoactive substances (NPS) pose new challenges for stakeholders, as seen in the number of new substances arriving on the scene throughout Europe. Quantiative studies have found NPS use across drug scenes, though prevalence rates tend to be relatively low. Accordingly, qualitative studies are of great importance for studying this type of substance use and how it differs from more "traditional" drug use patterns. The current study revives the theme of former qualitative studies in investigating motivations for NPS consumption, while also taking into account the motives for consciously deciding against the use of NPS and rather engaging in the use of established substances.

**Methods.** Twenty semi-structured interviews were conducted using internet-based chat programmes (Skype, Telegramm, Tor-Messenger). Interviewees were consumers of NPS and established substances. During the interviews motives for the use of NPS as well as for the use of established substances, experiences with NPS, perceptions of the risks related to NPS and harm reduction strategies were discussed. Using content analysis the interviews were analysed and prepared using iterative categorization.

**Results.** Some of the greatest concerns relating to NPS were the lack of research on their risks, longterm effects, interactions with other drugs and adverse effects. The legality of many NPS compared to established substances that were perceived less harmful, yet currently illegal, was also questioned. Research Chemicals were perceived to be less affected by impurities or fluctuations in potency and therefore easier to prepare for use than established substances. The stigmatization and other risks relating to the black market, compared to online purchase of drugs, was also subject of concern amongst interviewees.

**Conclusion.** Informed decisions are of key importance in the debate on the appropriate response to new drugs surfacing. The emerging themes provide lessons to be learnt from the consumers that may aid the prevention and policy makers, in their development of strategies in order to ensure feasible and competent ways in reducing the harms that are caused to the consumers. This is particularly relevant in light of the challenges faced by numerous countries in dealing with the spread of NPS.

#### SESSION 2: NPS MOTIVES AND USAGE SPECIFICS

NPS use as a survival strategy among marginalized groups in villages and cities in Hungary

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**Objectives:** NPS use became a widespread phenomenon among marginalised groups in Hungary. First groups affected were PWID in big cities where PWID switched from the previously used heroin and amphetamine to synthetic cathinones. In 2016 14% of PWIDs in Hungary injected heroin or amphetamine while in 2009 it was 95% (National Focal Point). Since 2010 a growing number of reports in grey literature and anecdotic information among professionals have become available on NPS use among previously not affected groups as people living in villages, or people living in homeless shelters. We aimed to explore NPS use among these groups. We conducted two studies: in the first step we carried out quantitative and qualitative research in villages in Hungary what was followed by a research in segregated communities in 3 cities in Hungary.

**Methodology:** The first data collection took place in 2017 in two regions in Hungary, where 150 questionnaires and 50 interviews were recorded with NPS users. The second phase was conducted in 2018 in three cities where 21 interviews with NPS users were recorded in segregated neighbourhoods, and 15 interviews were recorded with young (younger than 18 years old) people in rehabilitation centres, who used NPS before. Interviews were collected with privileged access interviewer method. Questionnaires were analysed with SPSS, the interview were analysed using thematic analysis.

**Results:** Access to NPSs is very easy, synthetic cannabinoids are easily bought even in segregated neighbourhoods in small villages. Majority of the sample use both synthetic cannabinoids and synthetic cathiones, i.e. both type of NPS are used regularly among marginalised population. Injecting use is very common; in villages 18% of the sample has already injected NPS. NPS users have no or very limited knowledge of the limited social and health treatment options available in the cities located nearby or in the region. NPS use is not a recreational activity in this group, individuals mainly use NPS to get away from reality, problems, pain, poverty and segregation: NPS use is a survival strategy.

**Conclusions:** NPS use in deprived groups is characterised by attributions of marginalised groups, like disaffiliation (Castel). The problem of NPS use in segregated communities cannot be solved through interventions aiming solely to substance use. Effective strategies have to be complex social interventions that address the problems these communities face. These strategies should involve harm reduction, outreach work, but labour market integration, skills and employability development, crisis management also.

# Top boys: Getting high on their own supply

#### James Morgan

#### London Metropolitan University, London, UK

**Objectives:** The dual aims of this paper are to understand how drug dealers can conduct their work while using heroin and how heroin users can function with the trappings associated with selling drugs. The European dimension is that all fieldwork was conducted in Wales, United Kingdom. This paper aims to demonstrate how drugs are bought and sold in cities in South Wales as well as looking to the behaviours and identities of user dealers.

**Methodology:** The methodology here is purely qualitative and makes use of 20 semi structured interviews with heroin users who have also sold drugs. Nearly all participants principally sold heroin and/or crack cocaine. Recruitment for a study such as this presented challenges. At first sampling sought heroin users and found users who also dealt by accident. During this earlier phase of data gathering volunteering at a harm reduction project was very useful. During the next phase heroin users who also deal in drugs were specifically sought after, this presented further challenges. For this phase of research friendships with drug workers were particularly useful as they could allow easy access to their place of work. Finally, a further challenge was interpreting the narratives of these participants, as some were fantastical.

**Findings:** One finding was that heroin users' roles in the drug dealing economy varied. Some acted as 'runners', others managed dealing houses, with both of these types of dealers paid a commission for their sales. Others purchased small wholesale amounts and worked independently or in cooperation with others, also selling on a retail basis. Others claimed to make large sums from middle market wholesale dealing. Key aspects of the narratives presented by research participants were of control and excess as well as stability and chaos. The participants described personal characteristics which made them suitable for drug dealing and emphasized these during fieldwork interviews.

**Conclusions:** One conclusion relates to varying roles in the drug economy and how they might change over time, participants suggested that it has become more difficult to work independently as organized crime groups from bigger cities now control the trade in heroin and crack cocaine in a phenomenon popularly known as 'county lines'. The second main conclusion is that heroin using drug dealers' narratives reveal tensions between control needed for drug dealing and the lack of control that can manifest in drug addiction and the rampant partying reported by some participants.

Online public drug dealing - an analysis of trust and motivation in cryptomarkets and Facebook markets

#### Silje Anderdal Bakken

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**Introduction:** A growing amount of today's drug dealing happens online, either it is on the darknet, clearnet, or through various communication applications and social media. Online dealing takes different forms and might take place on public market sites or more closed one-on-one communication. Closed online markets are usually between peers, where a high level of personal trust is already established. Public online markets are based on connections between strangers, setting a different standard for trust. In this presentation, I will explore the public online markets on cryptomarkets and established on Facebook in order to analyse at how trust is established and how it affects their market choice.

**Methods:** This presentation reports findings from cryptomarket observations since 2013 and one year of social media ethnography. Included in these data are also 140 semi-structured interviews with sellers and buyers involved in cryptomarkets and/or social media drug dealing. All interviews are with Scandinavian participants and were made between September 2017 and October 2018. The interviews were mainly textual, made on encrypted messaging applications.

Analysis: Facebook and cryptomarkets are both public marketplaces where a high extent of visible drug dealing is taking place. They differ in their form of direct availability; Cryptomarkets are fully open but require some technical skills where Facebook dealing require a level of social skills to gain access to groups. Sellers put up posts with the drugs they offer, usually with a pseudonym seller profile. They make use of marketing skills to attract buyers' attention, such as having special offers, showing customer service, using pictures of their drugs or other figures to stand out from other sellers. Despite the similarities, the motivations for use varies mainly according to risk perception and technological capital.

**Discussion:** I argue that cryptomarkets and Facebook groups for drug dealing can be seen as the same online market type, namely online public markets. Researchers have until now separated these two markets, due to little knowledge on social media drug dealing. We rather separate the markets when it comes to encryption, which we see as a reaction of risk perception in combination with technical skills.

'It's like ordering a pizza'! User perspectives on the sourcing of drugs from 'ring and bring' drug delivery services

#### Thomas Friis Søgaard

# Centre for Alcohol and Drug Research, Aarhus University, Denmark

**Objectives:** Illegal drug markets are undergoing significant transformations. One example of this is the proliferation of retail-level drug delivery services. In Denmark, drug delivery services have in recent decades become a dominant form of commercial drug distribution. Other European countries are experiencing a similar development. In the UK for instance, retail-level drug delivery services are today known as 'ring and bring drug services' (ITV Report, 2017). In Denmark, authorities have expressed concerns that the proliferation of drug delivery services might contribute to a 'normalization' (Parker et al., 1998) of drug use. In the media, buyers' sourcing for drugs via delivery services is often compared to routinized consumer practices such as ordering a pizza. Authorities fear that this resemblance might lead young people to see the purchasing of illegal drugs as less stigmatized (i.e. not a real crime), and furthermore, that the convenience and speed with which drugs can be obtained will lead young people to consume more drugs. This presentation therefor aims to provide insights into the users' motives for sourcing drugs through ring-and-bring-drug-delivery-services, as well as insights about how users believe that their use of delivery services influence their drug use pattern.

**Methods:** Data was obtained through qualitative interviews with 18 recreational drug users in Denmark aged 19-26. Informants where recruited through local advertising and snowballing, and all had first-hand experiences with purchasing drug from a ring-and-bring-drug-delivery-service. Interviews lasted between one to three hours.

**Results:** Data shows that convenience, the immediacy of delivery, the low level of technical expertise required, the service behaviour of mobile dealers and the perceived safety - both in terms of avoiding dealer violence and police detection - are the key factors leading users to obtain drugs via ring-and-bring-delivery-services. Data also shows that while most users stated that the use of drug delivery services had no impact on their overall level of drug use, many admitted that the convenience of drug delivery services had enable more spontaneous use of drugs. Lastly, data shows that the use of drug delivery did not in itself result in a de-stigmatisation of the purchasing of drugs. Rather users' deployment of delivery services is better understood as a strategy to manage and minimize the stigma associated with purchasing illegal drugs.

**Conclusion:** The relation between changes in retail-level drug distribution and drug use normalization is more complex than sometimes assumed by authorities, why it needs to be further investigated.

#### Interviews with Drug Dealers: Bioethics and Harm Reduction

Levente Móró

#### Centre for Cognitive Neuroscience, University of Turku, Finland

**Objectives:** The acquisition of both classical drugs and New Psychoactive Substances happen in highly various ways, often with blurred lines between social supply and profit-oriented dealing. Street dealers, club dealers, and online dealers may have largely different attitudes towards their profession and clients. It is highly interesting to find out more about extremely hiding professional drug vendors from also bioethics and harm reduction perspectives.

**Methodology:** After prolonged background work to obtain trust, 8 current or former drug dealers were persuaded to participate in face-to-face, audio-recorded, semi-structured interviews. Questions were asked about personal influences, motivations, goals, attitudes toward human health and lives, business ethics, and personal responsibility.

**Main results:** Drug dealers were generally pleased with their chosen job, emphasizing its thrilling and socially rewarding profile despite the high level of risk taken. Profit was not at all top priority – rather, the challenge to achieve client satisfaction with good quality products was a stronger motivating factor. Dealers also defined their own ethical guidelines, self-restricted their business methods, and imposed limitations upon clients to reduce drug-related harm.

**Conclusions:** Professional drug dealers are motivated by social feedback, therefore strive to involve harm reduction measures in their business activities according to their self-defined guidelines of bioethics and social responsibility. Hence, this hard-to-reach and therefore understudied group is definitely worth of further social drug research investigations.

#### Recession, migration and the Irish illicit drug markets: A research agenda

James Windle

#### University College Cork, Ireland

**Objectives:** The objective of this paper is to map recent trends in Irish drug markets from the tailend of the Celtic Tiger boom through the Great Recession in order to investigate the impact of economic recession on the Irish illicit drug market.

**Methodology:** This was done by analysing 10 years (2004–2014) of An Garda Síochána (the Irish police force) controlled drug data. While the limitations of police data as proxies for consumption and trade are considered, at present, alternative quantitative national data on drug dealing and/or trafficking do not exist, and existing drug prevalence data are of limited use to the current study.

**Results:** The limited European and international literature on recessions and drug markets suggests that economic downturns can increase both drug consumption and dealing. Gardaí data may, however, suggest that the 2008 Great Recession reduced drug use and dealing, yet increased the cultivation and manufacture of drugs: trends which largely conflict with the European and international literature. Two testable hypotheses are drawn from the data: (1) net consumption and trade of illicit drugs were reduced by emigration triggered by the Great Recession; (2) the Great Recession forced an adaptation in the market which sped up the process towards import substitution of cannabis cultivation.

**Conclusions:** The paper concludes by discussing the limitations of the current research, proposing avenues for further research and introducing some of the research beginning to take place on the topic by myself and colleagues at University College Cork.

#### Causes and functions of violence in the Stockholm and the Vancouver drug scenes

# Anke Stallwitz

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**Background:** Within the scope of an innovative peer-involved and comparative research and intervention project, the emergence, nature, and functions of violence internal to the drug scenes in Vancouver and Stockholm were analysed and compared against the background of the two cities' opposing socio-cultural environments.

**Methods:** Peer-led focus groups and interviews and qualitative in-depth interviews were conducted with individuals selling and/or using drugs in Vancouver and Stockholm and were supplemented with data from peer research group meetings between March and August 2016 and January and December 2017, respectively. Peer research groups were located at the drug user unions of the two cities.

**Results:** The Stockholm drug environment was portrayed as a fragmented, atomised formation where the main sellers often did not themselves use drugs and violence occurred in a hidden, concealed fashion. The Canadian scene and market were found to be characterised by coherent social structures and confined to a specific inner-city neighbourhood, with drug using and selling and violent acts occurring openly and visibly. 'Fronting' (i.e. selling drugs on credit) was reported to be a major source of violence in Vancouver, and a significantly less customary practice in Stockholm. In general, drug dealing situations in Stockholm were illustrated as decisively less frequently associated with violence than in the Canadian scene. In Stockholm, again, violence against drug using women was represented as a virtually established normality and found to be more profound than in Vancouver. Gang fights, specifically in suburban districts, appeared to occur with similar frequency in both cities.

**Conclusions:** The comparative research design facilitated the identification of factors such as cultural and political influences on the nature of the two drug scenes. Stockholm's pronounced reliance on criminalisation and abstinence and Vancouver's strong harm reduction orientation, as well as the cities' substantial divergences in cultural attitudes towards illicit drugs, seem to be heavily implicated in the unlike outward appearances and internal organisations of the two drug scenes. The peer-involved research parts of the study allowed "insider" insights in the highly delicate and stigmatised social areas of violence in relation to drug selling and against female drug scene members and access to study participants (e.g. higher-up dealers and selling women) that otherwise would have been hard to reach. The study results were applied in the design of peer-led interventions and community-policy strategies to counteract violence in drug dealing situations and against female drug scene members in Vancouver and Stockholm, respectively.

Unaccompanied minor's vulnerable and uncertain situation may increase the risk for substance abuse

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# Unit for Drug Prevention - Public Health Agency of Sweden

**Objectives:** To investigate the extent of substance use among unaccompanied minors, primarily among the 37 000 unaccompanied minors who came to Sweden during the period 2015 to 2017. **Methods:** A mixed methods design including four studies.1. A web survey to social services in Sweden's municipalities. 2. A cross-sectional study comparing drug use among unaccompanied minors with minors born in Sweden, at outpatient treatment facilities specialized for young people. 3. A register study with data covering migration status, socio-demographics and utilisation of substance use related health care. 4. A focus group study based on interviews with various professionals working with unaccompanied minors.

**Results:** The municipalities' social services estimated that 8 percent (range between 2 to 11 percent) of the unaccompanied minors who came during the period 2015 to 2017 were using psychoactive substances. No difference between unaccompanied minors and other minors were noted in frequency of drug use or experience of injecting in the cross sectional study. The primary drug among all minors was cannabis followed by alcohol and other substances. Unaccompanied minors reported a higher extent of depression, sleep problems and having experienced traumatic events than those who were born in Sweden. In the health care register study it was noted that unaccompanied minors had received, more health care due to substance use (0.8 percent) compared to children who arrived to Sweden with a next of kin or children born in Sweden of Swedish-born parents (0.3 percent in both groups). The focus groups attentively indicated that it was not possible to estimate whether substance use is more common among unaccompanied minors than among other minors. However, the situation with substance use and mental ill health among accompanied minors was regarded as worrying. The interviewees also pointed out mental health, the asylum process, lack of recreational activities, and large temporary accommodations as risk factors for substance use.

**Conclusion:** It was not possible to estimate the extent of substance use among unaccompanied minors. Nevertheless, unaccompanied minors have in general a higher degree of risk factors and less protective factors associated with mental health and substance use. The results in this study is most likely not exclusive for a Swedish context but reflects the situation for unaccompanied minors in most European settings. It also emphasize the importance of monitoring substance use and preventive and psychosocial initiatives to promote good health and wellbeing within this group.

#### The normalization of alcohol misuse among youngsters. A study in Northern Italy

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**Background**: Alcohol consumption has fallen greatly in Italy over the last thirty years, but among youngsters we observe a reduction in daily use and an increase in occasional consumption and the practice of binge-drinking.

**Objectives** The aim of this study is the estimate of the prevalence of heavy episodic drinking (HED) in a sample of young people residing in northern Italy with a recent use of alcohol.

**Methods** The target of this study are young people aged between 18 and 29 years who live in the city of Bologna. For the research we used a mixed study design with quantitative (500 semi-structured questionnaires with assisted completion) and qualitative (2 focus group) instruments.

**Results** The results of the study show a high misuse of alcohol among young people and highlight a process of normalization of excess-oriented practices. From the combined reading of the qualitative and quantitative data there emerges a complex social phenomenon with diverse inter-related aspects: 1) styles of consumption and related problems; 2) market, social control and resistance; 3) normalisation of the excess; 4) individualism; 5) loss of traditional references of the Mediterranean alcohol culture.

**Conclusions** Among Italian youngsters there is some evidence of a gradual loss of traditional references in the alcohol culture. In our study we observed a transformation in alcohol consumption patterns, in which the psychoactive element and the search for pleasure play a central role. Future studies targeted on cultural aspects of alcohol misuse are needed.

#### Sketch Mapping – an innovative method of researching drug users

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**Objectives:** The German-French research consortium DRUSEC (Drugs and urban security *Use of alcohol and illicit drugs in public and nightlife – challenges and suggestions for solutions for municipalities*) aims at researching security risks associated with drug use in (semi-)public settings, e.g. "open drug scenes" or nightlife settings, with a strong focus on socio-spatial aspects. Therefore –and in addition to other qualitative and quantitative research methods– we use sketch mapping as an innovative method of researching drug use. Sketch mapping enables us to identify measures that may reduce insecurities and risks in the context of drug use in public and nightlife settings. This paper introduces the method and explains its value in drug research.

**Method:** To understand how drug users and non-users individually and collectively experience (in)security in public spaces, sketch maps are used as an innovative and new method. The qualitative GIS (Geo Information System)-based method produces spatial data during research interviews: Accompanied by a qualitative interview, drug users (who use drugs in public or nightlife settings) map their lived space by hand and add different colours from a specified colour scale which represents how they feel in specific public area(s) and which (in)securities they experienced.

**Results:** In order to develop cartographic narratives of drug use in public space, sketch maps are generating knowledge beyond the mapping of official (police) statistics medial representations and other instruments of knowledge production. The maps represent the individually lived experiences of drug users, producing further knowledge about risks and insecurities of a potentially vulnerable population group. Moreover, the use of sketch maps enhances the quality of the interview itself, as the map mitigates the "typical" researcher -subject situation and enables the interviewees to be an expert of their own maps/ their lived space. In this way, sketch maps help to talk about the politically charged topic of public drug use. Nevertheless, potential ethical risks and difficulties within the evaluation need to be discussed and taken seriously for the further development of the method for social drug research. This paper presents our experiences and current practices of sketch mapping within the DRUSEC project and points out its significance in drug research.

**Conclusion:** Sketch mapping as a method for drug research improves the understanding about feelings of (in)securities in the context of drug use in public and nightlife settings and helps to identify measures that may reduce the risks of such "drug places" for users and non -users.

#### Exploring Trust on a Hybrid Cryptomarket: Interactionistist Approach

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**Objectives:** This research project investigates how trust is formed, maintained, and managed in a hybrid cryptomarket that primarily functions as a discussion forum which also features embedded market exchanges and sharing of psychedelic drugs. It represents an interesting case where participants cannot rely on the technological features of the market, because there are few. Instead they need to build trust in a pseudonymous environment. We ask how that is done. We explore inter-empathy building and mutual sanctioning as key to knowledge production and group boundary setting. Emerging from these interactive dynamics is the particular conception and constitution of trust and trustworthiness as a group status marker essential for the emergence, maintenance and continuation of a hybrid cryptomarket necessarily operating in an anonymous fashion.

**Methodology:** Empirical data has been gathered through an online ethnography. We analysed the data using integrated thematic analysis. We directly drew paraphrased interactions from the forum that exemplified the function of empathy and affective sanctioning in interactions amongst forum participants. Thirdly, we explored the symbolic markers of trust incorporated in and displayed on the profiles of the participants.

**Results:** Within the group participants hold different recognised authority, one which is always subject to maintenance work. Individual's authority and trust can be either conferred by the forum administrators or earned through contributions to the community when acknowledged as such (e.g. awards). As such these authorities signal and incorporate trustworthiness. Longstanding and accredited members of the group, including administrators, exert their authority to look after the forum space, engage and intervene in forum interactions (e.g. sanctioning and commending). We argue that trust building and trustworthiness becomes an essentially relational characteristic in this context. Trust differs substantially as a symbolic marker of group belonging from how it is constituted and operates in a non-anonymised interactional environment. Specific forms of mutual affective sanctioning and inter-evaluative dynamics taking the form of empathy building are key to the building of trust. We find that the close-knit and communitarian characteristics of the group, instantiated through interactions, are significant factors in nurturing trust and overall security of what we term the 'cryptospace'. Often cryptomarkets are assumed to be 'trustless' in the sense that technology removes the need for interpersonal trust. In our case we find that participants do not primarily rely on technology to build trust. This points to generally safer and more trustworthy market exchanges of psychedelic drugs when embedded such a hybrid cryptospace.

Life in Recovery Research-LiR - Patterns of use and using careers among population groups characterised by gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status

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**Background:** In 2013, Faces and Voices of Recovery in partnership with Alexandre Laudet, published the findings of the first Life in Recovery survey, providing evidence of the extent and diversity of positive changes associated with transitioning from active addiction to recovery. This survey was then followed up by surveys in Australia, the UK, Canada and South Africa. The paper will present the findings of the first Life in Recovery from the Balkans, Sweden, Portugal, Poland and Spain, and compare data from these European countries addressing recovery pathways and experiences in an area never previously explored. The main objective was to provide evidence of the ubiquity of recovery and some of the unique features of recovery and the diversity of positive changes associated with transitioning from active addiction to recovery, in the broader European area.

**Methods:** The Life in Recovery survey takes the form of assessing how life was during active addiction and how it is in recovery. The survey was extensively amended and further refined, following comments from a project advisory group containing academics, practitioners and experts by experience, and led by professor David Best of Sheffield Hallam University.

The survey ran for four months, and was circulated via support groups, social media and other partners.

**Results and conclusion:** The voices of people in recovery are important but are rarely heard. While there is a well-established research evidence-base showing the impact of addiction on lives of substance users, this is the first research that illustrates the impact that recovery has on lives, outside of the English speaking countries. Although there are some significant national variations, all surveys have shown the same basic findings: The effects of recovery are substantial and long-lasting with participants reporting improvements across all of the areas of physical and psychological health, and quality of life, associated with improvements in finances, health, criminal justice involvement, community engagement and employment, with longer periods in recovery associated with greater gains in wellbeing and citizenship. This allows the researchers and policy makers to have a sense of what the barriers are to recovery that need to be addressed.

#### Researching drug users in prison settings: a battle at two fronts

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**Introduction:** Enhancing drug research in prison settings is one of the actions requested by EU Action Plan on drugs 2017-2020. From the perspective of a researcher, the imprisoned drug users form a population that is specific in several ways. Apart from the fact that they are drug using individuals, they are also offenders sentenced to imprisonment. They are affected by the process called "prisonization" (Clemmer, 1940; Bosworth, 2004). At the same time, the researcher has to deal with obstacles on the part of the prison system. Prison service is a very rigid institution. It pays crucial attention to the security aspects when co-operating with any external persons. This contributes to the fact that the prison service is not always willing to support an independent research evaluating its performance and outcomes. Moreover, the ethical aspects of the research need to be given a special attention since it relates to individuals deprived of their personal liberty. **Objectives:** The aim of the paper is to discuss major specific obstacles to conducting a research among drug users in prison settings and to outline possible ways how to deal with them.

**Methodology:** The paper uses, as an example, the current research by IKSP, focusing on effectiveness of therapeutic programs for drug users in Czech prisons. It describes particular phases of planning and conducting such research, incl. the establishment of co-operation with the prison service and the co-ordination of activities of both research and prison institutions.

**Significant results:** The research among imprisoned drug users entails specific personal, technical and organizational complications the researcher does not have to face to when doing research in community. Basic prerequisites for the successful research in this field are sound and careful preparation, involvement of prison staff into the project, permanent communication with them and respect for specifics of prison settings.

**Conclusions:** Research findings on drug issues in prison settings are still limited. Such research brings specific problems associated with the admittance to the prisons, exploitation of prison information systems, sampling and representativeness, designing a field research in prisons, or ensuring the research ethics. To be successful, researchers have to bear in mind that they are not doing a drug research, nor a prison research, but the "drug research in prisons" as a specific kind of social research.

**SESSION 6: CANNABIS ISSUES** 

Formal and informal control of cannabis

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**Background**: The debate on recreational use of cannabis, recently re-launched by the election of the Liberal Party of Canada that wants to legalize and regulate its use, implies a better understanding of social control mechanisms that are in place, and their influence on users' behaviours.

**Objective:** This study addresses the issue of formal and informal controls by providing, at first, a theoretical perspective of this concepts, and, secondly, by illustrating its operation from the users' perspective.

**Methods:** Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 164 regulars cannabis users recruited in four large Canadian cities (Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal and Halifax). An initial qualitative analysis based on the principles of grounded theory was conducted. The main categories identified was then used to find and re-coding relevant material on the respondents' experience with formal and informal control (secondary analysis).

**Results:** The users' perspective shows that mechanisms of informal control play an important role and regulate the social context of their use (when, where and with whom cannabis is consumed). On the other side, the formal control had no deterrent impact on the reduction of the use of this sample of regular users of cannabis, but, like the informal one, pushed them to change the context of their practices to avoid legal consequences and stigmatisation.

**Conclusions/Importance:** The regulatory controls that Canadian government want to implement (rather than criminal ones), should be based on a better understanding of practices and patterns of cannabis users, and in accordance with informal controls in place. Formal controls that are better defined and consistent with the social practices will be more accepted and respected by the population and more effective.

**SESSION 6: CANNABIS ISSUES** 

Exploring the fuzzy boundaries between medicinal and recreational cannabis use: do we disentangle the knot or do we get tangled up?

#### Frédérique Bawin

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**Objectives:** The concepts 'medicinal' and 'recreational cannabis use' are commonly used in public discourse and in research. However, multiple studies show that the lines between recreational and medicinal cannabis use are not clear-cut. Still, very little is known about the diversity of profiles and experiences within the self-claimed medicinal cannabis users' population. Through a critical lens, this presentation aims to reveal whether the distinctions between 'medicinal' and 'recreational cannabis use' are discernible conceptually. This paper therefore examines the similarities and differences between the profiles and experiences of users who consume cannabis exclusively medicinally and medicinal cannabis users reporting former or current recreational cannabis use', by contrasting it to the concept of 'recreational cannabis use'. By, first of all, looking at objective facts, including the way cannabis is consumed as a medicine and a recreational drug, and secondly by exploring the meanings that self-claimed medicinal cannabis users ascribe to recreational and medicinal cannabis use.

**Methodology:** This paper draws upon findings from a mixed-methods study that explores the blurred boundaries between recreational and medicinal cannabis use, by studying self-reported medicinal cannabis users living in Flanders (Belgium). The analyses are based on data derived from an online survey with a cross-sectional design (N=381). We also rely on data derived from qualitative in-depth interviews (N=57).

**Results:** My results show that patterns, experienced effects and purposes of medicinal and recreational use differ on certain aspects but more often do they show a significant overlap. Participants' narratives demonstrate the complexity in which they interpret and contrast the two categories of use. Next, I revealed that the experiences and profiles of exclusively and non-exclusively medicinal cannabis users are heterogeneous, and that possible explanations can also be found within the current legal context.

**Conclusions:** Therefore, this paper provides new insights into the existing knowledge on medicinal cannabis use and valuable insights for future policy-making in cannabis regulations. There is an urgent need for clear and uniform regulations on medicinal cannabis use in Europe. Currently, there exists a wide variety of systems which adds to the unclear boundaries between recreational and medicinal cannabis use.

#### **SESSION 6: CANNABIS ISSUES**

#### Cannabis demand in aging Europe: an empirical investigation on the Italian case

Marco Rossi

#### University "La Sapienza", Rome, Italy

**Objective:** This is an empirical study on the habits of adult cannabis consumers supported by originally collected data. The use of cannabis in Europe spread about 40/50 years ago. So, with the passing of time, and along with the demographic aging affecting Europe, the consumption of cannabis by adult people increased. Despite adults are still a minority in the cannabis consumer's population, the amount of cannabis consumed by them is an increasing share of the total. Indeed, from a strict economic viewpoint, in some European countries adult consumption is already the most important share of the market, and given the current European demographic trends, this share will predictably increase in the future. Yet, adult consumption is partially neglected by the current literature, mainly focused on teenagers.

**Methods:** Our research focused on adult users, using field data originally collected through 626 interviews at participants at the biggest cannabis commercial event annually held in Italy: "CanapaMundi" (30 thousands of visitors in its march 2018 4th edition). The sample was distorted in order to over represent adult intense consumers. Stepping from this dataset, we developed a statistical analysis on several socio-economic variables and on the habits of these subjects. The investigation was on quantitative variables as quantity consumed, frequency of use, etc., and on qualitative variables, both scaled (as degree of addiction, health conditions, etc.), and not scaled (as preferences, habits, occupancy, etc.). The software used was SPSS (last version), and Office. We applied correlation analysis, cluster analysis, and regression analysis (OLS and Multinomial Logit). Results: Our results suggest that the adult consumers' cannabis market is quantitatively and qualitatively different from the young's one. Although adults consume more cannabis than teens, they do so looking for relax more than high (so, they appreciate cannabis' taste more than potency). Moreover, these adult consumers do not look like "deviants", because their education level, employment rate and jobs quality are not significant different from the rest of the Italian population. **Conclusion:** Comparing young vs. adults habits we can sketch a typical cannabis consumer career: it begins in his teenage with occasional but intense use (mainly together with peers), them most of them terminate cannabis use but a fraction of any cohort keep this habit, changing in adult consumers, who smoke on a daily basis for relax lonely. Finally, we estimate the budgetary implications of having cannabis legalized for adults, and taxed at the same rate as tobacco.

#### SESSION 7: PERCEPTIONS OF STIMULANT AND NARCOTIC USE

"I have no clue why I'm doing this" – a qualitative study on crack cocaine use in Frankfurt, Germany

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**Introduction/ objectives:** While crack cocaine nearly disappeared from the focus of international social drug research, it has been the 'co-no. 1 drug' in the marginalized drug users' scene in Frankfurt for almost two decades. In the last two years, there has been a growing discussion about the local 'open drug scene' and particularly the use of this drug that has recently increased. These developments called for a closer look on the users, their motivations for using crack cocaine and links to the local discourse on drug policy. We also had a closer look at possible reasons why there are only few central European urban drug scenes (such as Frankfurt, Hamburg, and Paris) with a significant level of crack cocaine use.

**Methods:** Semi-structured qualitative interviews were employed to gather data from 30 persons (12 female, 18 male), mostly identified as members of the local scene of marginalized 'hard drugs' users. Interviews took place between July and September 2017. Interviewees were recruited by approaching them on the street, mainly around harm reduction services (e.g., consumption rooms). **Results:** Nearly all participants of the study are regular crack cocaine users, besides several other drugs (in descending order: alcohol, cannabis, heroin, benzodiazepines). Half of the users receive opioid maintenance therapy. Their daily grind is mostly making money and buying drugs in order to use them. While a significant part reported binges of several hours or days as typical pattern of use, others use the drug in a more regulated way, e.g. on few occasions per day. Apart from some who referred to the performance-enhancing effects, often no particular motives for crack use were stated. Instead, the drug was frequently described as dominating one's mind and routine after the first "hit of the day". A vast majority described staying in the core area of the drug scene ("Bahnhofsviertel") as the strongest trigger for using crack.

**Conclusions and discussion:** The typical Frankfurt-based crack user started his/her career of compulsive drug use with heroin addiction, but practices poly-drug use since many years. The ubiquitous wish to change the life routine is in stark contrast to the long-practiced circle of stigmatization, deviant identity, ritualization, and drug effects. The described trigger effect of the mere presence in the *Bahnhofsviertel* underlines the significance of social factors reinforced by others and own peers for the maintenance of the users' situation. Recently, the reduction of public space for drug users because of gentrification seems to have worsened the users' situation, which might have contributed to an increased crack use.

#### SESSION 7: PERCEPTIONS OF STIMULANT AND NARCOTIC USE

Pathways of stimulant use: individual, social and cultural factors shaping illicit stimulant use across Europe

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**Background:** Amphetamine Type Stimulants (ATS), such as amphetamine, methamphetamine, MDMA, and certain Novel Psychoactive Substances (NPS), are commonly used drugs in European countries. There is limited evidence on what shapes the course of individual ATS use over the lifetime, although the theoretical literature suggests the influence of a range of factors, including individual differences, sociocultural dynamics, and environment.

The project aims to extend our understanding of why some illicit stimulant users initiate or increase ATS consumption, while others reduce or stop drug use entirely over their life course. In particular, we are interested in exploring the impact of individual differences, social influences, environment and culture on drug use pathways. The project is running in selected areas of Czech Republic, Germany, Poland, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom

**Methodology:** With an exploratory mixed method study design different/predefined groups of stimulant users are recruited in the study: Group 1: Dependent ATS user – scored by SDS scale; Group 2: Formerly dependent ATS user – no ATS use last 12 month; Group 3: Frequent, non-dependent ATS stimulant user; Group 4: Formerly frequent, non-dependent ATS user – no ATS use last 12 month; Group 5: Non-frequent formerly or actual ATS user; Group 6: Non-ATS user – but were exposed to ATS use. In the 5 participating countries 279 interviews have been realised including stratification of user groups: Gr1 = 47; Gr 2 = 56; Gr3 = 48; Gr4 = 37; Gr5 = 49; Gr6 = 42 within the qualitative module. (2000 quantitative interviews will be carried out in 2018). A stratified sampling for user groups has been realized. The analysis of the qualitative semi-structured interviews have been done according to the method of content analysis.

**Significant results:** The following results concerning the course of ATS use (on the average of ten years) and related factors will be presented by user groups: patterns, course of ATS use during lifetime, ATS dependence, drug treatment in the course of live, accompanying course of the use of other drugs, life events, transitions, social integration in the course of life, ATS users' experiences of transitions into diverse patterns of stimulant use and identified trajectories of ATS-use in relation to life events and successful or stressful status passages.

**Conclusions:** Overall the stratified qualitative approach is practicable and appropriate for the investigation of drug use trajectories. The results concerning associations of individual, social and environmental influences with different pathways of ATS-use are considered as basis for the quantitative module of the project.

#### SESSION 7: PERCEPTIONS OF STIMULANT AND NARCOTIC USE

# The association between GHB-related web search queries and GHB-induced intoxication cases

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**Background:** Online activity based surveillance as a potential indicator of social interest is getting more attention in addiction research as well. Web search queries as predictors of substance use trends have been utilized in the past years.

**Goals**: Our aim was to test whether or not GHB-related web search queries show a significant connection with GHB-induced intoxication rates.

**Methods**: Toxicological data was collected by analysing patients' medical reports of the Clinical Toxicology Ward of Péterfy Sándor Street Hospital Clinic and Casualty Centre, the biggest toxicology centre in Hungary. Medical reports between the 14th of September, 2009 and the 13th of June, 2013 were reviewed. Every patient who admitted GHB use or of whom the physicians presumed to had used this substance was administered in the database. Altogether 408 treatment cases were registered. Google Trends was used to monitor web search query rates regarding GHB. Google Trends' web search queries for "*GHB*" and "*Gina drug*" were registered between 2009 September and 2013 June, the same period of the assessed GHB-intoxication cases.

**Results**: The search term "GHB" assessed in the same month showed a correlation of 0.31 (p<0.05) with the number of GHB intoxication cases and a correlation of 0.18 (p>0.05) when the date of intoxication cases were shifted with one month. Regarding the search term "Gina drug", a correlation of 0.18 (p>0.05) was observed in the same month, whereas a correlation of 0.24 (p>0.05) was detected when the dates of GHB intoxication cases were shifted with one month.

**Conclusions**: Same month trends in GHB-related intoxication and web search queries might show a moderate significant overlapse indicating that Google Trends may have the potential to be a useful tool in predicting the rate of clinical cases. However, alternate explanations for the results can also be mentioned, such as a reverse association, as GHB intoxications might as well increase web search queries about this substance. Therefore, further implications still need to be tested, including the examination of a causal relationship between psychoactive substance-related web searches and substance use itself in an individual level.

Harm Reduction Policing: A case study of foot patrol policing at an open drug scene in Copenhagen

#### Tobias Kammersgaard

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**Objective:** In 2012, a policy was introduced that allowed the establishment of drug consumption rooms in Denmark. Following the introduction of the drug consumption rooms it was also decided that the prohibition against possession of illicit drugs for personal use should not be enforced in the immediate vicinity of the drug consumption rooms. The aim of the paper is to describe how policing has been carried out in an open drug scene in Copenhagen after drug possession has been partly decriminalized in this area. The paper also aims to build on the concept of harm reduction. Harm reduction has traditionally been most closely associated with measures aimed at reducing health risks for drug users, such as drug consumption rooms, needle exchange programs and instructions in good injection techniques. However, it has been argued that it might be applied to drug policing as well (Caulkins & Reuter, 2009). In this paper, I build on the concept of Harm Reduction Policing introduced by Caulkins and Reuter (2009).

**Methodology:** The data for the paper have been collected mainly through fieldwork and informal interviews, by shadowing (Czarniawska, 2007) a police officer in Copenhagen on foot patrol. This officer has the main responsibility for policing and patrolling the open drug scene. In addition to this, I am conducting in-depth interviews with him and other stakeholders, such as NGO's, drug users, residents and other police personnel.

**Significant results:** Based on my observations, I argue that Caulkins and Reuter (2009) are missing an important 'pathway' in their model of Harm Reduction Policing. I suggest that the police could and should actively aim to reduce the harm, which are caused to drug users by *others*. Heavily dependent and marginalized drug users, that frequent open drug scenes, are much more prone to be victims of violence, threats and harassment, compared to the general public. Reducing this type of harm is a central concern of the police officer I have been shadowing.

**Conclusions**: In conclusion, the decriminalization of drug possession on the open drug scene in Copenhagen, have opened up a space for a different kind of policing in this area, by eliminating the antagonistic relationship between drug users and the police. This might serve as an inspiration for policy makers and researchers in other European cities that deal with open drug scenes.

Controlling drugs in Europe. The Pompidou Group and the first European collaboration attempts around drug policies in the 1970's

#### Rafaela de Quadros Rigoni

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**Introduction**: Attempts to control the growing flow of people and goods across the globe have led to the development of an international drug control regime from 1900's. In Europe as well, the creation of a common market brought up discussions about the regulation of licit and illicit drugs. If solid literature discusses the establishment of international drug control, not much has been written on how drug control in Europe was created. When did European countries decide that it was time for a joint action to tackle drug use and trade? And how did they arrive at a common "drug problem" and common solutions?

**Objectives:** This historical paper describes the context of the first European collaboration around drug policies in the 1970's, with the creation of the Pompidou Group - Co-operation Group to Combat Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking in Drugs. The analysis focuses on how countries framed a drug problem and solutions for it while trying to reach common grounds for European drug policy. **Methodology:** Frame analysis is used to identify underlying structures of belief and perceptions in the discourses of country representatives during the Pompidou Group debates. The Dutch National Archives, the archives for the Dutch Parliament, and the online archives of the Pompidou Group of the Council of Europe were consulted. Archival material and literature are analysed and coded in NVivo software.

**Results and Conclusions:** a European group to combat drugs gets established in the 1970's despite most participating countries perceived not to have a national drug problem. The collaboration was pushed by the French and backed by the US, to curb drug trafficking flows from the first to the last. Solutions recommending repression towards drug trafficking grew along the decade, with law enforcement and legislation harmonisation occupying a great part of the debates. Repression slowly shifted its focus from a regional control into fighting drugs in producing countries. With regards to health and prevention, the focus shifted from cannabis to heroin, and from understanding drug use to tackling drug "addiction". Exchange visits among countries and joint research collaborations established a basis for spreading a public health approach towards drugs.

**Note**: This study is part of broader research analysing the influence of European collaborations around drug control into Dutch drug policy.

# Pitfalls of drug policy analysis based on public health and law enforcement indicators

#### Benjamin Petruželka

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**Objectives:** Evaluation of European drug policies is a difficult task to undertake due to many factors. Focusing on law enforcement and public health indicators collected by EMCDDA, this contribution discusses selected methodological and conceptual issues of the administrative data analysis.

**Methodology:** The methods used to gather and analyse the data are following: literature review, qualitative document analysis and secondary quantitative analysis. Furthermore, in the case of Czech republic, it is ongoing fieldwork. This contribution is limited to Central European countries ("V4" countries: Czech republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia). However, there are also mentioned other examples from European countries.

**Significant results:** In all four V4 countries, there was in last decade increase in law enforcement indicators. Based solely on the numbers it is not sure what it means. The numbers itself don't help the researcher to interpret what the indicators represent – the priorities of police or actual drug-related crime. To interpret the data, it is vital to have qualitative data about the institutional system and values of its officers, data collection system and more detailed analysis of the case (offence). On the case of Czech law enforcement, I will demonstrate the importance of policing priorities analysis for understanding the law enforcement indicators and, on the case of Polish law enforcement, I will demonstrate the importance of detailed analysis of cases (analysis of the police and courts reports). Furthermore, I will bring in examples from French ethnographic research on the police squads which shows the importance of social organization of police. Considering the public health indicators, based on the ongoing fieldwork, I will discuss the influence of changes in institutional and data collection system in Czech republic which had significant influence on the ability of system to gather the data. The example of Hungary brings in the question of the adequacy of public health monitoring: "if no further HIV cases are detected, is that because there are no new cases or because there are no venues where PWIDs can be tested?" (Rácz et al 2016)

**Conclusions:** One pitfall of drug policy and administrative data analysis is to use only quantitative data. The qualitative research is vital part of administrative data analysis because it helps to contextualize the quantitative data. Thus, we can conclude that to support the European drug policy analysis more qualitative case studies from different countries are needed.

#### Background and Effects of the German New Psychoactive Substances Act

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**Background:** New psychoactive substances (NPS) are not controlled by the United Nations drug conventions, but may still pose a public health threat comparable to that of substances listed in these conventions. Their particularly rapid emergence and the attempts of manufacturers to circumvent legislation in as many countries as possible are of major public concern. To counter the challenges associated with NPS, governments in Europe have responded legally in three different ways: (1) the use of consumer safety or medicine laws, (2) the modification or extension of already existing drug laws, and (3) the introduction of innovative new legislation specifically developed to address the issue.

In Germany, all those three approaches have been used: Before new legislation entered into force, any drug-related criminal offence that had not been explicitly listed in Schedule I to II of the Federal Narcotics Act (BtMG) was commonly classified according to the Medicines Act. Since the Court of Justice of the European Union ruled that substances are not medicinal products if they do not have beneficial effects on human health, NPS were no longer restricted sufficiently. To close this legal gap, the legislator adopted the New Psychoactive Substances Act (NpSG) in addition to the BtMG, which is still constantly updated to encompass those NPS posing a particularly severe threat. The NpSG entered into force in November 2016 in an effort to protect public health. Besides the medium- to long-term reduction of the prevalence of NPS use, the aim of this law is the decriminalization of consumers.

**Objective:** In light of the above, the intended and unintended effects of the NpSG will be assessed within the scope of the project "Evaluation of the Impact of the New Psychoactive Substances Act". On the basis of these observations, conclusions will be drawn to understand the functioning of this law.

**Methods:** Guided narrative interviews are presently conducted with representatives of three different groups of persons affected by the law, namely consumers of NPS, staff of drug treatment facilities, and members of law enforcement authorities. These interviews include questions on perceived changes that may be associated with the introduction of the NpSG as well as questions on opinions regarding legal and criminal policy issues.

**Preliminary results (and conclusions):** Preliminary data from recruitment and first interviews indicate that the NpSG is not received by everybody affected yet. The majority of the sufficiently informed interviewees acknowledged the progressive idea behind the law but noticed also discrepancies between theory and practice. In their experience, consumers are still criminalized, since substances are usually seized and there is always an initial suspicion regarding an offence in accordance with the BtMG. Furthermore, there appears to be a lack of uniform guidelines for members of law enforcement authorities throughout Germany and remaining uncertainties with regard to the interpretation of certain aspects of the law.

Gaining access to hidden populations: An exploratory online study of cannabis user motives and life trajectories

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**Background:** Compared to policy developments in other European states, Swedish drug policy can be characterized as repressive and prohibitionist. This contributes to make illicit drug use a stigmatized activity that people refrain from confessing to and doing openly. From a research perspective it is difficult to reach illicit drug users in prohibitionist policy contexts and elucidate crucial issues such as user motivations and life trajectories. To study hidden populations the best option is usually to approach clinical samples that seek a way out of a problematic life situation. Such samples can be expected to differ significantly from user groups that actively use illicit drugs without a pronounced intention to quit. A way forward is to approach users online. In previous studies, we have shown that people are willing to discuss cannabis at Swedish online forums, probably due to the anonymity of that environment.

**Objectives:** In this project we attempt to tease out insiders' views on cannabis use in Sweden through a combination of online and offline methods. The main objective was to analyse how cannabis users in a prohibitionist policy context weigh pros and cons of continuous use in light of the control measures they experience.

**Methodology:** We started a discussion thread at Flashback (a Swedish online message-board), posing questions relating to this theme. We also made alerts about this thread in Facebook groups dedicated to cannabis. Those discussants who contacted the research team with questions and comments were also invited to participate in interviews targeting experiences of living with cannabis.

**Results:** We received 238 posts, with 150 unique answers. The vast majority had formulated their posts similar to answers in a questionnaire, based on the questions asked in our initial post. Due to this, we could do a quantitative mapping of main cannabis-related motives and experiences, which could be further explored with qualitative analysis of the online and the interview material. **Conclusions:** Online and offline material coherently indicate that respondents use a mix of recreational and medicinal motives to describe and legitimize their consumption. The possibility to reach a hidden population of cannabis users, was probably made more likely due to the already established online arenas we targeted along with the politicized character of the substance. Similar data collection methods should work well in less prohibitionist contexts too, in order to study new and unknown as well as traditional and debated substances.

'Beyond symbolic boundaries between people who use drugs? From research to action, change and social movement(s)'

#### Michelle Van Impe

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Belgium

**Objectives**: Previous qualitative research on narrative identity constructions of people who use illegal drugs (PWUDs) has shown that PWUDs generally experience stigma and consequently seek to construct a storied 'good' self. They partly do so by creating in- and out-groups and by pointing out how other drug users are 'worse'. Typologies such as the recreational user, the medical user and the problematic user are seen as common sense divisions between PWUDs. Furthermore, these distinctions are based on the core question if a person who uses drugs is able to maintain control or not. These narratives where people claim to belong to realm of normality despite their illegal drug use, have generally been analysed as empowering. Nevertheless, critical scholars have noted that through applying normalizing discourses for oneself (and the in-group) while discrediting them for other PWUDS (i.e. the out-groups), stigmata are also reproduced by PWUDs and academics alike. The objective of this paper is to raise the critical question if and how this theoretical state of the art can be challenged.

**Methodology**: Based on an extensive literature review, Participatory Action Research (PAR) seems a valid research philosophy and strategy to encounter this challenge. PAR stands for democratizing the research process by directly including the participants in several phases of the study such as the data-gathering and the analysis. Moreover, PAR aims at questioning/deepening theoretical knowledge by creating critical and reflexive dialogical spaces where participants can engage in coconstructing knowledge, based on their everyday lives. Consequently, this study will bring together diverse 'types' of drug users as a research team to reflect and work on this theoretical topic. Furthermore, international- and European-based social movements have shown in practice that it is possible to bring different PWUDs together, even though not all goals or ideas are shared. Particularly interesting is to analyse the development process of international organizations and how they negotiated differing ways, meanings and aspirations connected to drug use.

**Results and conclusions**: Critical PAR-projects in other disciplines (mainly feminist scholarship) and broad international movements of PWUDs have shown that people are capable to see similarities rather than focusing on segregating differences through social interaction, negotiation and empathy. Albeit the proposed research strategy of this study is innovative in this particular topic, the literature and practice indicate that working with and towards each other, offers real-life possibilities to blur the symbolic boundaries between PWUDs and the stigma attached to them.

Using a two-step approach to protect research participants' identity when recruiting hidden populations

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**Objectives:** A challenge when recruiting hidden populations lies in determining who is eligible to take part and who is not. Snowball sampling or screening questionnaires are commonly used to overcome this. However, asking for contact details and sensitive data (e.g. illegal substance use) together increases the risk of negative outcomes for participants (e.g. prosecution) and so does not represent ethical best practice. Practical guidance on this matter appears to be lacking. This presentation draws upon my doctoral research to illustrate how contact details and sensitive data can be separated in the recruitment phase in order to best protect potential research participants' identity.

**Methodology:** My study comprised face-to-face interviews with University students who use legal but not illegal substances. Therefore, I had to screen out, inter alia, users of illegal substances. I used a two-step approach to collect the necessary data. Interested individuals (recruited in person or otherwise) provided contact details in an online sign-up form. They were then referred to a separate screening questionnaire asking for sensitive data including on (illegal) substance use. When an individual had completed both parts, I could ascertain their eligibility and invite them for interview if eligible. To make this approach workable, I had to ensure that both parts are completed and that they can be linked. To address the former, I used printed and electronic reminders. For the latter, I developed a bespoke linking system, generating a unique pair of anonymous identifiers for each potential research participant.

**Results:** Over 75% of interested individuals completed both the sign-up form and the screening questionnaire. For the potential research participants, completing two parts and using identifiers did not appear to be an issue. It was possible to link all data while keeping identifying and sensitive data separate.

**Conclusions:** A two-step approach, consisting of a sign-up form and a screening questionnaire and supported by a linking system and reminders, can help to better protect potential research participants during snowball sampling and is a feasible alternative where simple screening questionnaires are not desirable from an ethical perspective.

#### **SESSION 10: INTERVENTION RESEARCH**

Needs assessment for Feasibility of Recovery Oriented practices in Croatia: Rehabilitation Drug treatment, Reintegration in the community and legal system programs

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**Background:** The study was done to evaluate needs and make a proposal on implementation of adult drug treatment programs, recovery/ reintegration services in Croatia, using as reference Good Practices Triple R project, with transfer of GP from Sweden, Belgium, Spain and Italy to Croatia. (HOME/2014/JDRU/AG/DRUG/7092 -Triple R: Rehabilitation for Recovery and Reinsertion" project. **Objectives**: To detect and implement possible drug services about Recovery, Reintegration and Rehabilitation and to design and start-up of new projects and or initiatives, more effective, feasible and adapted to actual social context.

**Methodology:** Qualitative analysis and quantitative sources of information (reports and documents). Qualitative analysis of primary data, with quantitative analysis of secondary data (Reports and Memories). For compilation of information, mainly semi-structured interview, combined with focus groups have been used. Number of interviews= 22. Stakeholders have been selected because their conditions of experts in drug problems, technical/political influence and experience in the field. These interviews have been done in Croatian, English, Italian and Spanish.

Added qualitative information has been collected with the inclusion of focus groups. The focus groups developed during the Study visits (Professional staff of social services, in Zagreb (20/04/2017), 5 participants; Drug users in harm reduction program, in Pula (25/04/2017), 9 participants; representatives of Government Office of Fight Against Drugs, Ministry of Justice and University; Drug users in harm reduction program, in Pula (25/04/2017), 9 participants). Qualitative analysis has been done using ATLAS.ti V8

**Conclusions:** NPS social health program early intervention contingence management (CRA), empowerment, life skills, behavioural modification and personal training (Recovery based programs). Program of rehabilitation and social integration for Romanian population in urban areas. Proposal of residential services/Recovery based programs for drug users with minority background.

- Recovery based programs for opiates users (pharmacotherapy and motivational interview);

- Residential treatment for binge drugs& alcohol users, especially female population (psychosocial intervention).

Residential services for pregnant women& women with children, (empowerment, life skills, training in personal and social abilities and job-seeking. Psychosocial treatment program for children of drugs users, especially women. Programs of Autonomy for drug users in treatment, especially focused in Life skills and job seeking (Sustainable livelihoods). Program for family training, "parental competences" or other programs based in family skills and abilities.

#### **SESSION 10: INTERVENTION RESEARCH**

Women's experiences of mother & child residential drug and alcohol treatment and factors that impact on progression pathways: a longitudinal qualitative study

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**Background:** In the addiction field there is currently a dominant assumption that women who use drugs and alcohol are a special population with unique and complex needs, and that they want single-sex treatment. However, women are not a homogenous group, rather, they have a diverse range of treatment wants and needs, and this dominant belief can paradoxically limit the range and type of services available to women and men, and perpetuate gender stereotypes. The evidence-base of the effectiveness of single-sex treatment services is limited and inconclusive, and there is a scarcity of qualitative studies that explore single-sex treatment from the perspective of women. This paper adds to this body of scholarship by exploring women's experiences of a mother & child residential treatment setting and examining factors that impact on progression pathways.

**Methods:** This paper offers a secondary analysis of the qualitative findings of a mixed-method longitudinal evaluation study of a Therapeutic Community residential treatment programme in Ireland. The qualitative data was collected using semi-structured interviews at four points: at treatment intake, six months, twelve months and eighteen months. Purposive sampling was used, and eight participants served as the sub-sample for the current paper. Three were mothers with children in residence, three were mothers who did not reside with their children, one woman had adult children, and one woman had no children. The final retention rate for all four interviews was 50%. A total of 23 interview transcripts were analysed, using a thematic analysis framework. Theoretically, the analytic framework incorporated a sociological gender analysis, and was informed by the concept of intersectionality.

**Findings:** The women-only programme had a lower rate of programme completion, and a higher rate of self-discharge compared to the men-only programme. There were also gender differences in perceived physical and psychological health. The findings suggest a diversity of experiences for women who reside in the mother & child residential treatment setting, with mothers who had children in residence noting particular challenges. While there might be an assumption that women should reside with their children as the preferred option, this might not be the most appropriate or preferred case for all mothers. This assumption can impact on women's recovery proves, serve to perpetuate gendered societal norms about how women should behave and the labour that they are responsible for, and fail to address underlying inequalities.

**SESSION 11: POLICY 2** 

#### 10 years of NPS. Chasing the white rabbit?

#### Artur Malczewski

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**Objectives:** This paper looks at NPS legal changing in Poland in reference to other countries, which have had NPS problem

**Methodology:** Desk Research and papers of experts who had been attended in NPS conferences organized by RFP on NPS in Krakow, Poznan and Warsaw

**Significant Results:** In 2010, Poland, similarly to IE (2010), RO (2011) and the UK (2016) introduced legislative solutions in the form of the blanket ban on NPS. Unlike in other countries (IE, UK, RO, LV) NPS high street stores are still doing business in Poland. The introduction of the blanket ban was grounded in the administrative law however only 3% of EUR 15 million worth of the penalties imposed on the owners of the NPS stores was collected. The results of the surveys conducted among young people in Poland in 2008-2016 such as Youth (CBOS 2017) and Mokotow Survey (Ostaszewski 2017) might indicate a decrease in the NPS prevalence in Poland. However, the NPS-related poisonings rate remains relatively high: 4369 cases in 2016 (Burda 2016). Supply reduction measures limited access to NPS. The number street NPS stores fell in Poland from 1400 in 2010 to 100 in 2016. The results of surveys among the clients of needle and syringe exchange programmes show that, similarly to RO and HU, they are mainly NPS users. The situation among different countries is hard to assess due to the scarcity of representative sample surveys. The ESPAD survey conducted in 2016 provided the highest lifetime prevalence rates of NPS use in PL and EE (10% in each country). NPS prevalence rates recorded among school students in Estonia are not confirmed by other sources. **Conclusions:** The analysis of the NPS situation in Poland compared to other countries might yield

the following conclusions: 1)administrative solutions are not effective enough to eliminate the sale of NPS at high street stores (PL); 2) introducing new legislative solutions in the case of countries stricken with the NPS problems might also not be sufficient (PL, HU); 3) it might be argued that countries with liberal drug policies do not experience as many problems related to NPS or this problem does not exist there (e.g. CZ, PT, NL); however, this claim must be further tested. On the other hand there are countries with strict drug policies where NPS prevalence rates are very low (e.g. LT, EE); 4) International NPS survey should be interpreted be interpreted with caution; 5) Harsh sanction against NPS could have an short term negative impact (PL October 2010, July 2015; RO 2011).

**SESSION 11: POLICY 2** 

#### Dynamics of the NPS Market in Latvia in Relation to Changes in Legislation

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The NPS phenomenon varies from country to country, in terms of prevalence, types of substances or patterns of use, e.g. fentanyl group more prevalent in Northern Europe; synthetic cannabinoid use among homeless people in some areas in UK; cathinones injection in HU and PL, and other. Therefore, countries have responded to the NPS problem in various ways (EMCDDA, 2016; Corazza, O., Roman-Urrestaraza, A. (Ed.), 2017). In this study, Latvian experience was analysed, focusing on the impact of legislative measures on the NPS market.

**Objectives:** to analyse and characterize changes of the NPS market between 2010 and 2017 caused by changes in the legislation.

**Methods:** desk research; analysis of quantitative data (seizures, prices, registered emergencies etc.). Thematic analysis of qualitative data - 20 semi-structured face-to-face interviews between August and December 2017 with police officers who work with drug related cases and a focus group discussion in December 2017 with high risk drug users (10 people) from Riga and Riga region. Themes of the interviews and the focus group - NPS market description; observed changes, current trends and threats, user's profile, attitudes towards NPS.

**Main findings:** Latvia was one of countries among others (e.g., IE and PL) where NPS became widespread among young people. Availability significantly decreased in 2014 when a new legislation package was introduced (rapid temporary ban, generic system, criminal sanctions). Initially, NPS, in particular *Spice* was prevalent among young people. Due to the changes in the legislation *Spice* use significantly decreased. Currently, there are very few people who choose *Spice*, mainly marginalised group (like in UK).In addition, very negative attitude towards *Spice* observed. Some indications that negative attitude could promote greater interest in herbal cannabis. Legality triggered *Spice* use among youngsters, however, there are other factors that cause emergence of other NPS on the illegal market, e.g. difficulties in heroin market has triggered use of carfentanil among PWID.

**Conclusion:** Legislative changes have impact on the NPS market, especially when transformed from widespread and "legal" to the illegal (similar results in IE in 2010). Results show significant reduction in prevalence; changes in user's profile and types of used substances. Currently, NPS use is observed among people from marginalized group that was mainly triggered by difficulties in the heroin market (like in HU, PL). Negative association of NPS could have promoted greater interest in conventional drugs.

**SESSION 11: POLICY 2** 

Blurring the Lines Between Participant Observation and Action Research: The case of the Scottish Drug Policy Conversations

Anna Ross

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**Objectives:** The objective of this research was to explore competing and common narratives within drug policy communities in Scotland.

**Methods:** The overarching methodological approach was interpretive policy analysis, and this incorporated multiple research methods including interviews, data analyses, auto-ethnography, participant observation and action research. It is the latter two methods that this presentation will be focussing on, and in particular the blurring between participation in policy groups and emerging action research.

In order to explore involvement in drug policy community I set up a stakeholder group called the Scottish Drug Policy Conversation (SDPC). The aim was to bring multiple stakeholders, including government, police, 3<sup>rd</sup> sector and drug consumers together in a facilitated and deliberative environment.

**Results:** SDPC has provided a rich source of data for exploring competing and current narratives within the Scottish drug policy communities, yet I have struggled to understand exactly what type of data collection method it is. Ultimately the process created the conditions for co-constructing themes and narratives relevant to my research, and the broader drug policy conversation in Scotland. Yet in doing so it started to shape narratives within the community by creating the environment of open discussion and a willingness to engage in topics which are controversial, such as legalization and the pleasure associated with drug use. In addition channels of communication and collaboration were, and are, providing the space for deeper deliberations on often contentious drug policy issues. Blurring the lines between participation and action has helped break down some traditional boundaries that existed between policy makers, and policy stakeholders.

**Discussion:** My research seeks to go beyond the formation of policy at the top level and find the underlying narratives which guide drug policy, and those involved in the policy process. It explores how drug policy can be best understood as emerging from the policy community: that the involvement of non-traditional policy actors such as drug consumer can impact how policy is made going forward; and these personal stories and collective journeys can result in a policy landscape that is focused on the health of its citizens, as opposed to ideological positions. The implications are that as more European countries explore alternative drug policy strategies, the legitimacy of these strategies can be enhanced by involvement of multiple stakeholders in both the agenda setting stage and the policy formation process.