

**International workshop on illicit drug markets
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Interactions

**Drug markets – drug policy –
policy effects**

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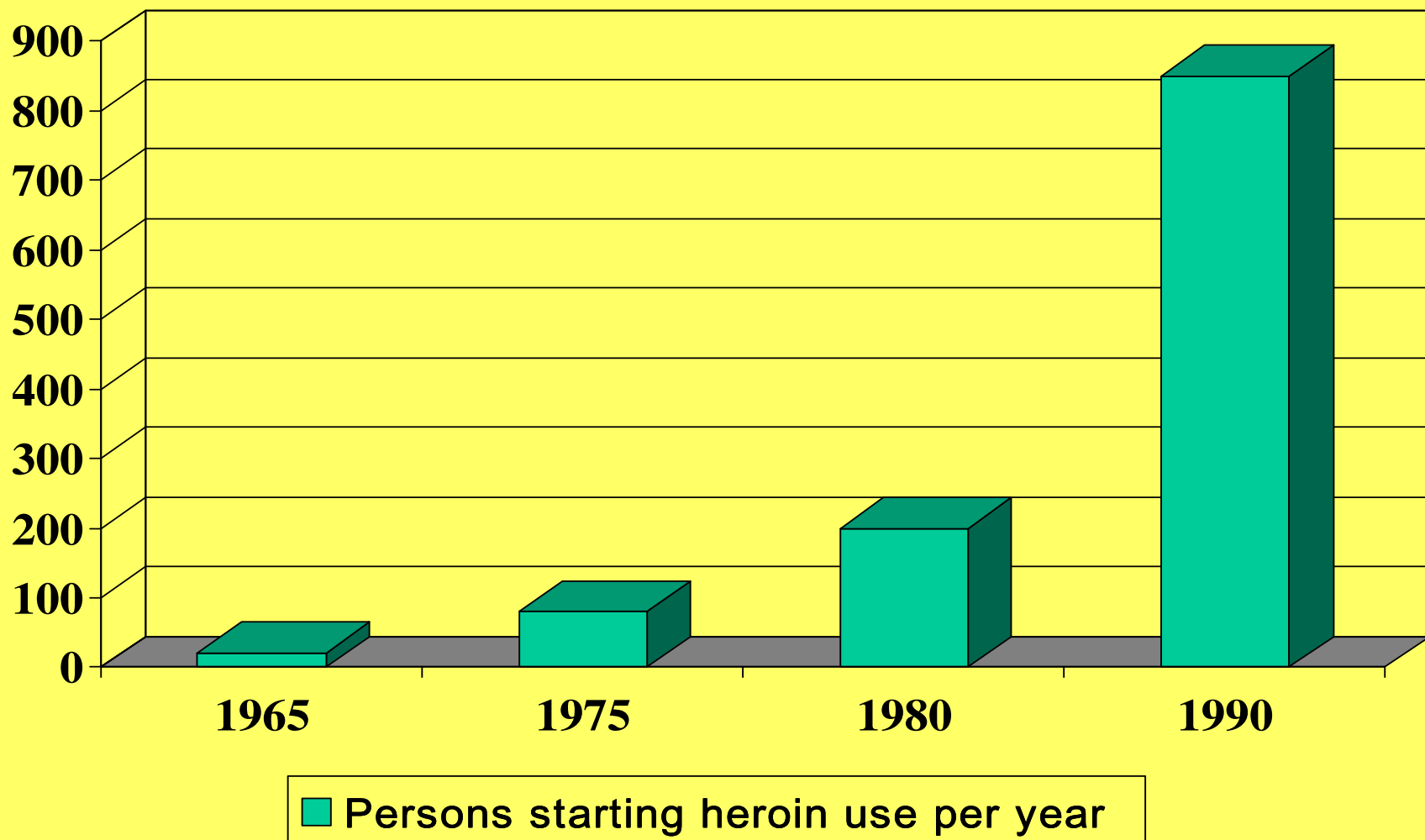
A WHO Collaborative Center

Phase 1 (before ca.1991)

Dominant illicit drug	Heroin (Benzodiazepines)
Dominant policy	Prohibition, law enforcement Abstinence-oriented therapy & prevention
Public resources	Primarily for law enforcement Subsidised NGO's for treatment and prevention
Effects	Competitive illicit markets (heroin) „Needle parks“ in major cities Increase of OD, HIV, crime

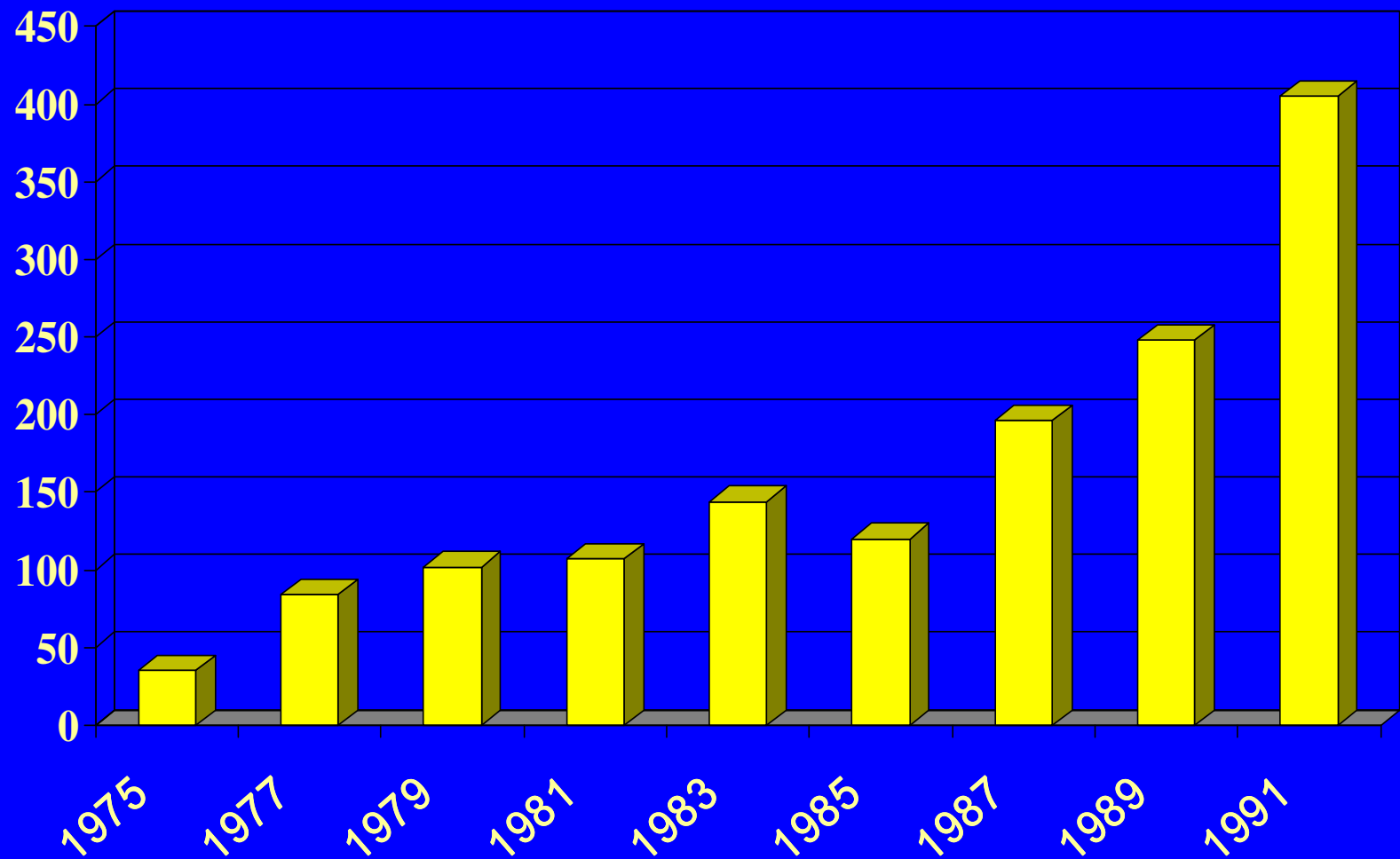
Incidence of new heroin users

(Nordt & Stohler, The Lancet 2006)



Overdose death CH 1975-1991

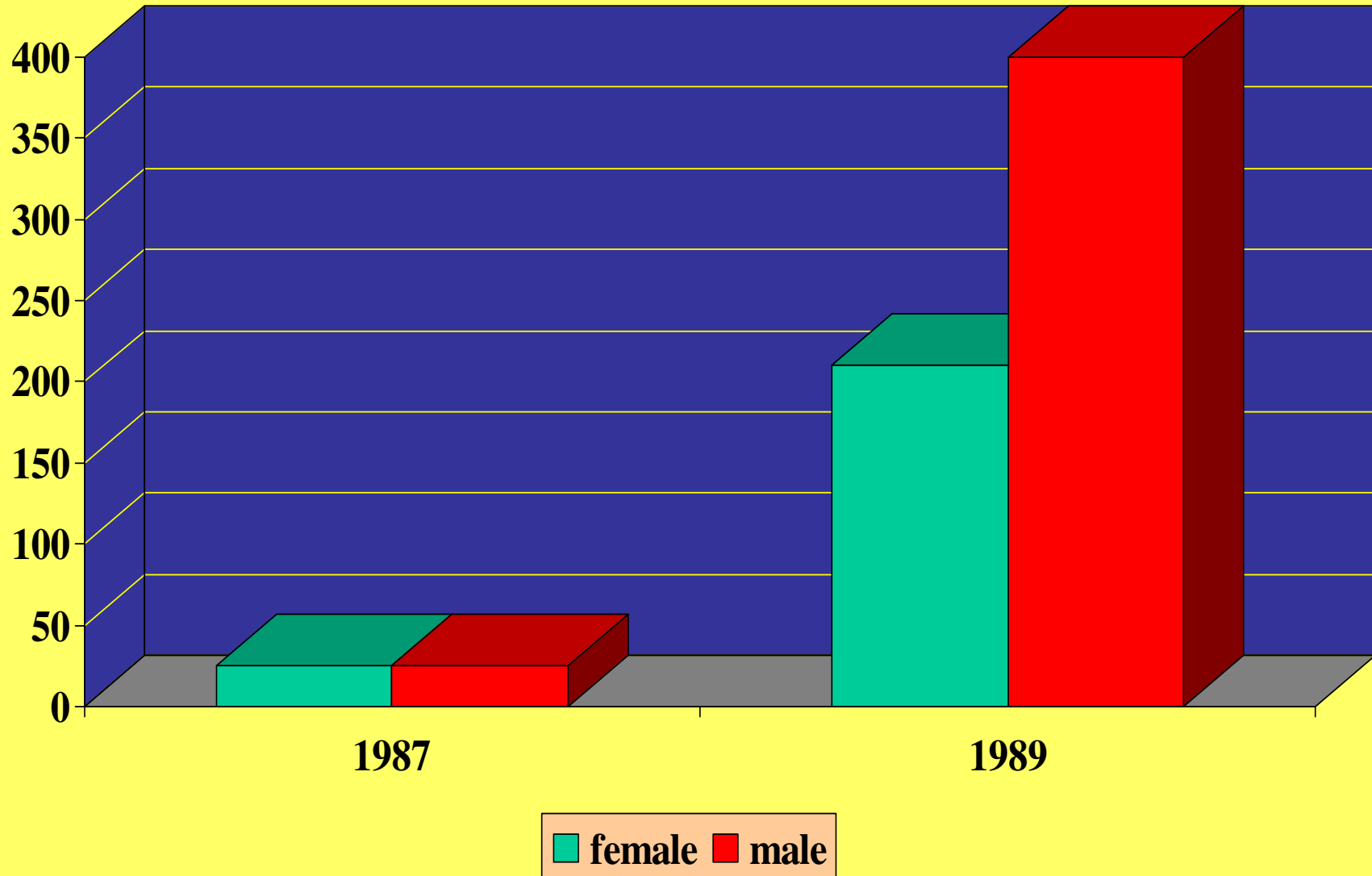
(Federal Office Police 2006)



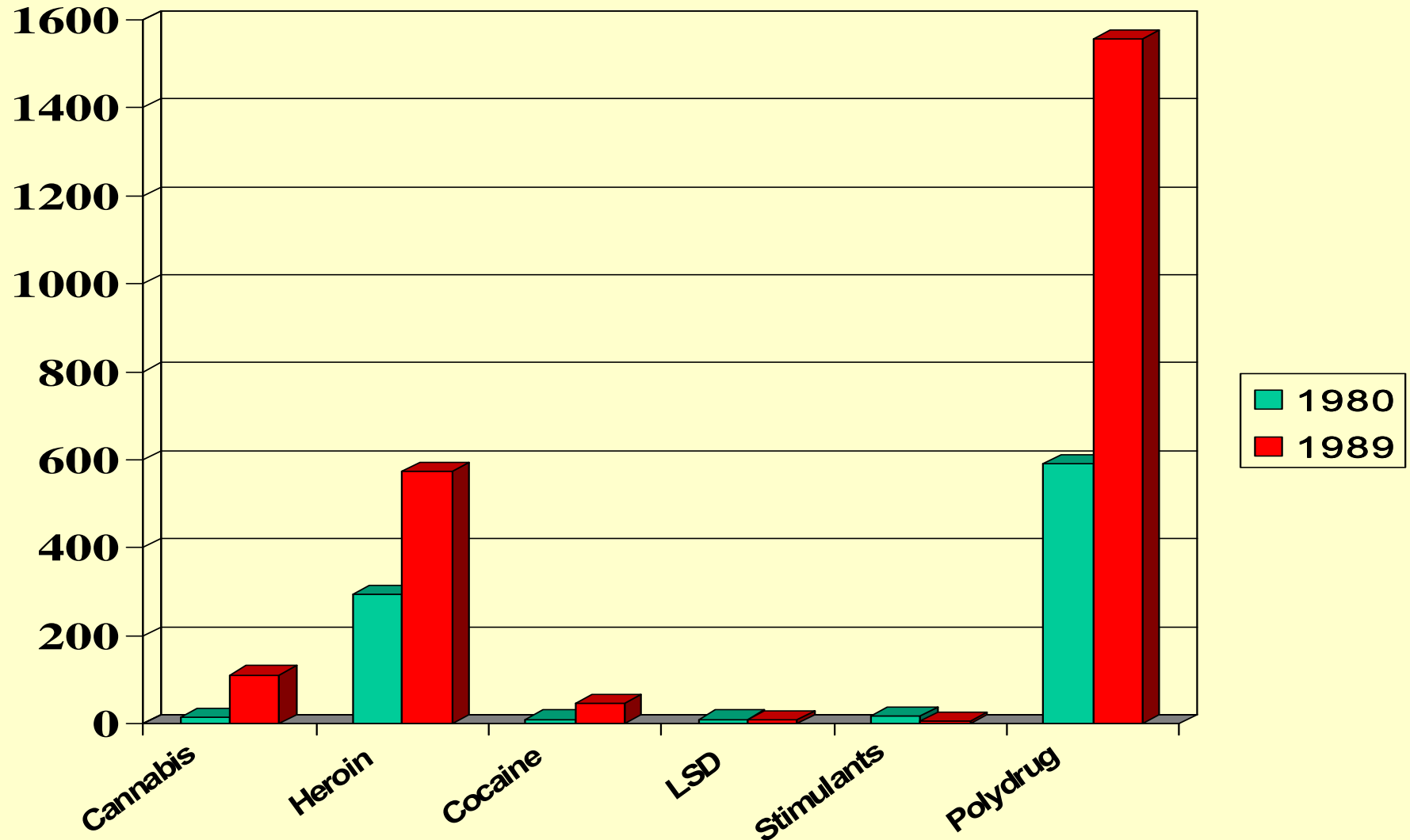
■ Number death cases

New HIV+ cases in IVDU 1987-1989

(Federal Office Public Health 2006)



Psychiatric Hospitalisations (Cases CH, Data from OBSAN)

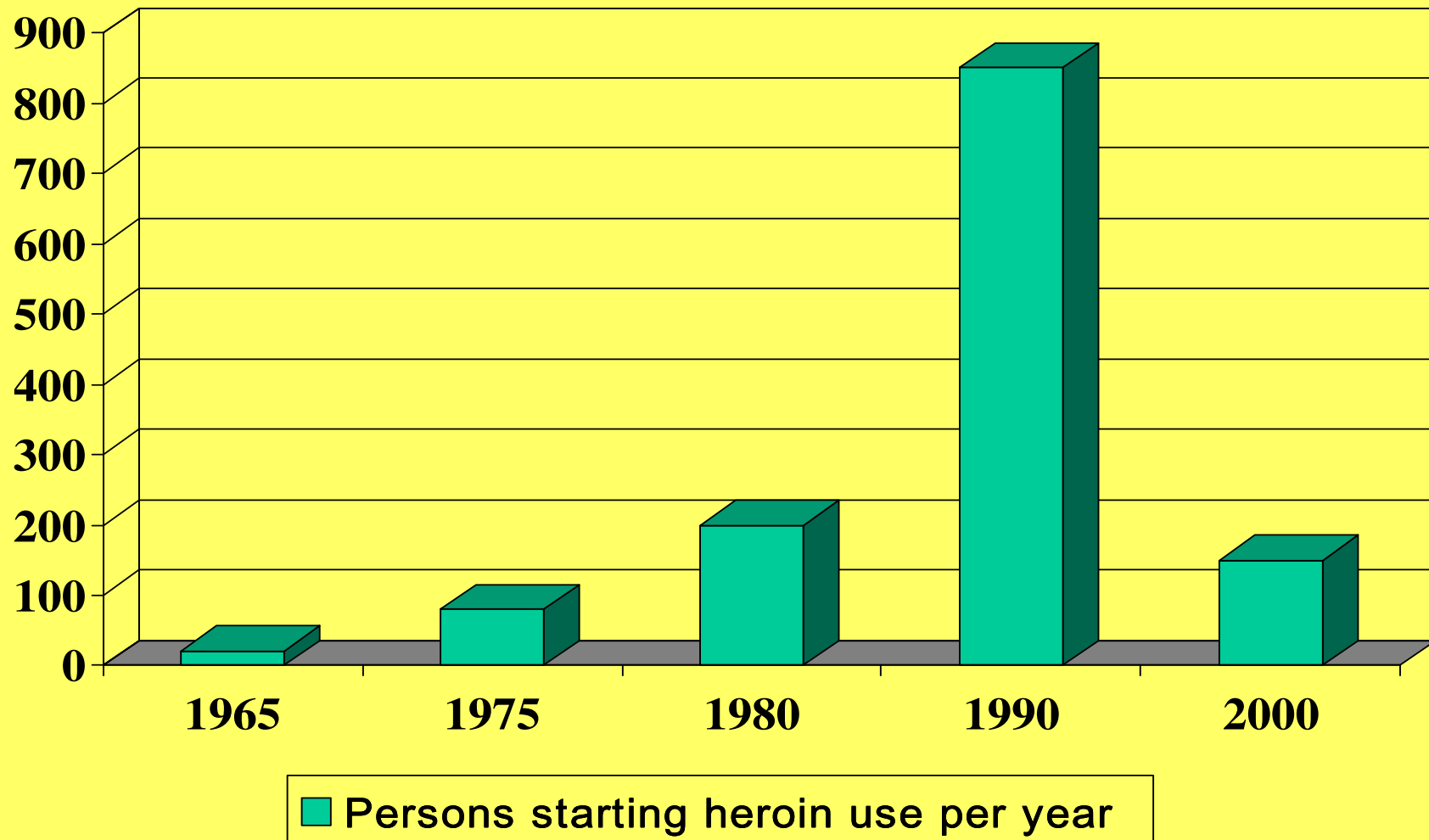


Phase 2 (ca. 1991-2001)

Dominant illicit drug	From heroin to cocaine & cannabis Designer drugs & stimulants
Dominant policy	„4 pillars“ (Prevention-treatment-harm reduction-law enforcement New cannabis policy intended
Public resources	Funding innovations in all pillars Increased budgets for monitoring and research
Effects	Reduction of heroin-related harm, increasing cannabis problems, huge cannabis markets & export

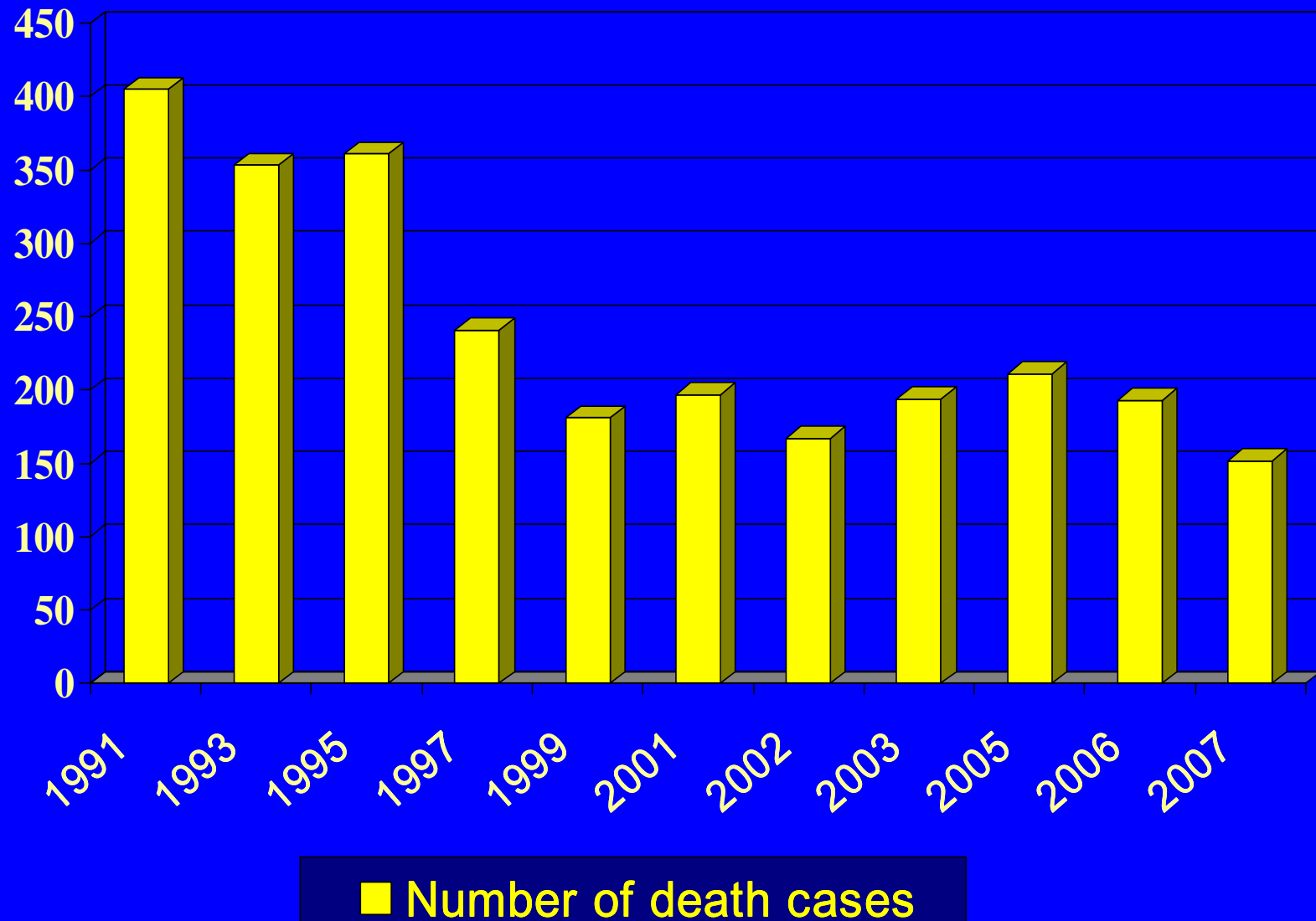
Incidence of new heroin users

(Nordt & Stohler, The Lancet 2006)



Overdose death CH 1991-2007

(Federal Office Police 2008)

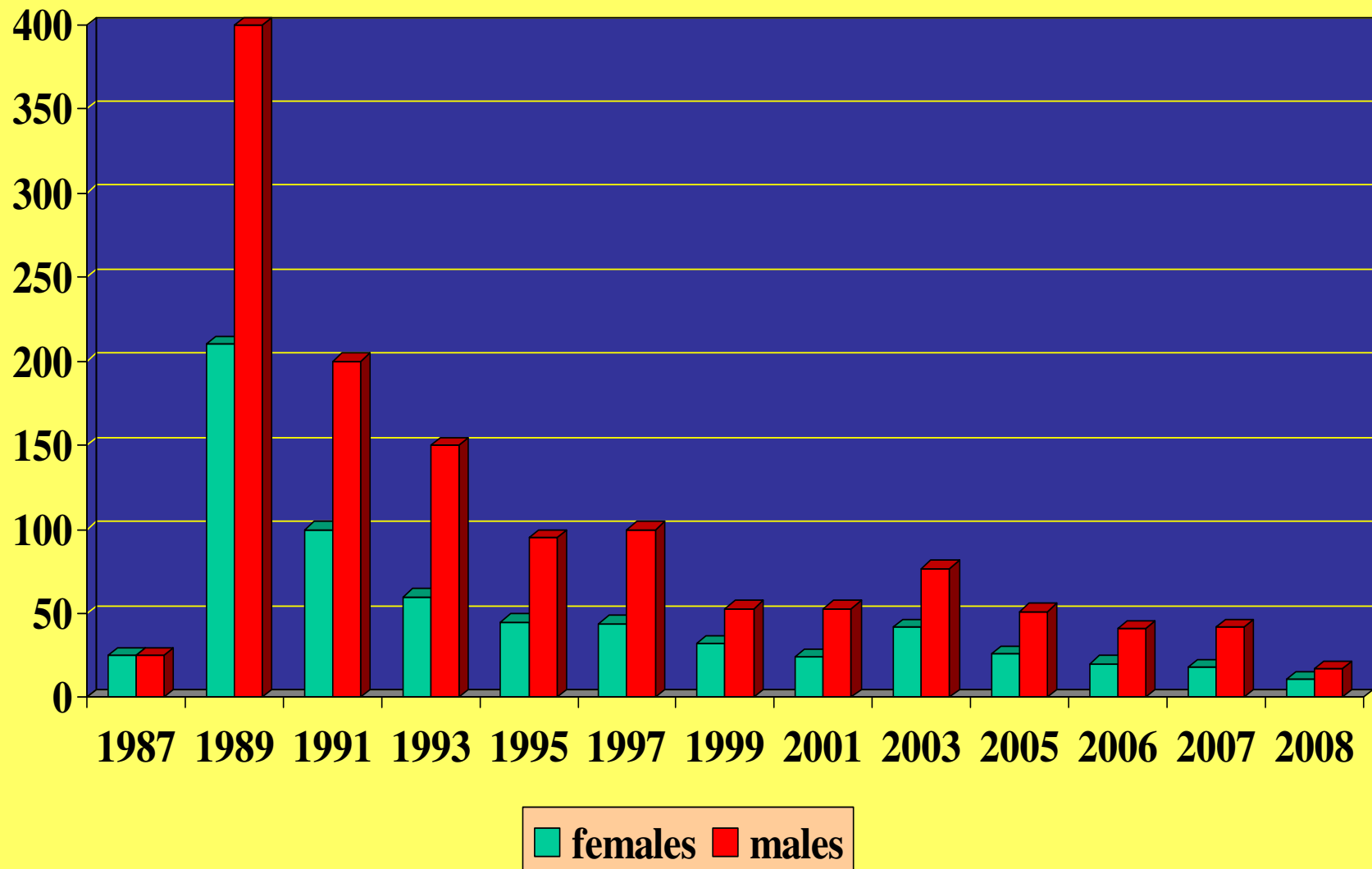


Risk behaviour of IVDU in low threshold contact centers (Federal Office Public Health 2007)

Variable	1993	1996	2000	2006	Signif.
i.v. use last 6 Mths	95 %	95 %	87 %	74 %	***
Years with i.v.use (median)	6	9	12	15	***
Needle sharing letzte 6 Mte	17 %	11 %	12 %	9 %	***
i.v.use in public	21 %	9 %	9 %	5 %	***

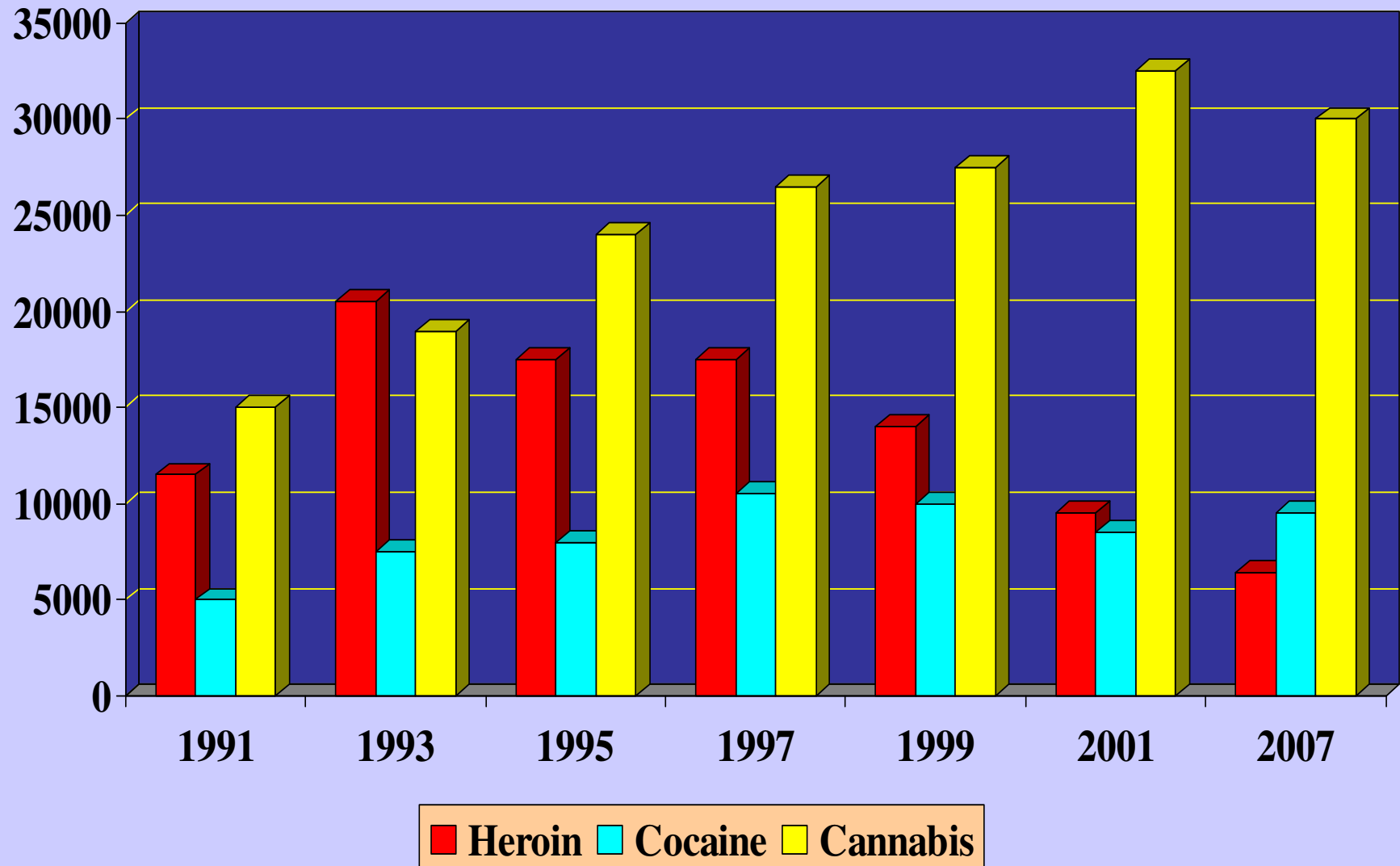
HIV+ cases in ICDU

(Federal Office of Public Health 2009)



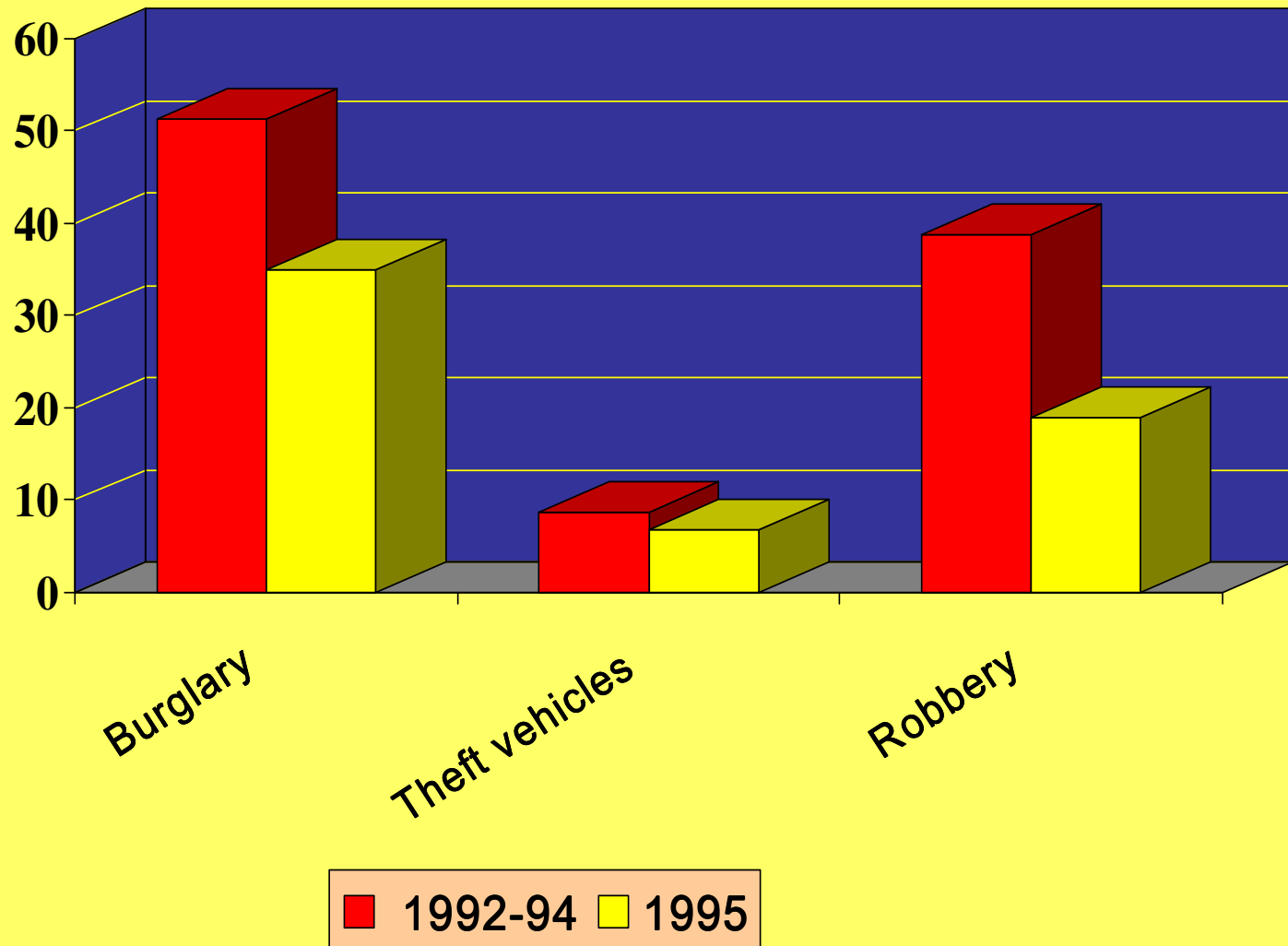
Police notifications for drug use 1991-2007

(Police data FEDPOL 2008)



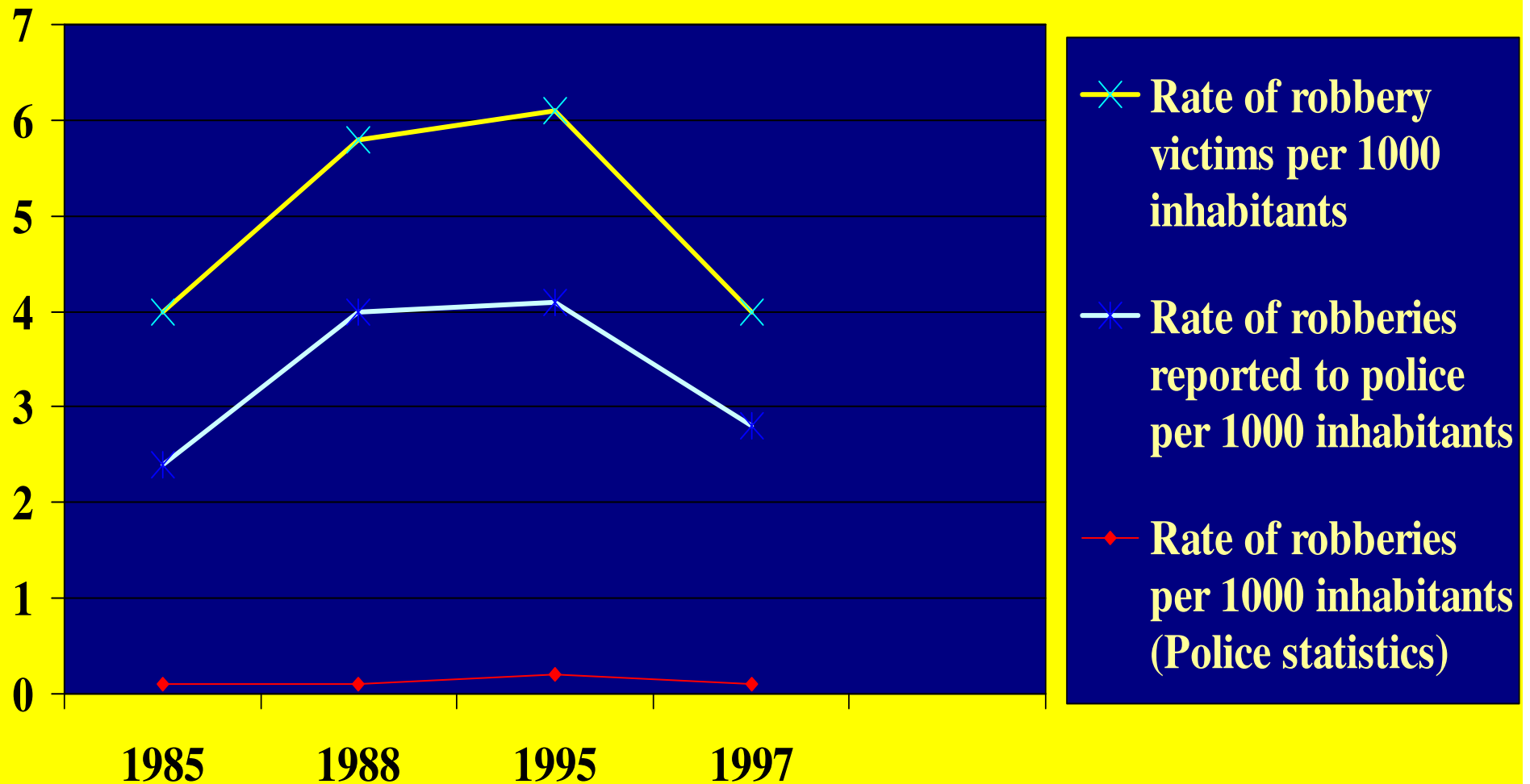
Reductions in drug-related delinquency

(Police data city of Zurich, Killias 2002)



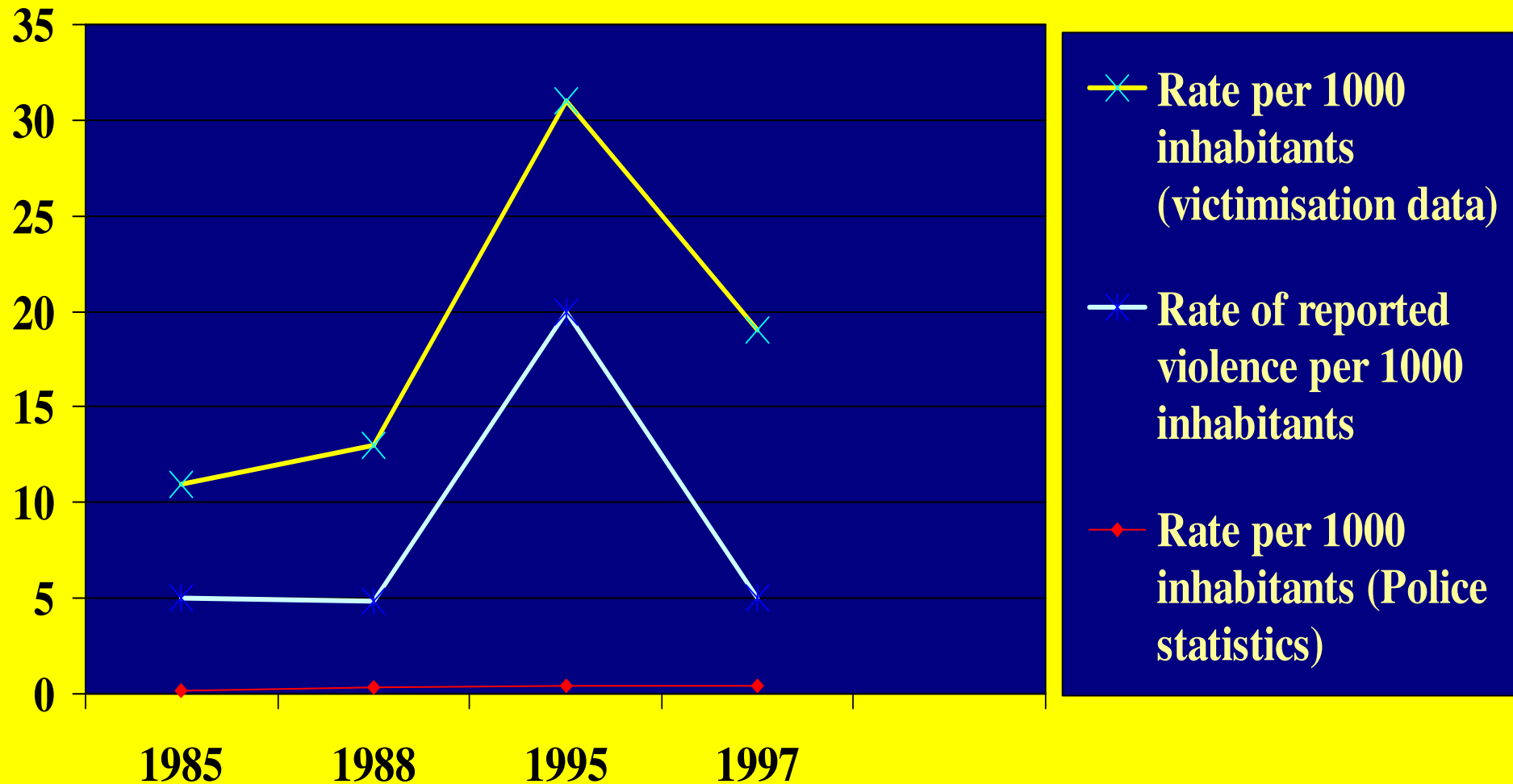
Street robbery rates

(Victimisation study, Killias 2000)



Street violence rates

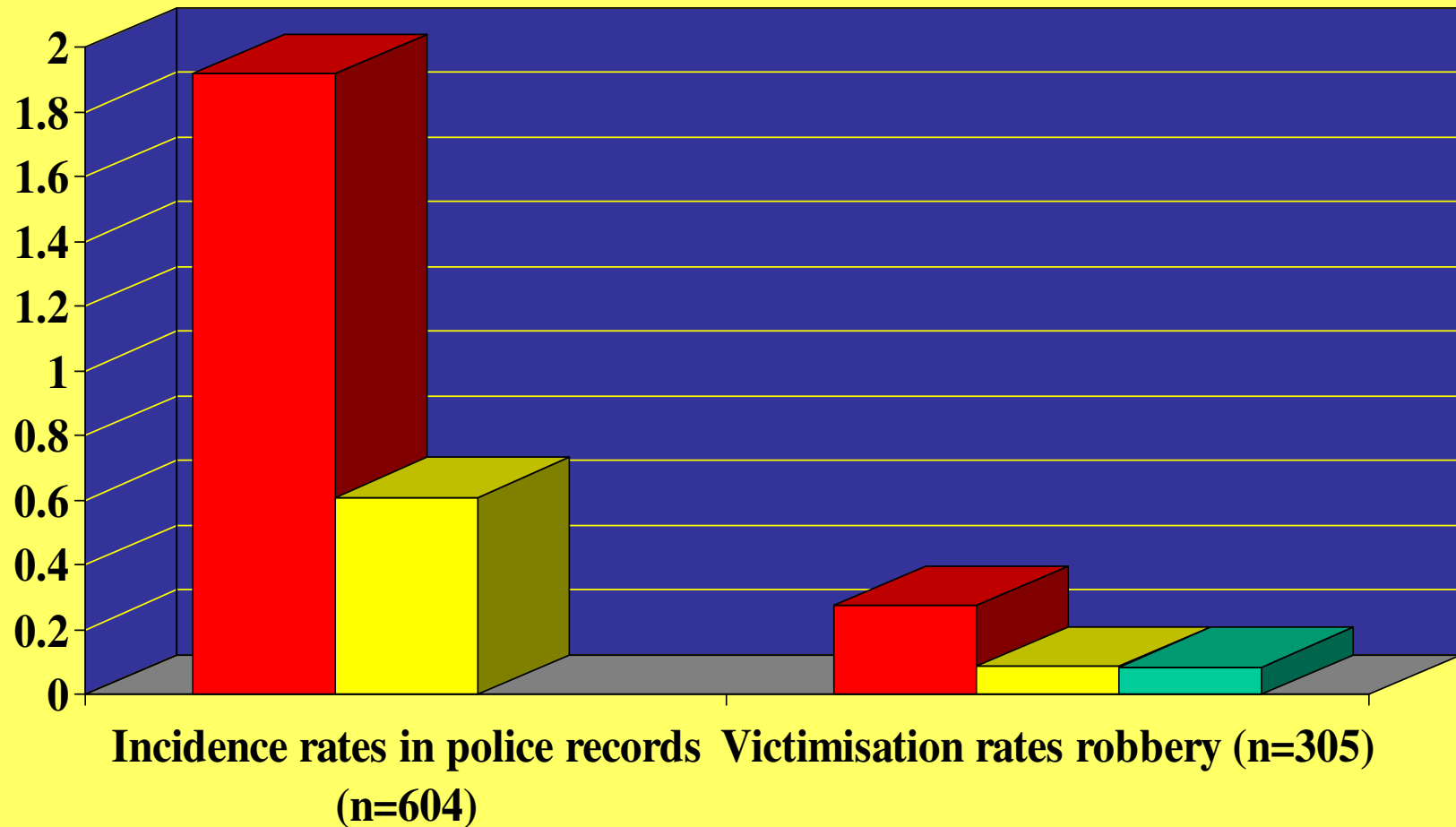
(Victimisation study, Killias 2000)



Effects of heroin-assisted treatment after 6 years (Güttinger et al 2002)

Variables	Patients At entry	Patients At 6-years	Ex- patients At entry	Ex- patients At 6 years	Signif. m.d.=2
Illegal heroin use	84.7%%	3.8%	76.1%	18.9%%	<0.001
Illegal cocaine use	27.5%	5.3%	30.8%	9.8%	n.s.
Illegal benzo- diazepine use	18.8%	4.5%	16.3%	3.6%	n.s.
Illegal cannabis use	31.1%	33.9%	32.8	36.0	n.s.

Impact of heroin-assisted treatment on participant's delinquency (Killias et al 1999)



■ Before entry ■ at 6 months ■ at 12 months

Implementation effects: Public order

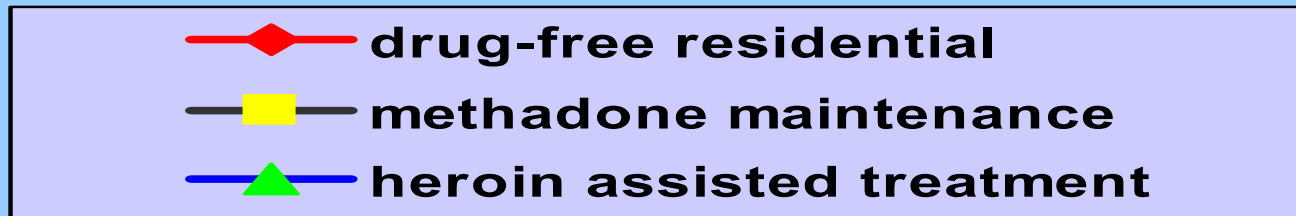
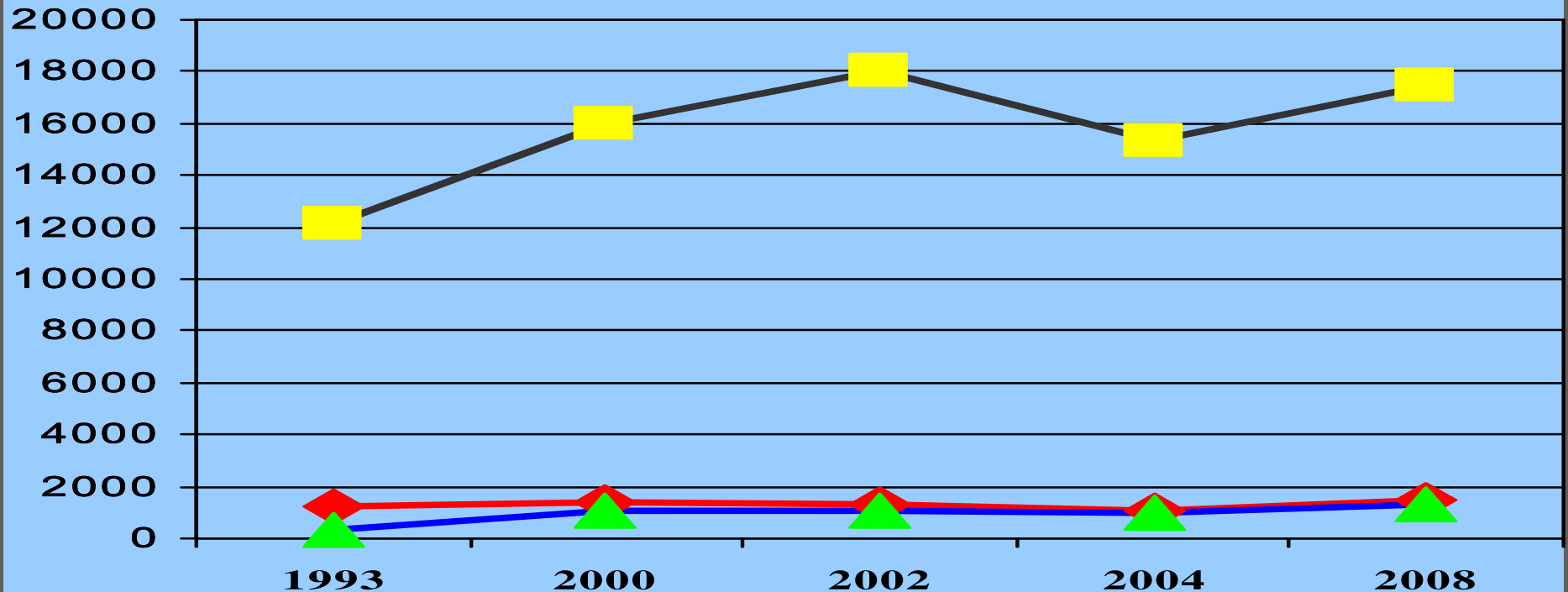
- **Open drug scenes in cities disappeared; trafficking dislocated to private apartments**
- **Less drug injecting in public places, less visibility of drug users living unattended and in misery**
- **Less used needles and syringes in public places**

Market effects: drug prices

(Federal Office Police 2009)

	1996	1999	2002	2005	2008
Heroin	40-250	30-200	20-120	20-120	20-120
Cocaine	70-250	60-200	35-200	50-200	35-150
Cannabis	4-10	5-15	2-20	2-15	4-17

Treatment slots CH 1993-2008



Approval of different measures by the population (% in favour)

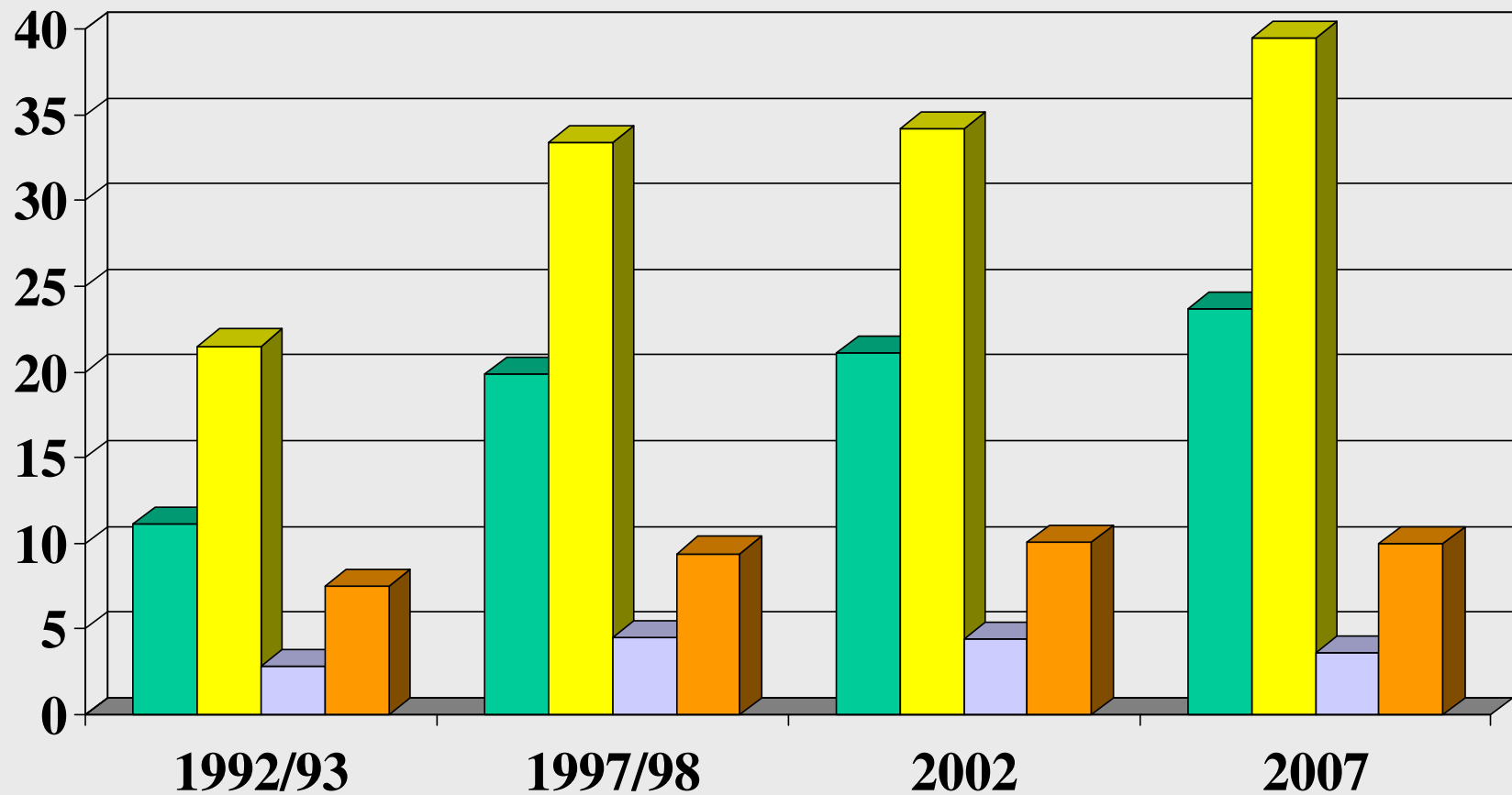
(Zobel 2004)

	1991	1994	1997
Drug prevention in schools	97	98	98
Range of treatment provided	96	97	96
Prosecution of drug dealers	97	96	95
Sale/distribution of syringes to control spread of AIDS	87	90	89
Heroin or cocaine prescription under medical supervision	67	74	69
Provision of injection rooms	63	76	72
Tolerance for use or sale of small amounts of hashish	42	53	42
Unrestricted sale of hashish and marijuana	29	35	35
Tolerance for use or sale of small amounts of heroin and cocaine	15	17	21
Fine / imprisonment for all drug users	13	10	19
Involuntary detoxification	38	36	40

Phase 3 (ca.2001-)

Dominant illicit drug	Cannabis, stimulants, designer drugs
Dominant policy	4 pillars consolidated New cannabis policy refused, increased repressive interventions
Public resources	Overall reduced budgets and reduced activities
Effects	Stagnating problems with party drugs and cannabis, increasing alcohol problems

Cannabis use, age 15-39 (Swiss Health Surveys)



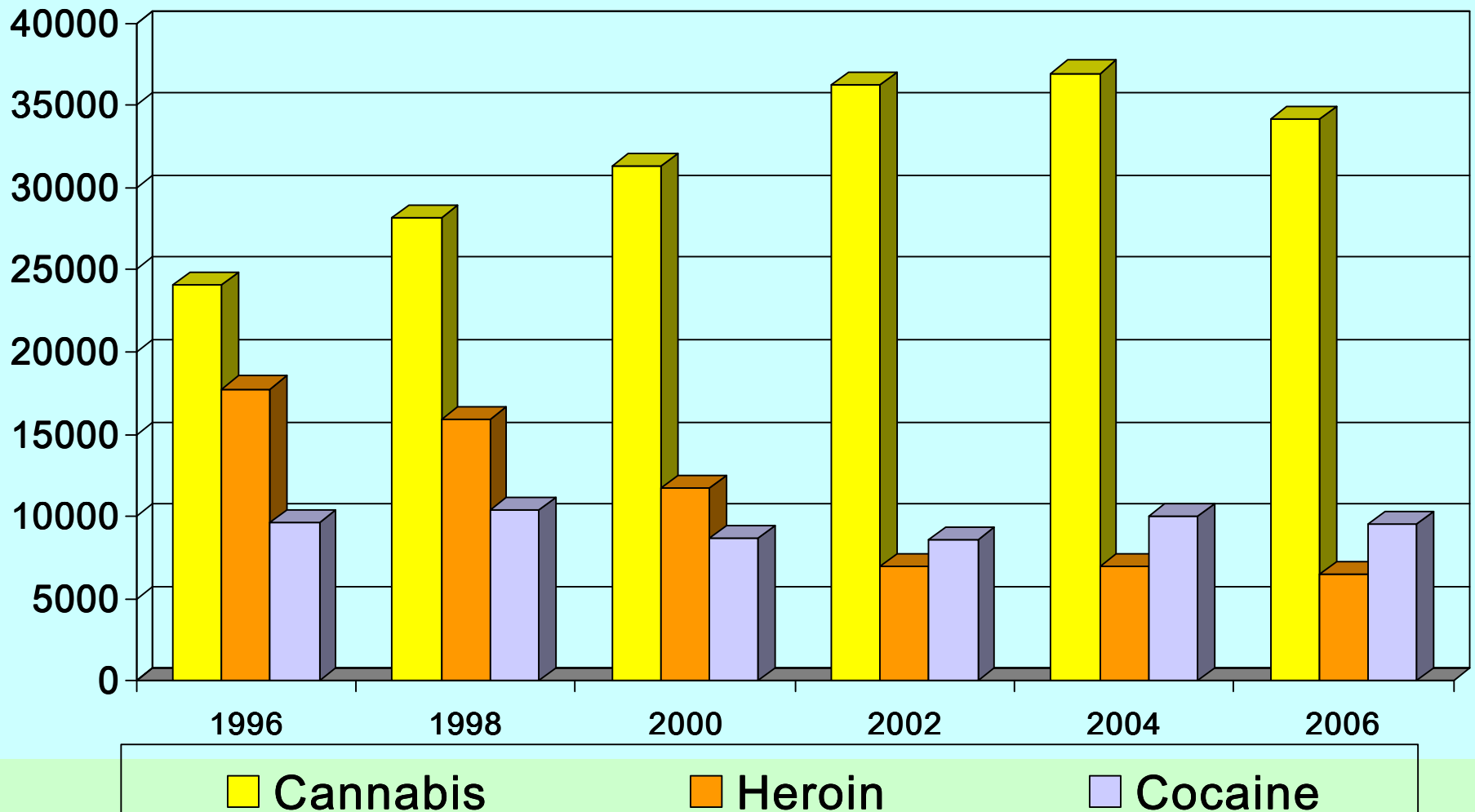
Female ever

Male ever

Female current

Male current

Drug possession arrests by drug type (1996-2006, Police data Fedpol 2008)



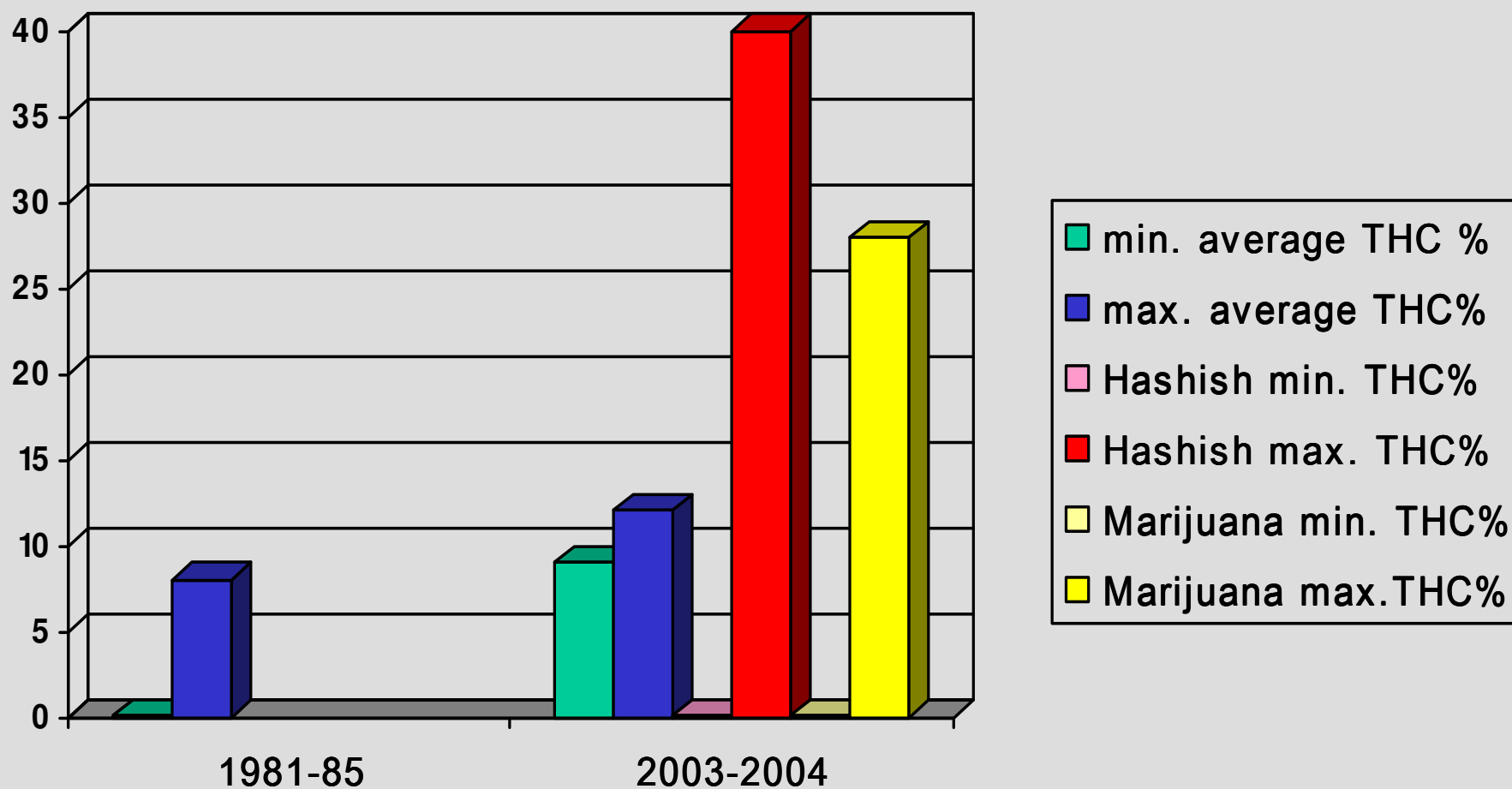
Changes in the Cannabis market CH

(Federal Office Police 2009)

- **Continuous high level of production, with some reductions (indoor & outdoor) by 2008**
- **More importation, but market is still dominated by home-grown cannabis**
- **Increasing number of consumers grow their own cannabis**
- **Supply of seeds & instruments by highly professional internationally active groups (mainly Swiss)**

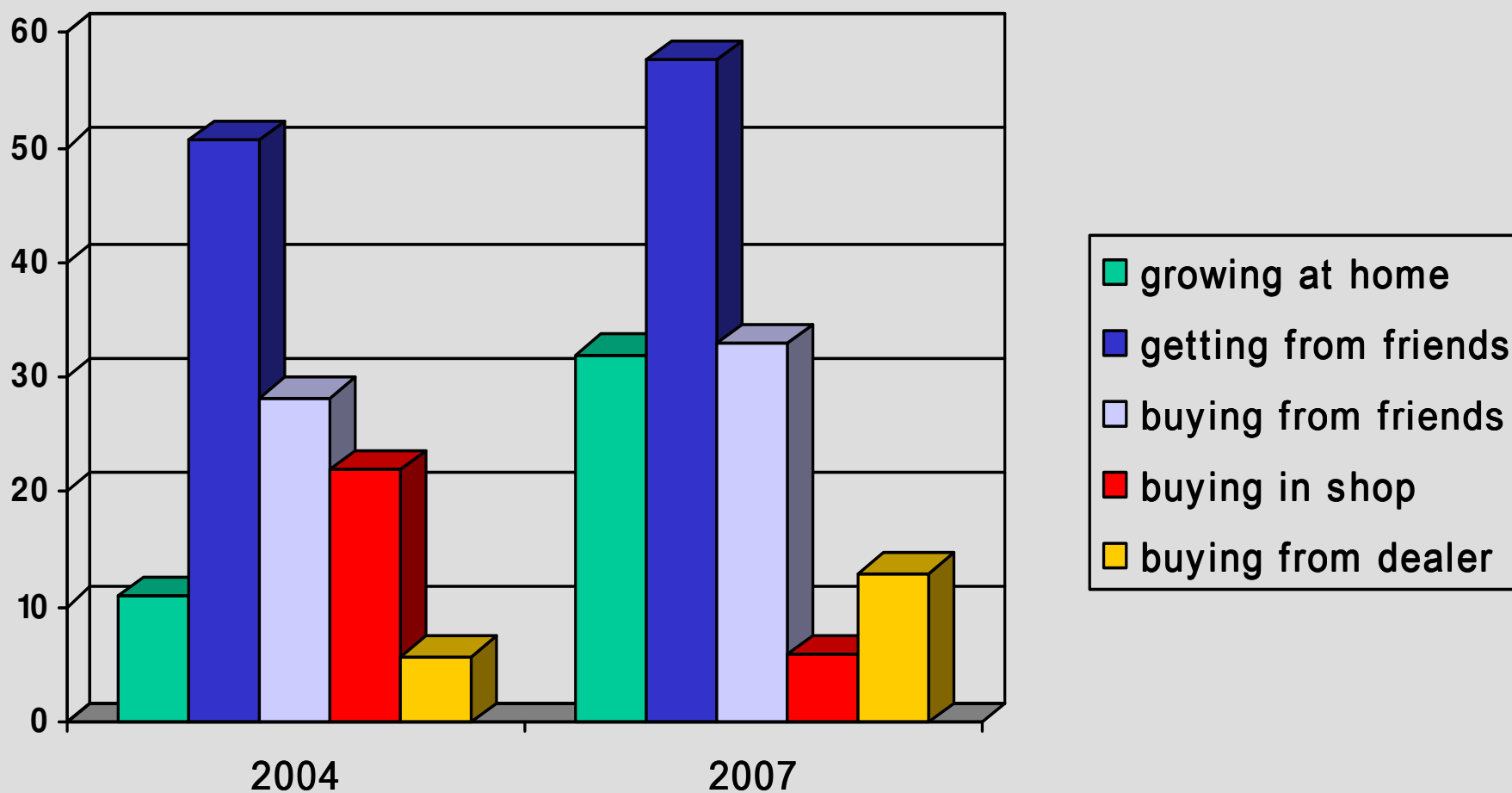
THC content in confiscated Cannabis

(Brenneisen & Meyer 2004)

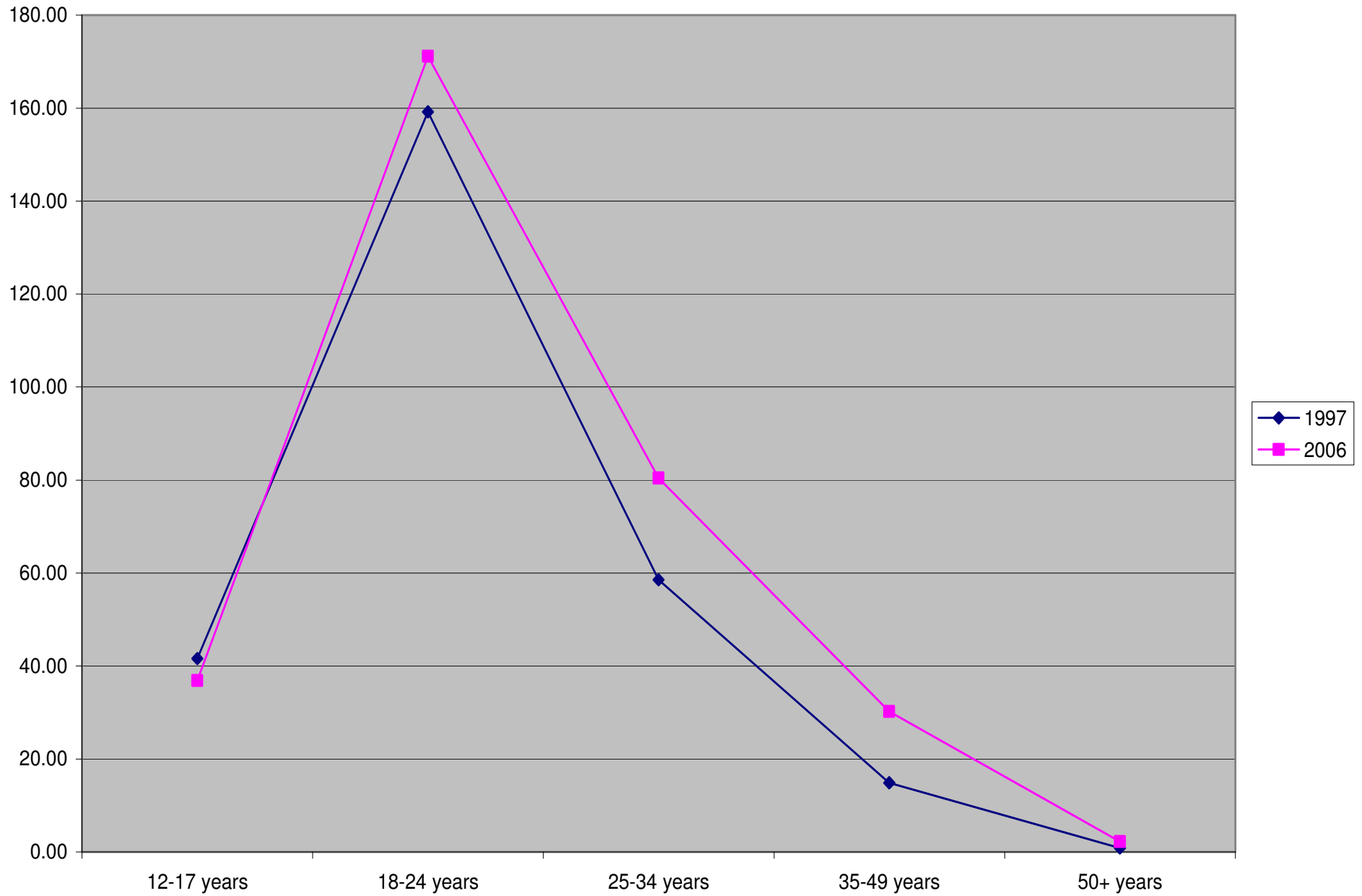


Changes in cannabis acquisition sources

(SFA data Cannabis monitoring, n=5025/5586)

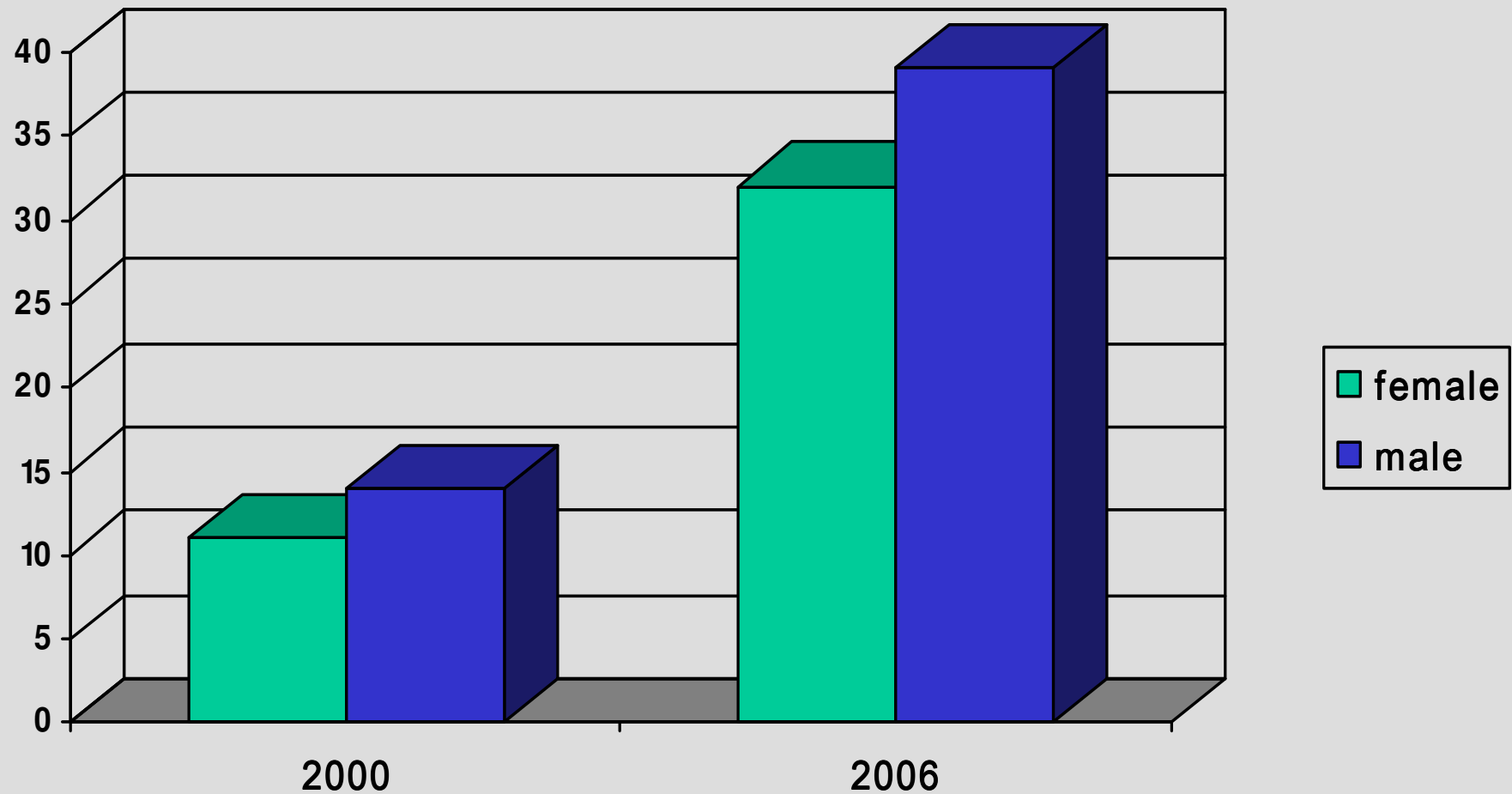


Number of arrests for dealing with cannabis (population rate per 100'000)



Cannabis as main problem drug

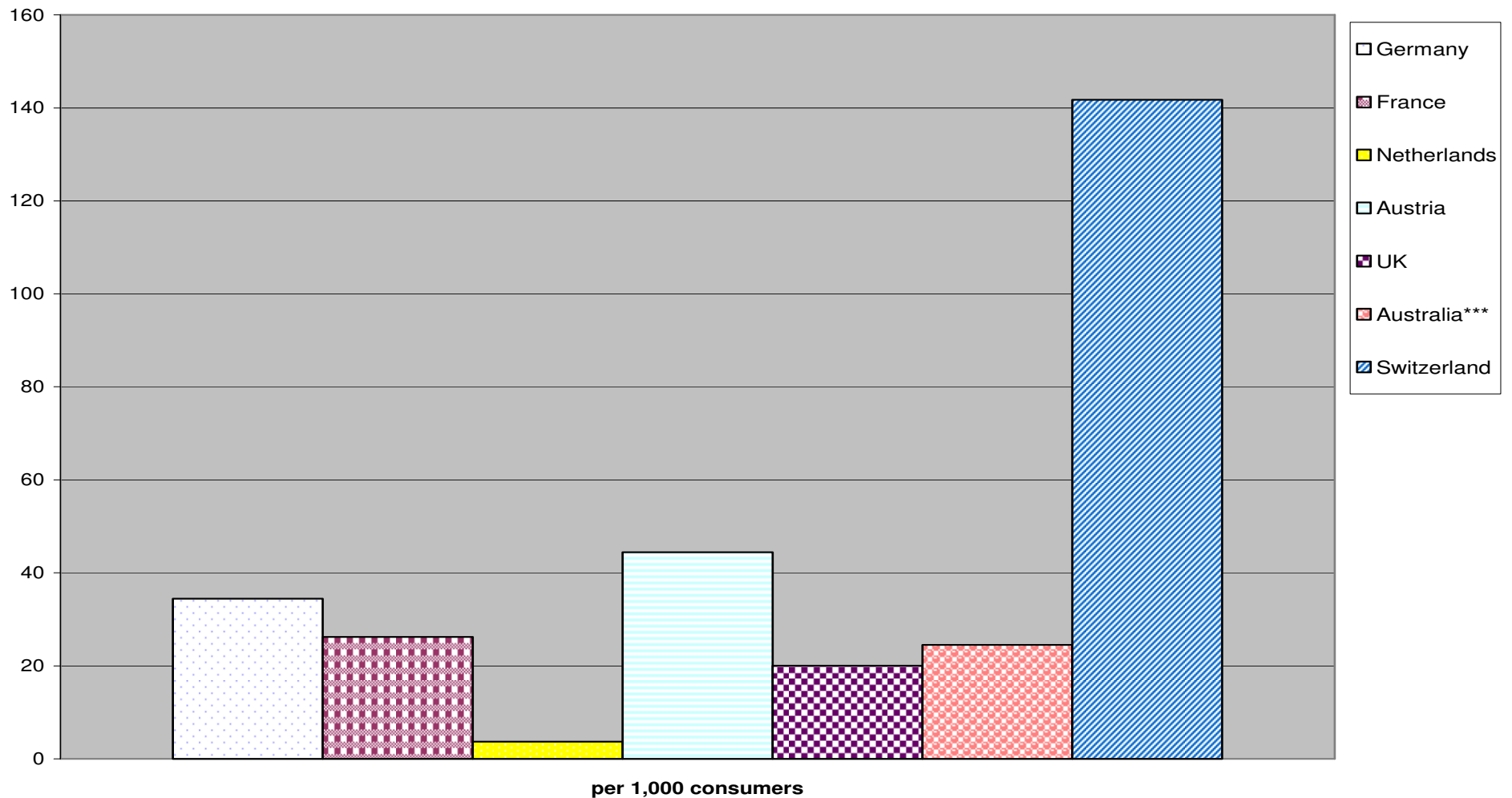
(% of out-patients in drug services CH, SFA data)



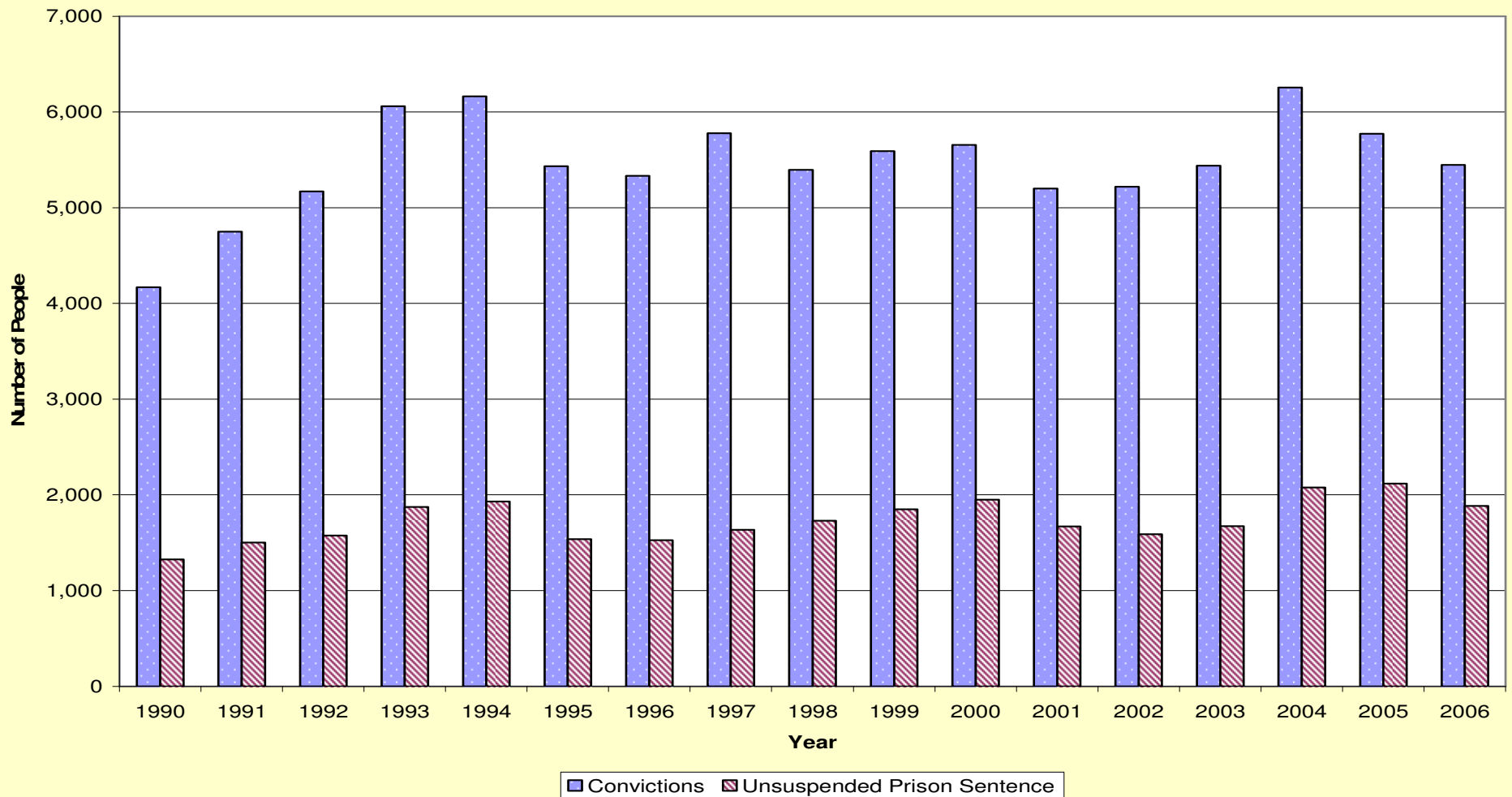
Problematic Cannabis users

- **Frequent use linked to unfavourable psychosocial conditions**
 - **Frequent psychotic /depressive disorders among users**
 - **Frequent educational and social deficits among users**
- Hypothesis :Cannabis use is not a problem in itself, but part of a “problem package”***
(Annaheim et al 2005)

Rates of arrest for cannabis possession per 1'000 consumers (age 15-64) (Reuter 2009)



Convictions and prison sentences for drug offenses CH 1990-2006



Conclusions

- **The 4-pillar policy of 1991 targeted specifically the heroin market and heroin problems, with a combination of interventions for demand reduction, for harm reduction and for zero tolerance for public injecting. Market as well as problems are greatly reduced**
- **The initiative for a new cannabis policy in 2001, aiming at a well controlled tolerated market and production was refused in parliament and referendum; increased law enforcement has changed the “face” but not the “body” of problems**