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# ESSD

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## BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

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## 'Killer Plants' and 'Spice Zombies': NPS in the Mainstream Media

**Objectives:** This paper looks at mainstream media depictions of new psychoactive substance (NPS) use in Romania and the United Kingdom. Between 2009 and 2013, Romania witnessed recurring episodes of 'moral panic' ignited by the increasing presence of street outlets selling synthetic cannabinoids, amphetamine-type stimulant powders, party pills, hallucinogenic plants and other 'legal highs'. This open trade of what were also labelled 'legal drugs', 'ethnobotanical substances' and 'bath salts' inspired new urban and media mythologies of drug decay and antisocial behaviour. The UK similarly experienced several drug scares, most notably in 2009-2010 around synthetic cathinones and in 2016-2017 around synthetic cannabinoids.

**Methodology:** The findings are drawn from a thematic and critical discourse analysis of over 500 news items retrieved from the websites of four Romanian national daily newspapers. For comparison purposes, selective samples of UK media reports on mephedrone and 'spice' are also discussed.

**Significant Results:** The main themes identified in the reporting of NPS are grouped into three categories: time, space and institutional assemblages. They all refer to one specific mode of visibility of the presumed harms and toxic agencies of the new drugs. In the time dimension young naïve users were confronted with a threat of 'non-futurity' looming behind notions of risk or addiction. In the space dimension, a chaotic and potentially violent sense of movement appeared to push NPS users through the city, announcing the anxiety of dangerous encounters. In looking at the institutional assemblages dimension the occupation of cityscapes by head shops was mostly framed as a full-scale invasion of destabilising forces from both outside and within.

**Conclusions:** What was suggested to be a hostile takeover of public space by the new drugs, users and retailers was mainly framed through pathological and military metaphors. The NPS issue reveals a larger moral politics of visibility that also touches on notions of class and ethnic 'Otherness'. Discourses of drug abjection reveal historical forms of social abjection that beyond prohibitionist stances also hint at structural forms of exclusion and raise larger questions about the limits of freedom, pleasure and governance.

## Factors Concerning Access to a Potential Drug Consumption Room in Dublin, Ireland

**Objectives:** Drug consumption rooms are a harm reduction method employed by 10 countries worldwide, however it has not yet been implemented in Ireland. However, with the recent changes to the legislation, the aim is to open such a service by the end of 2017. It will be very important therefore to address the rules and regulations for the potential service to ensure that it is suited to the local drug using population, as has been done by the established services worldwide.

**Methodology:** This project asked a range of stakeholders in a potential drug consumption – service users, staff, medical professionals and policy makers – about what the access rules and regulations should be, and whom should be able to access this service and why. There were nineteen participants in total, semi-structured interviews were used for service users, medical professionals and policy makers, and a focus group was used for staff members. Interview question guides were informed through a literature review, as well as a compilation of existing rules and regulations from services worldwide.

**Significant Results:** The key themes that emerged were visibility, discontent, and protection; the factors concerning access that emerged were supervision and assistance, child protection, and inexperienced users and age restrictions. Within these categories, the key issues were addressing overdose in a potential service, the problems surrounding drug using parents, and the public approach to drug related issues, and support for staff working in drug services.

**Conclusions:** It was concluded that there are concerns from almost all participants regarding the established drug and health services in Dublin, particularly how they might not be able to support a new drug consumption room. Nonetheless, there was support for establishing such a service in Dublin from almost all participants.

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## Drugs in Prison – Consumption, Culture, Care

As there are only few current research findings on drug consumption in prison, we would like to present new descriptive data on this topic. Beyond that we would like to get to know the prisoners' opinion concerning drug-related treatments in prison and we would like to learn about the inmates' perspective on their everyday life experiences with regard to the existence of drugs in prison. Have they experienced blackmailing or other threatening behaviour resulting from drug dealing and following money encashing or are drug addicts treated differently than non-consumers by staff or co-prisoners? In the field of "drugs in prison" there are still many research gaps to be filled – especially when talking about the inmates' view on their everyday life.

The project is a quantitative analysis in three different prisons in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany and in three different prisons in Greece. The sample in Germany consists of about 260 adult detainees out of which 70 are female and 190 male. The data is collected by using standardised 13-page long questionnaires containing about 50 questions. The data itself is collected anonymously and the prisoners are not payed for their participation in the study.

As the project runs in cooperation with the University of Thessaloniki in Greece, the results of this data collection will be compared to the data from Greece to see if there are general drug-related differences in the prisons of these two countries.

Right now, we are in the process of data collection but we will be able to present first results on drug consumption patterns by September.

With this research project we would like to turn the spotlight on the problems resulting from drug use in prison especially on drug-related treatments, as there are still many areas for improvement on this topic.

Furthermore, we would like to shed light on general obstacles resulting from researching prisons on a sensitive topic like drugs in prisons. What must be considered methodologically? How can researchers prevent the inmates as a vulnerable group from potential disadvantages due to their participation in a research study? With this presentation we would like to address these issues by using examples of our international research project to show that researching prison populations might be challenging by times.

## Open drug scenes in European urban settings: Between socio-spatial segregation and social innovation in local drug policy interventions

Drug use normally emerges in urban areas before spreading to other areas (EMCDDA 2005). European institutional documents show that one of the priorities of the cities on substance use is “early warning”. This is the reason why the urban level appears not only as a vantage point for the evolution of the drug use phenomenon, but also an experimentation and a social innovation laboratory.

The paper aims to focus on public drug use, i.e. on the “open drug scenes”. Open drug scenes can be categorized as “concentrated” or “dispersed” (Bless and Freeman, 1995). Concentrated drug scene is a large physical context with up to hundreds users. On the other hand, the dispersed drug scene is a multiple physical site containing tens of users. Some scenes are characterized by opiates use, but most of them involve a polyconsumption of licit and illicit drugs in the so called entertainment areas or nightlife districts (EMCDDA, 2015).

Bless analysis outlines two macro-strategies adopted by European cities to face open drug scenes:

- The prevention strategies, which work mainly through the instruments of territorial control, aiming to the fragmentation and the dispersion of the open drug scene (repression, socio – spatial segregation)
- The regulatory strategies, that are mostly characterized by a social and public health approach (i.e. harm reduction strategies). Local policies have implemented this two macro-strategies in different mixes and different times. (Bless, 1995).

The fundamental assumption of the approach I will adopt in my paper is the centrality of the relationship between the person and the context. The main reference theory is Zinberg’s “Drug, Set and Setting”. This theory explains that the pharmacological component (Drug) and the individual psychology (Set) are not enough to understand drug use experience without a third interactive component, i.e. the “Setting”. Setting is “the influence of the physical and social context in which consumption takes place” (Zinberg 1986). Therefore, Setting cannot be reduced to a single episode of consumption or to a place. It includes the cultural and social environment in which a specific situation happens and it influences drug use harms and risks (EMCDDA 2005; Zinberg 1986; Duff 2007; Duff 2003).

Therefore, the hypothesis I would like to verify is that there is a relationship of influence between local policies and specific social and physical contexts and that this relationship influences the local cultures of drug use.

The paper will explore theoretical and empirical literature on contemporary pattern of drug use and local policies in some European cities.

To operate a comparison, I would particularly take into consideration Italian e German local policies implemented to face open drug scenes.

The general relevance of this focus is that the social innovation that emerge at the local level could help to develop research hypothesis about the possibilities to upscale local policies at national level.

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## Community-consumerism: Negotiating risk in online drug communities

Research on online drug forums has tended to focus on the content of Internet discussions rather than the persons involved. Based on in-depth interviews with participants from two Norwegian Internet drug forums, this article explores how participation in online drug forums influence notions of risk, and how members negotiate the risks versus the pleasures of drugs. The analysis show how members framed their drug use within three narratives that influenced their perceptions of own risk. First, the sharing of drug related experiences online was presented as an important aspect of learning to control the intoxicating effects involved with drug use, as it made the participants informed of what to expect and thus better prepared to cope with potential adverse effects. Second, the sharing of information on how to administrate various drugs was presented as risk reducing, as it made them more informed of recommended dosages and thus less prone to overdoses. Third, the social support and subcultural characteristics among members of the forums formed the basis of community-like structures, in which members created boundaries towards other less responsible drug users. These aspects combined, constitutes the concept of online community-consumerism, where the collective drug related knowledge – based on members contributions, cooperation and debates – formed the basis of an alternative frame of reference. This cultural framing challenges the hegemonic drug related discourse, and is important in order to understand the social mechanism involved in the decentralization of authority and deprofessionalisation of medical knowledge in today's digital society. The concept of community-consumerism captures the significant shifts in power offered by the emergence of online life, in which notions of risks are highly contested.



## Students use of psychoactive substances to thrive and perform in the educational system

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Recently there has been a large media focus on the increased pressure on students to perform well in the Danish educational system. At the same time, the Danish media has also raised concern about an increase in students' use of both prescription drugs and illegal drugs for enhancing purposes; a tendency also seen in other European countries.

In light of these concerns, this paper examines in which situations Danish students use psychoactive substances and other drugs to optimize their performances as well as their motives, experiences, and legitimizations related to such use. Especially, the paper focusses on issues of self-medication, intoxication, and study enhancement.

The paper is based on qualitative in-depth interviews with 60 Danish students (aged 18-25) during 2016 in different educational contexts. The interviews focussed explicitly on the young people's well-being, study performance, and use of various drugs, including psychoactive substances.

The study finds that drugs are often used strategically and in different combinations in order to improve individual well-being as well as study-related achievements. In addition, it is showed that students' motives for use as well as their drugs of choice change over time, and that use is often related to accessibility. Importantly, students who end up using drugs in order to achieve their academic goals are often also highly ambivalent towards their own drug use in the educational context and seem to experience a difficult ethical void.

The paper discusses in which ways students' perceptions relate to increased societal expectations towards young people about success and academic achievement. Moreover, it is argued that policies need to be developed within this area. Policies which should be informed by insights into the young students' practices and experiences of the use of different substances in educational contexts.

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## New Psychoactive Substances. Risk amplification and the need for a new approach toward drug policy

**Background:** In the last decade European countries witnessed a rapid increase in NPS market. The current policy measures targeting individual substances and limiting the access seems to fuel illicit market and produce new substances, often more harmful. NPS are the genuine product of late modernity, they are liquid, nomadic by-products with no beginning or end (Bauman 2000, Deleuze & Guattari 1987), challenging institutions of social control and current state of legal regulations but also expanding the market and offering a new category of experiences for potential users.

**Objectives:** Authors challenge the notion of risk management and risk communication in late modern societies and examine the NPS risk as consequence of the growth of regulatory frameworks to regulate societal risks and to manage following associated institutional risks (Rothstein, Huber, Gaskell 2006), as well as a result of systemic exclusion of users perspective in the governance framework and the effect of social amplification of risk (Pidgeon, Kasperson & Slovic 2003; Raupp 2014). We assume that idiosyncrasies of NPS risk can be better viewed and managed with the wide scope of analysis employing the principals of the Actor-Network Theory (Latour 1984, 2005), covering networks of individuals, products, substances, measures, institutions, laws and discourses - considered as actants and equal entities in the heterogeneous assemblages. From this position we confront the entire range of issues within the problem of NPS-related risks and their prevention.

**Methodology:** The qualitative analysis of the data from expert interviews (N=48) conducted in countries participating in the European NPS-t project. Analysis employed three-stages model of coding based on principles of the grounded theory.

**Results and conclusions:** The results show that the phenomenon of NPS and NPS-related risks can be explained as a social change, crossing the boundaries of traditional drug policies in the sense that it reconstructs agency, human and non-human collectives and process of social acceptance for a phenomena and its subsequent institutionalization. The policy toward psychoactive substances should employ more reflexive and less restrictive measures and draw upon two-sided non-instrumental risk communication model.

## New Drugs, New Directions? Research priorities for New Psychoactive Substances and Human Enhancement Drugs

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**Objectives:** A variety of experts, working in disparate fields, agree that we urgently need more information about new drugs in general – both New Psychoactive Substances and the less emphasised Human Enhancement Drugs (smart drugs, steroids, mood enhancers etc.). Without a better evidence base for policy makers and practitioners to draw upon, it is very difficult to make any meaningful progress in responding to the new drug phenomenon. Despite the prioritisation of the new drugs issue (at least in terms of NPS), a coherent and extensive social research agenda does not yet exist. This paper seeks to provide the tentative beginnings of such a research agenda by outlining critical and social new drug research priorities, and by advocating for the merits of studying new psychoactive substances and human enhancement drugs in tandem.

**Methodology:** This paper draws on the collective findings of an ESRC seminar series convened by the author between 2014 and 2016. There were seven events in total each dealing with a key area of new drug related issues: policy; markets; psychopharmacology; law enforcement; harm reduction; risk; future directions. All events were held in the UK, but included participants from many European countries (Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Portugal, Ireland) as well as Australia, New Zealand and America. Key discussions and findings have been analysed to produce a tentative outline of research priorities for the field of new drugs.

**Key findings/conclusion:** Firstly, new drugs research should pay more attention to the *intersections* between traditional drugs, New Psychoactive Substances and Human Enhancement Drugs. There are important similarities that merit the study of different substances, or categories of substance, side by side; but there are also important differences that, for example, can lead to different treatment needs. Future research should seek to tease out these similarities and differences. Secondly, we need to assess and evaluate the new legislative landscapes that are developing as a direct result of rising anxieties about new drugs, often based around precautionary principles rather than strong evidence of harm and the need for intervention. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, we need to concentrate our combined research efforts on the exploration of new drug use amongst vulnerable populations such as the prison population and those who have recently been released from prison, the homeless, and those who are experiencing mental health problems.

[view presentation](#)

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## An inventory of Cannabis Social Clubs (CSCs) in Europe

While the debate on cannabis policy has often been polarized around either total prohibition or legalization, such positions tend to draw on an oversimplification of what 'legalization' and 'prohibition' entails and do not capture well the range of options available (Caulkins et al., 2015a, 2015b; MacCoun, Reuter, & Schelling, 1996; MacCoun & Reuter, 2011; Transform, 2013). Caulkins et al. (2015a) identified and compared twelve broad supply models, which could be alternatives to the current prohibition regime. They referred to a range of middle ground options, including 'locally controlled retail sales' in line with the so-called Dutch coffee-shop model (Korf, 2011; MacCoun, 2013; MacCoun and Reuter, 2001, 2011; Room et al., 2010), domestic cultivation or a 'grow your own' model jurisdictions (MacCoun, 2013; MacCoun and Reuter, 2011) or the introduction of a government monopoly with direct control of the supply of cannabis or the allocation of that role to a public authority. Other middle ground options may be based on a license-system, granted for instance to a restricted number of for profit-firms. The focus of this paper is on yet another possible middle ground option: the cannabis social clubs.

Cannabis Social Clubs (CSC's) are non-profit associations whose members are adult cannabis users, most of whom use it recreationally, although others use cannabis medicinally. The CSC members organize a professional, collective cultivation of limited quantities of cannabis to cover the personal needs of their club members and the system is regulated by security and quality checks.

Spain is considered to be the 'birthplace' of the model. Spanish cannabis activists established the first cannabis associations in the early nineties, and in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the number of cannabis social clubs increased in a linear fashion, with the model spreading throughout **Spain** (Parés & Bouso, 2015). It has been estimated that there may be between 800 and 1.000 CSCs currently open and distributing cannabis and other cannabis derivatives (March 2017). In **Belgium** the CSC model was introduced by activists in 2006, and there are between 7 and 10 active clubs (March 2017). The phenomenon has been described and analyzed in several publications (Decorte, 2015; Pardal, 2016; Decorte, Pardal et al., 2017).

The literature contains several references to cannabis social clubs in other European countries (Bewley-Taylor, Blickman, & Jelsma, 2014), but very little is known about the functioning of CSCs in these countries. The objective of this paper is **to map the phenomenon of CSCs in Europe in detail**: to make an inventory of how many clubs might be operating in the 28 European member states (The 28 member states are: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom. Although the procedure for the Brexit has now officially been initiated, we chose to include the United Kingdom), and to describe their nature: are these cannabis social clubs 'just' activist groups that lobby for alternative cannabis policies, or do they actually produce and distribute cannabis among their members? Are these clubs 'medicinal' or 'recreational' cannabis clubs, or both? How do they present their activities on-line and in the social media, and does this representation differ from their activities on the ground? To what extent do these CSCs adhere to the common principles guiding the model (e.g. in line with ENCOD's Code of Conduct for European Cannabis Social Clubs)? And finally, is the model being debated,

locally or nationally? In other words, in which context do they operate?

The data used for this analysis is collected through snowballing from our own network of contacts acquired during previous/ongoing research into CSCs in Belgium, as well as through on-line research methods: online searches and subsequent analysis of websites, on-line media reports and social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.), and short e-mail interviews with staff members we are able to identify through the initial on-line data collection.

Results: not available at this stage, as the data is collected from February to June 2017.

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[view presentation](#)

## Understanding pathways to stimulant use: methodological aspects to the examination of the individual, social and cultural factors shaping illicit stimulant use across Europe

**Objectives:** Amphetamine Type Stimulants (ATS), such as amphetamine, methamphetamine, MDMA, and some Novel Psychoactive Substances (NPS), are commonly used drugs in Europe. 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 run in selected areas of Czech Republic, Germany, Poland, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom

**Methodology:** With an exploratory mixed method study design (250 qualitative and 2000 quantitative interviews and literature reviews on evidence of ATS use) different groups of stimulant users (currently and formally ATS dependent users, currently and formally non-dependent, intensive and less intensive ATS users and non-users) are included in the study. Recruitment will be realized via modified snowball-sampling using selected ATS users as seeds.

Within the first module 250 qualitative (semi-structured) interviews with different user groups are conducted. The interviews include topics on drug use pathways, trajectories as well as socio-demography/biography, critical life events, physical and mental health/functioning and current living conditions.

The analysis of the qualitative semi-structured interview will be done according to the method of content analysis.

**Significant results:** The result of this module will be a draft of a framework of ATS-pathways.

Main components are:

The positions of actors – based on the structure of allocation of different forms of capital/resources (social, economic, cultural),

The practical sense, the “world view” (schemes of classification and action/dispositions) of the actors in their living environment (their relevant fields),

ATS users’ experiences of transitions into diverse patterns of stimulant use and the identification of trajectories of ATS-use in relation to life events and successful or stressful status passages.

The results generate hypotheses of associations of individual, social and environmental influences with different pathways of ATS-use and an empirical basis for the quantitative module of the project.

## Drug-debt intimidation: An unintended consequence of (illegal) drug policy

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[view presentation](#)

**Background and objectives:** Drug-debt intimidation (DDI) is an under-reported and under-recorded activity and an under-researched topic. DDI emerged as a key policy concern in Irish drug policy in 2009 and is included in the 2013 *EU Action Plan on Drugs* as an area that needs further research. Policy responses have been developed to address drug-related intimidation of family members, such as the *Drug-Related Intimidation Reporting Programme*, an intervention jointly developed by the police and an advocacy organisation for families affected by drug use. In this paper, I aim to provide a critical theoretical analysis of these developments. I will (1) trace how this issue became a concern for policy makers, (2) analyse how the issue is problematised in policy, and (3) examine how policy responses are interpreted and negotiated by professionals.

**Methodology:** This is a qualitative study that adopts a poststructural sociological perspective influenced by theories of Foucault. Such approaches aim to ‘trouble’ what seems self-evident and can help to illuminate the complex and unintended effects of seemingly benign policies. I analyse relevant policy documents and data from 17 interviews with professionals, including policy makers, police and treatment service providers. My analytic strategy employs Bacchi’s (2009) ‘What’s the Problem Represented to Be?’ approach to policy analysis and Bacchi and Bonham’s (2016) poststructural interview analysis method.

**Findings & Conclusions:** Analysis of policy discourse finds that DDI is constructed as a ‘reporting’ problem. Family members are constituted as ‘victims’ in need of professional intervention which creates individualising and responsabilising effects. Analysis of interview data analysis provides insights into the complexities of attempting to govern DDI. These challenges are linked to the ‘war on drugs’ approach to policy and the way that the criminal justice system operates. Other challenges include legacies of relationships in working class communities between the police on the one hand, and individuals, families and professionals on the other hand. Factors such as class, gender and ethnicity - silent in policy - mediate families’ experiences of DDI.

I argue that DDI of families is an unintended consequence of a prohibitionist approach to drug policy. In this context, however well-intentioned, rational and technical solutions developed to respond to the issue are not likely to have the desired impact. My findings provide opportunities for policy makers and professionals for critical reflection on contemporary policy approaches and for consideration of alternatives that may result in less deleterious effects.

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## Dynamics of private low-key and street drug dealing careers

**Objectives:** In popular media representations as well as in some scientific publications, the market for illicit drugs is depicted as exclusively run by professional drug dealers – always looking for maximum profits and defending their business, if need be, with violence. On the other hand, a growing body of research highlights the importance of social supply, usually defined as private non-profit drug distribution (e.g., Coomber & Turnbull 2007, Belackova & Vaccaro 2013, or most of the chapters in Werse & Bernard 2016). In our study, we researched different types of dealers who earn profit from small-scale drug dealing in Frankfurt, Germany, that can be characterized somewhere between these extremes. The primary aim of this presentation is to figure out characteristics and differences in the life courses of persons who sell in public and those who stick to private surroundings.

**Methods:** A total of 40 interviews were conducted between April 2015 and May 2016, following a strategy for reaching three different types of profit-oriented dealers: a) social low-key dealers, selling illegal substances exclusively in private settings to well-known users, b) street dealers, more or less openly selling drugs (mainly cannabis) in public surroundings, and c) user-dealers from the “open drug scene” in Frankfurt. The sample included 14 social low-key dealers, 14 street dealers and 12 dealers from the “open drug scene”. The interviews took 50 minutes on average and were composed of a qualitative interview, followed by a standardized questionnaire. This presentation focuses on private low-key and street dealers.

**Significant findings:** Social factors such as education and ethnic background are aspects which clearly differentiate social low-key dealers from street dealers. When drug use becomes a solid and self-identifying factor in a social group, social low-key drug dealing primarily evolved in order to maintain the group identity, while street dealers usually had the intention to make profit in the first place. When group activities changed, e.g. towards going out in clubs partying to electronic music, drug dealing habits of low-key dealers developed as well. On the other hand, when street dealers switched to selling other substances than before, the reasons were mainly driven by changes in market opportunities.

**Conclusions:** While drug dealing among social low-key dealers is primarily based on shared moral values and social dynamics of drug-using networks, street dealers tend to rapidly develop a deviant identity (Becker 1963), which is, to a large part, due to their marginalized social background. Levels of deviance also differ with regard to actual encounters with law enforcement. However, funding the own use is the main drive for making profit in all groups researched here. Given the results of other studies, our research should be relevant for similar groups in other European countries. Our research shows differences of drug dealing as a factor in social group dynamics as well as in the formation of identity.



## Why are marginalized NPS users more visible in Hungary and Poland? The role of policy arrangements and individual motives

**Background:** During the last 10 years an increasing concern developed regarding the rapidly widening use of new psychoactive substances (NPS). The Early Warning System (EWS) of the EMCDDA identified around 100 new substances in 2014 and in 2015. The appearance of new psychoactive substances was 5 times higher in these years than in 2009 (EMCDDA-Europol, 2015). The main and first action of the European member states related to this phenomenon was to increase the legislative efforts. (Grund et al 2016). The epidemiological picture of Europe is very segmented as far as general population survey results are concerned, the last year prevalence rate of NPS use in the young adult population (15-24 years old) in different countries varies between 0,0% (Pl) and 9,7% (Ir) according to the recent European Drug Report (EMCDDA, 2016). The epidemiological data are not necessarily reflected in the everyday experiences of professionals active in the field.

**Objectives:** The main objective of this presentation is to explore what kind of similarities between Poland and Hungary could have an influence on higher visibility of marginalized people using NPS in comparison to other countries participated in the project. Policy arrangements (legality and illegality of drugs and NPS), access to 'traditional' drugs, motives of use (economic reasons), methods to cover study sample applied in particular countries will also be studied.

**Method:** Qualitative and quantitative data were collected during the project titled "New Psychoactive Substances: transnational project on ....."<sup>1</sup>. 266 marginalised users were interviewed in total, 187 in Poland and Hungary. Qualitative data covered interviews with experts which had substantial knowledge on NPS and NPS prevention. Expert interviews and quantitative data from the fieldwork conducted in different groups of users (marginalised, night life and on-line communities) will be analysed. Drug policy orientation of these two countries and the specificities of drug use patterns of marginalised users will be explored and compared based on empirical data and publicly available drug policy documents.

**Conclusions:** The marginalised group was easily available (visible) in some countries (Hungary and Poland) and non-existent or hardly available in others. Data on the NPS use motivation and other drug use of marginalised users will be presented on the one hand and the drug policy orientation of these two countries on the other. Possible differences in data collection methods in the different countries will also be presented.

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<sup>1</sup>The project is supported by the European Commission (contract number: HOME/2014/JDRU/AG/DRUG/7077) and is implemented in collaboration with 6 countries, coordinator: Amsterdam University, Bongor Institute of Criminology

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## Definitions of New Psychoactive Substances. A comparative study of professionals perceptions in Hungary and Portugal

**Background:** The study is based on the international project ‘New Psychoactive Substances: transnational project on different user groups, user characteristics, extent and patterns of use, market dynamics, and best practices in prevention’ (European Commission JUST/2014/Action Grant) The research took place in six EU Member States (Germany, Hungary, Ireland, the Netherlands, Poland, and Portugal).

**Aim:** The aims of the presentation is to reveal and compare the definitions of NPS among field work professionals in Hungary and Portugal

**Method and sample:** Hungary: In 2016 semi-structured approximately 1-houred 8 interviews were conducted with professionals Hungary and Portugal. The Hungarian experts were selected by the criteria that they meet NPS-users during their everyday work and they are decision-makers at the represented organization. Regarding the fact of NSP are not very well known in Portugal, the professionals were chosen according to their relation with NPS and that’s why all of them are from different organizations, with different approaches and experiences. The interviews were transcribed and analysed by the thematic analysis method.

**Results:** Hungary: Professionals in Hungary had difficulty in giving definition of NPS they all reported not to have a scientific or common definition for it. Their definitions lack pharmacocentrism, but reflected the moral panic reported in the media. Their definitions were metonymic: it reflected single, highlighted characteristics of NPS: effects, consequences.

Portugal: In Portugal was not easy to find professionals able to describe exactly what have been done regarding NPS intervention. The lack in terms of knowledge about NPS, the absence of work in this field and also the adulteration problem seem to justify the difficulties. It was possible to verify only one example of projects exclusively dedicated to NPS theme, highlighting the importance of drug testing strategy in terms of harm reduction.

**Conclusions:** Qualitative interviews gave an insight to professionals’ difficulties and dilemmas. Definitions of NPS show great variety The names and definition are not only important to bound the concept, but to establish the ways of solving the problem.

## How and where to find NPS users

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### Background

New Psychoactive Substances (NPS) are a rapidly growing group of psychoactive drugs, that have been defined as “synthetic or naturally occurring substances that are not controlled under international law, and often produced with the intention of mimicking the effects of controlled drugs” (EMCDDA).

The emergence of NPS goes hand in hand with the rapid growth of social media and online communities of drug users, as well as the internet as a growing marketplace. Buying NPS through the Internet generally does not require access to social networks and personal contacts to dealers, as is the case in traditional supply (e.g. in the street, in clubs, through stone and mortar suppliers such as smart shops, in private settings). Previous studies provide European-wide information, but this is not very specific (e.g. prevalence rates of NPS as a general category). Other research has focussed on one type/category of NPS (e.g. Spice) or on only one group of users (e.g. nightlife settings or online communities) – and in the latter case also often in only one European country.

### Methodology

As part of a European project (NPS-transnational) with a consortium of six research groups we conducted a survey among more than 3000 current (= last year) NPS users in Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Poland, Portugal and the Netherlands. In each country, by applying different sampling methods the survey targeted at three groups of NPS users: (1) *socially marginalised users*: ‘high risk drug users’, e.g. also using opioids, (crack)cocaine and or (meth)amphetamine. (2) *Users in night life*: recreational drug users who frequent clubs, raves and/or festivals; (3) *Users in online communities*: users who are very active on the Internet, and actively participate in drug forums.

### Objectives

- To discuss some ethical and practical issues in transnational surveys among NPS users;
- To better understand the potentials and limitations of different sampling methods for reaching NPS;
- To determine the extent to which different methods reach similar or dissimilar segments of the NPS-using population in different EU-countries;
- To assess the most common settings where NPS users can be found.

### Results

Ethical problems largely related to whether or not ethics approval was required for surveys. Among the most important practical issues was the fact that for many users ‘NPS’ is not a common term.

The number of respondents varied between countries as well as between the three groups. In terms of demographic profile, socially marginalized NPS users differed most from NPS users in online communities, while in various aspects NPS users in nightlife took on intermediate position. The three groups also differed with regard to procurement of NPS (friend, private dealer, street dealer, shop, internet) and setting of use.

### Conclusions

In surveys, ‘NPS’ is a term that needs to be explained to respondents – and the explanation or operationalization may vary across countries.

Different sampling methods reach different subpopulations of NPS-users.

When taking place of residence and settings of purchase and use of NPS as 'minimum indicators', practitioners in prevention and harm reduction are more likely to find:

- Socially marginalized users: in urban areas and at public places (street, park), and not much through internet;
- Users in night life: more in urban than rural areas, and a bit more than socially marginalized users through internet;
- Users in online communities: more than the other groups in rural areas, and mostly in night life; although these users are more likely to purchase NPS through thru internet, the majority does this offline.

## European Web Survey on Drugs: the good, the bad and the ugly

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**Objectives:** This paper will provide an overview of the potential benefits, methodological challenges and analytical pitfalls of conducting multinational on-line surveys and making use of the information collected on drug use patterns in order to stimulate discussion of possible methodological approaches for addressing these and maximising the utility of such surveys, using a recent EMCDDA pilot project to illustrate these.

**Methodology:** The EMCDDA conducted a pilot study in 2016 to investigate the potential of using a web survey tool to collect information on the amounts of drugs (cannabis, cocaine, MDMA, amphetamines) used by different groups of drug users in six European countries (Croatia, Czech Republic, France, Netherlands, Switzerland and UK). The survey was advertised in a number of different ways which varied by country, including dedicated web pages, printed flyers, incentives or Facebook and Google ads.

**Results:** Overall, more than 20 000 people participated in the pilot project. In four (Croatia, France, the Netherlands and Switzerland) out of the six countries the biggest share of respondents accessed the survey via Facebook. Croatia, France (and Switzerland) had generally younger samples. In all six countries a higher proportion of men than women (ranging from 58% to 77%) took part.

Looking at the frequency of use in both past month and past year shows that in general users of both resin and herb are more frequent users (particularly of herb).

In all countries, except the Netherlands, a third or more answered they obtained their cocaine for free or through sharing. Overall, amounts of cocaine purchased on a typical transaction appear to increase with increasing frequency of use. Most users of MDMA used infrequently. Frequent use of only MDMA is rarer than for other drugs. In almost all countries frequent users of MDMA tend to be younger than amphetamines, cannabis or cocaine users.

More than 60% of participants used amphetamine only in all countries except for the Czech Republic where 57% used methamphetamine only. The Czech Republic has the highest proportion of frequent users (21%), France has the lowest proportion (12%).

**Conclusions:** On-line surveys offer the possibility of collecting information from a wider range of illicit drug users quickly and cheaply and so appear to be a way of overcoming some of the problems of other data sources. However, there are problems associated with this method, such as self-selected samples limiting generalizability. The recruitment strategies used in the six countries mainly reached recreational users.

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## What to do with Young Heroin users?

This paper concerns the policy implications from a study of persistent heroin careers. The paper asks what should be done with young heroin users who are committed acquisitive offenders. The made is argument is that even beyond current policy options available in the United Kingdom, no schemes show great promise is majorly reducing harm. This is based on data collected from retrospective interviews with long term heroin users (N = 51). Recollections suggested that early on in their heroin careers, many participants were intensive property offenders. Many recalled to determination to persist with prolific patterns of heavy end drug use. Accounts also included unsuccessful visits to treatment and largely pointless spells in prison. Later on in their heroin careers their motivations to use drugs and the resources needed to persist were not as strong so they were more receptive to drug treatments. The paper concludes by reviewing literature which suggests the benefits from for psychosocial and pharmacological treatments appear marginal at best, especially for early career heroin users. Could radical alternatives significantly reduce harms associated with heroin use?

## A mixed-methods analysis of online NPS user discussion in Hungary

**Objectives:** Our study's aim was to identify a method which can properly reveal the different layers of the NPS phenomenon appearing in the online discussion fora. Besides (i) evaluating the extent of potential peer-help harm reduction within NPS fora discussants, we also aimed (ii) to understand the main purposes of NPS use among the discussion participants, (iii) to chart their knowledge of and attitude toward the legality of the substances traded and used, and (iv) to explore the feelings and consumer decision making processes on the NPS market.

**Methodology:** A mixed-methods analysis and a sequential explanatory strategy were applied on the data set of Hungarian NPS discussion fora. The initial qualitative data collection, netnography and thematic analysis were carried out to reveal emerging topics. Followed by a subsequent quantitative data analysis using the self-service text analysis tool Zurvey exploring word frequencies, co-appearances, and recurring themes.

**Significant results:** The discussion's main topic was vendor reliability and fraud, with more negative than positive phrases attached. Discussants showed low levels of literacy, weak knowledge of substance legality, and inadequate resources to provide peer-help harm reduction. Drug use purpose was mainly to 'escape from reality', not positively toned recreation.

**Conclusions:** Efficient indicated prevention interventions and harm reduction measures are needed to target disadvantageous online NPS user groups having little or no resources for self-help.

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## Patterns and contexts of polysubstance use: drug, set and setting

**Background:** In European drugs research, quantitative methodologies traditionally focus on measuring unitary drug use prevalence or tracing a linear progression from the use of one drug to another over time and space. In contrast, ethnographic and qualitative drugs research studies capture more complex patterns of ‘pick and mix’ substance use which includes a range of legal and illegal drugs consumed at the same time or sequentially. Understanding the situatedness of these drug consumption choices from the perspective of the user provides a useful insight to inform risk management and harm reduction approaches.

**Method:** A community and participatory drugs research study aimed at exploring patterns of drug use and associated drug-related harms in the context of a risk environment was conducted in Dublin over a twelve month period in 2015 (O’Gorman et al., 2016). A critical interpretivist methodology used qualitative methods (in-depth interviews and focus groups, n=96 participants) and ethnographic fieldwork (50 contacts over 100 hours) coupled with an analysis of indicators of drug trends, the policy environment and socio-economic data. This paper draws from the interviews and conversations with young people who used (a lot) of drugs and which sought to explore the role and meaning of drug use from the users’ perspective in the context of their everyday lives.

**Analysis and Findings:** The narratives of these research participants illustrate the range of legal and illegal psychoactive substances used over an episode of consumption – most common repertoires included combinations of cannabis, alcohol, prescription and over-the-counter medication, and stimulants. Their poly substance use and consumption choices were found to be shaped by diverse factors including availability and accessibility; legality and illegality; use intentions; attitudes; gender and avowed identities; and diverse structural, temporal and socio-spatial settings. Zinberg’s (1984) concept of ‘drug, set and setting’ provides a useful framework for analysing these influential factors: drug influences (the effects of using substances together or in sequence); set influences (agency, rational choice and expectations); and setting influences (environmental and structural).



## Deconstructing Addiction

### INTRODUCTORY NOTE

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The concept of addiction has historical precedents extending to classical antiquity. Beginning in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century, addiction was associated with drugs - opioids in particular - and defined as a medical problem. This definition never served to explain varying patterns of opioid use (often non-problematic), natural recovery (the typical course of addiction), or addictions not involving opioids (or drugs at all).

Because of its artificial delineation, the terms has undergone constant revision, including the redefinition of cocaine and nicotine as addictive in the 1980s, marijuana in the 1990s, and now, remarkably American psychiatry's refusal (in DSM-5, 2013) to label any drugs as addictive, but applying the label to gambling.

These theoretical developments are critical accompaniments to the harm reduction movement, including (1) decriminalization of drug use, (2) destigmatizing drug use, including by chronic users, (3) recognition of the critical value of community and CBT techniques (e.g. motivational interviewing) and for nonabstinence outcomes for drug use problems; (4) broader application of addiction concepts and clinical techniques to non-drug related behaviors.

We currently witness a struggle between medical concepts and methods and community and cognitive concepts and techniques for dominance in the field, a struggle with critical consequences for drug policy, drug users, and larger cultural developments and evolution.

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Program® for addiction  
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## Current state of research: Drug use in socially excluded neighbourhoods

The abuse of illicit or licit drugs is considered as a major problem in socially excluded neighbourhoods. However, there is significant lack of information about drug use in such localities. I will discuss this knowledge gap on the central Europe example with special attention to Czech Republic. Firstly, I will provide overview of the research landscape in this field. Secondly, I will discuss methodological difficulties, which are linked to the research of socially excluded neighbourhoods. These difficulties are often seen as a major impediment of research projects. However, I will argue that some of these so called difficulties are more imagined than real and; thus, that they might seem more as self-fulfilling prophecies. The example of imagined difficulty is the possibility to recruit respondents in socially excluded neighbourhoods. In addition to the imagined problems, I will also discuss methodological difficulties that are crucial for these research projects. One of them is obscurity of research population and the related problem its definition. Researchers, who decide to investigate socially excluded neighbourhoods, are facing many difficulties because these populations are generally not so well researched. Thus, there is a lack of guidelines and, foremostly, the population is not described, not allowing researchers to sample the population. In conclusion, I will propose the solutions to the described methodological difficulties.

## Drug decriminalization policies. Are they effective? - a systematic review

After decades of repressive drug policies, various social sectors recognize their failure in reducing the problem and in containing collateral damage like crime and infectious diseases. Therefore, more comprehensive and humanistic public policies, science informed, are being rehearsed. The present moment is critical since in 2019 the existing Political Declaration and Plan of Action of the UN will be reviewed.

This systematic review will try to respond to the urgent need to synthesize the available evidence on alternative drug policy models, aiming to explore the hypothesized effectiveness of policies based on decriminalization models (by comparison with more repressive alternatives) on the following outcomes: indicators of prevalence and incidence for HIV, viral hepatitis and tuberculosis among people who use drugs; drug induced deaths; drug use prevalence; and incarceration rates for drug related crimes.

Methods: all studies focused on the effectiveness of decriminalization experiences all over the world published since 1970 were considered with no language restrictions. Qualitative, quantitative, mixed-methods research was taken into consideration as well as grey literature. Search strategy comprised three stages: a search in MEDLINE and Criminal Justice Abstracts Full Text followed by an analysis of the words in the title and of the index terms used to describe the article; identification and analysis of all keywords and index terms found in the pertinent papers in order to refine the search in this phase; review of all the references of the relevant articles for additional documents previously undetected. Databases to consult: MEDLINE, CINAHL; Cochrane library; Campbell library; Joanna Briggs Institute Library; PsycARTICLES; PsycINFO; Psycextra; ProQuest; Scopus. For grey literature: Google Scholar; Google; American Doctoral Dissertations; BAES; b-on; Open Grey; ProQuest Dissertations and Thesis; contacting authors, experts and organizations active within the phenomenon of interest to identify unpublished and ongoing studies. Inclusion and quality of studies were assessed by two independent reviewers and differences were solved by consensus or, when it does not occur, by a third reviewer. Endnote was used to manage and eliminate duplication of documents and quality assessment of included studies was systematically performed by tools adapted to the study design. To extract data, a tool was created and synthesis was based on the methodologies suggested by Campbell Collaboration for Systematic Reviews.

Expected results: identification of research gaps existing in this domain; production of useful knowledge on effectiveness of decriminalization models in lowering drug induced deaths, drug-related infections, drug-use prevalence and incidence. This kind of information is absolutely crucial to inform drug policy reform.

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## Between a rock and a hard place: cannabis growers' responses to the dual threats of victimisation and law enforcement

Previous research has shown that cannabis growers are highly heterogeneous in terms of personal characteristics and approaches to growing. Motivational drivers cover a spectrum from the greed behind commercial cultivation through to the altruism of medical growing. But in the UK, and many other European jurisdictions, growing cannabis is illegal regardless of how or why it is done (and for those jurisdictions where some cultivation is permitted there are strict limits on numbers of plants and on supplying other people). This leaves cannabis growers vulnerable not just to police action, but also to (other) criminals: their crops are a high-value target, and they may be unwilling to report victimisation to the police for fear of repercussions over their own criminal activity.

This paper reports on interviews with 50 cannabis growers in the UK. The sample includes medical growers, commercial growers and those growing for non-medical personal use and social supply, with a certain amount of overlap across these categories. Most respondents reported that they knew people who had been victimised for their growing activities, with a significant proportion experiencing actual or threatened theft or violence themselves. At the same time, respondents must minimise the risk of law-enforcement activity, and many had experienced arrest and prosecution for growing or supplying cannabis.

Growers reported a range of proactive and reactive responses to such threats, including use of violence and intimidation, target hardening, strict rules around trust and information sharing, and approaching the police. Wittingly or not, growers can be seen to apply a range of crime prevention strategies to reduce their chances of detection, whether by police or by criminals. But because they are already involved in criminal activity themselves, some of the techniques employed to reduce risk are also illegal.

## Drug Supply - Trust, Anonymity And Networks

Selling, buying, producing and sharing illegal psychoactive substances (PS) are socially widespread practices, often deeply marked in the urban landscape, as well as in the World Wide Web's (surface and deep web), due to its increasing relevance concerning said practices. Ultimately, these facts contribute to the growing complexity of heroin, cocaine, cannabis, synthetic drugs and research chemical markets, which are strongly influenced by the globalisation processes. The territorialised modes of accessing PS are typically associated with *the street* and vulnerable neighbourhoods – a fact that does not exclude the establishment of significant social relationships. On the other hand, the ones endowed with mobility tend to be part of the “real” or “virtual” operating networks, which can also be associated with a variety of contexts, such as festive settings and leisure economy spots or mechanisms like postal addresses. Conviviality is still a central element of those transactions, especially when considering social supply. Meanwhile, drug use has been progressively moving from the street to the festive settings and from vulnerable populations to socially integrated, more cosmopolitan groups, to whom the dyad leisure/pleasure seems to inform a certain choice of lifestyles. Gender is also an element that ought to be considered in this matter; although the number of men who use PS is significantly higher than the number of women, the use patterns appear to be associated with the individuals' social roles rather than the gender, suggesting that this trend varies according to age, social position, occupational status, education level and social environment. These shifts are more noticeable among venues and populations who are harder to reach since they tend to be absent from state services (Healthcare, Justice, etc.).

Four focus-groups have been held and 20 in-depth biographical interviews have been carried out with women and men with high social capital. Considering different types of PS, the results are useful to clarify the practices carried out by users to have access to the psychotropic products of their preference and the social norms that frame those practices, hence showing a *modus operandis* where trust *versus* anonymity are key aspects. The results also offer insights on how women rely on/make use of their social networks to acquire drugs.

The communication aims to reflect on how the social invisibility enjoyed by these groups poses challenges to harm reduction interventions, especially because drug-checking needs a wider coverage - along with awareness-raising of the adoption of safe use practices concerning street-bought and online-bought substances.

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## Recreational drug consumption: a comparative study among young university students from Brazil and Portugal

Economic, political and cultural transformations influence the interests and ways of life in society and certainly take place in free time, reaffirming leisure as a social and cultural reflection at the present time. Sociological investigations about drugs have confirmed an increase in the number of users, the diversity of substances offered also the change in the contexts of use and the decrease of the age of experimentation of drugs. The present study aims to know and compare habits of leisure and consumption of university students in Brazil and Portugal.

This study has used a quantitative method with a sample composed of 238 university students (144 Portuguese and 94 Brazilians). The subjects from both countries were between 18 and 26 years old and were attending the graduation course of Physical Education. Based on the results and comparative analyzes, issues such as religiosity, courtship, drug use, consumption in leisure contexts, impacts of the advertisements of beverages such as beer were evaluated and compared.

Understanding that leisure cannot be analyzed or understood without considering the inter relation with other spheres of life in society and considering the inter relation between drug use and occupation of free time, studies indicate an increase in the consumption of licit and illicit drugs, especially in the nighttime entertainment spaces. The new ways of drug use point to a recreational use of illicit drugs, represented by a less heavy and more occasional consumption.

On the other hand, excessive consumption of beverages characterized by binge drinking, or extreme drinking among young people at leisure times, especially at night, represented a way of consumption and entertainment among youth groups in both countries, showing licit drug use is more intense than the illicit drugs use.

In order to better understand these forms of entertainment, the focus on researches should consider leisure as the locus of investigations to understand the way consumption of licit and illicit substances as a part of the young population. The youth people's leisure experiences, both in domestically (at home) and externally way (on street activities), have pointed to great similarities among the youth of the countries on this study, reaffirming the effectiveness of a Hegemonic Model of Entertainment, defended by Calafat et al (2008) which stresses that the models of leisure experience became homogenous, regardless of the geographic location of the studied groups.

## Patterns and settings of NPS use in users in nightlife and in online communities

**Background:** New Psychoactive Substances (NPS) are a rapidly growing group of psychoactive drugs that have been defined by the EMCDDA as “synthetic or naturally occurring substances that are not controlled under international law, and often produced with the intention of mimicking the effects of controlled drugs”. NPS are a heterogeneous group of psychoactive substances (e.g. phenethylamines, tryptamines, cathinones and synthetic cannabinoids). NPS have brought to debate new concepts and ideas about drug users and settings of use. Regarding the relation between nightlife settings and the use of drugs, the term “recreational drugs” emerged in the last decades in the scientific discourse. At the same time, the last decade has seen the emergence of new internet technologies that have acted as important facilitators of online drug markets.

**Methods:** As part of a European project (NPS-transnational) with a consortium of six research groups we conducted a survey among more than 3 000 current (= last year) NPS users in Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Poland, Portugal and the Netherlands. In each country, by applying different sampling methods the survey targeted at three groups of NPS users: (1) *socially marginalised users*: ‘high risk drug users’, e.g. also using opioids, (crack) cocaine, (meth)amphetamine. (2) *Users in night life*: recreational drug users who frequent clubs, raves and/or festivals; (3) *Users in online communities*: users who are very active on the Internet, and actively participate in drug forums. The survey data will be analysed and discussed with focus on patterns of use in the two largest groups in our study: users in nightlife settings and users in online communities. To interpret the (quantitative) survey results, we will also consider the (qualitative) country reports that were based on interviews with national and local experts in each of the participating countries.

### Objectives

- To characterize and compare both groups in terms of use of ‘conventional’ illicit drugs;
- To present and discuss similarities and differences in (patterns of) NPS use in both groups and across countries;
- To assess and compare settings of NPS use in both groups and across countries.

**Results:** Overall, cannabis type (e.g. herbal cannabis, Spice), stimulant type and hallucinogenic type of NPS were the NPS most used among both groups – while prevalence of dissociative type NPS use was lower. The strongest difference between the two groups was that users in online communities were more likely to use stimulant type NPS than users in night life. We also found some striking differences in the use of certain types of NPS across countries (e.g. cannabis type). For both groups, NPS are most often used in nightlife settings, followed by user’s own home or friend’s home, and to a lesser extent in public spaces, such as street, parks, forests or beaches.

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**Conclusions:** Similarities in patterns of NPS use between both groups can partly be explained by the fact that NPS use predominantly takes place in similar settings. Differences in patterns of NPS use between countries can partly be explained by differences in markets and policy.



## New answers to deal with the consumption of psychoactive substances – the use of Peer Education

Although globally, and even within the European space, we can find very different socio-cultural and legislative positions regarding psychoactive substance use (PSU), it is considered that we are facing a tendency to adopt more liberal models. The PSU is an ancestral and sociocultural phenomenon, so it is crucial to study and promote social education strategies that help individuals deal with these substances, rather than criminally punish them. One of these strategies is the Peer Education (PE) approach. However, despite the existence of several studies on the subject, in particular evaluations of the results of specific projects, which has reduced some initial controversy about its validity, there is a lack of studies that can give us a better understanding of the dimension of this practice, the actors and the processes involved in its use.

To help answer these needs, we begin by reviewing the literature regarding investigations about the characterization of PE projects in the field of PSU. At a European level, we only found the Brito & Mendes (2012) study, which focused on the Portuguese reality; the Parkin & McKeganey (2000) study, which focused on the British reality; and the Svenson (2001) study, which focused on European territory. However, these studies present limitations in terms of depth (Brito & Mendes); in terms of completeness (Parkin & McKeganey), and in terms of specificity (Svenson), which make comparisons between countries difficult. Nevertheless, they also recognize the potential of PE when well implemented, and they provide interesting indications that we seek to integrate into the later study of the characterization of Portuguese EP projects.

For this purpose, we used semi-structured interviews and questionnaires, and between 2013 and 2015, we carried out a deep mapping and characterization of 37 EP projects that worked (exclusively or not) in the PSU field. In general, the projects state positive results mainly in terms of increasing knowledge and skills development, but also related to behavioural changes. We perceive, among other aspects, who are the agents behind these projects and which are the methodologies used. In the end, it was possible to create a typology of the projects, which could be useful for other researchers. The EP presents interesting results in the PSU field and similar studies in other countries are recommended, with special attention to the European reality, in order to allow a better understanding of the differences of practices and results in the different territories.

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## Cannabis cultivation and migrant labour in the United Kingdom

This paper argues that the current literature on cannabis prohibition and its policing in the United Kingdom, has neglected the issue of those involved in its commercial cultivation. It is argued that the structure of the British cannabis market, in contrast to neighbouring European countries, is such that migrant labour plays a significant role in the commercial production of cannabis. This point is made in the context of the most recent wave of globalisation. This raises issues of Trafficking, Modern Day Slavery and Smuggling. Arguments are also made suggesting an interesting parallel in unmet requirements for migrant labour in both the legal and criminal sectors. Drawing on recent interviews with Law enforcement, NGO's and interviews with Community members (N=40), this paper argues that it is time that the current policing and legal architecture in the UK are radically rethought.

## Building a Drug Phone: An ethnographic study of local drug distribution networks in Denmark

Thomas Friis Søgaaard

Mie Haller

Torsten Kolind

**Background:** In many countries, including Denmark, research on illicit drug distribution and the organization of drug markets are based on police statistics of drug seizures and on police accounts of market structures (Moller 2009; Moeller & Hesse 2013). In consequence, policy debates and police interventions are often based on a conceptions of drug market as being systems with a hierarchical structure (top, middle, lower-level actors) and a clear division of roles (producers, distributors, dealers, helpers). However, other research shows that drug distribution infrastructures can as well be disorganized, fragmented and characterized by fluid transitions between roles.

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**Aim:** Against this background, the paper shows how street-level drug distribution in a marginalized so-called 'ghetto' area in Denmark is shaped by the strategic use of mobile phones. We argue that the 'building' of a successful 'drug phone' can be seen as local and non-hierarchical entrepreneurialism that is shaped by both ongoing attempts to build and maintain relations between dealers as well as male dealers' expressive actions and search of respects and street capital. The presentations points to the advantages of combining a social construction of technology lens (Pinch & Bijker, 1992), with culturalist perspectives used in studies of marginalized men's subcultures and identity-building.

**Methods:** The presentation is based on 20 in depth ethnographic interviews with small-scale drug dealers in Denmark from 2016-2017.

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## „Revisionist psychedelism“ – will there be a change in control attitudes?

**Objectives:** During the last decade the boundaries between „legal“ and „illegal“ use of psychoactive substances increasingly have become blurred. That social process is promoted by the renewed interest to utilise certain psychoactive substances for medical and psychotherapeutic as well as for mind enhancing purposes (cannabis, ketamine, hallucinogenics, opioids, central stimulants). At this time the point of main effort is to keep the issue within the medical discourse. Since the revisionist argumentation is very similar to the original discourse that took place during the heyday of the psychedelic era it may again, like in these bygone days, stimulate broader considerations and demands and may generate an issue of major socio-cultural importance. Care therefore should be taken to develop an adequate system of regulations.

**Methodology:** Research on patterns of drug use; research on the history of social drug use; research on control philosophies and strategies.

**Conclusions:** The revitalized interest in the medical, resp. psychotherapeutic use of different types of psychoactive drugs has initiated a new discourse on their benign qualities. This new attitude includes a certain criticism on the reigning control philosophies. Otherwise that discourse is limited to the medical use of the substances. Historical knowledge leads to the assumption that it may become a major socio-cultural topic. To avoid the mistakes that have led to the actual control situation an alternative model should be preferred that avoids monopolist pretensions and allows different patterns of strategic social drug use. In accord with the postulation of the Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Studies (MAPS) medical, legal, and cultural contexts should be developed for people to benefit from the careful uses of psychoactive substances-inside and outside of the medical system.

## Cannabis Social Clubs on YouTube: A Qualitative Content Analysis

Cannabis Social Clubs are legally constituted non-profit associations of cannabis consumers. This model, a meaningful middle ground option between cannabis prohibition and commercial legalization, has become a recurrent subject in the international debate about drug policy reform. This has been accompanied with increasing attention by the traditional mass media, if only because communicating with the public about their activities via the mass media is one of the tools used to advocate the model. However, within the changing media landscape, traditional news sources and especially newspapers, while they remain important, are dissolved as central “gatekeepers” of news or information. In particular, with the advancement of video-hosting sites like YouTube, public representing and communicating the positions of CSCs is now easier than ever. At the same time, while operating in an uncertain legal context, it may be a go-to resource for individuals interested in learning about the CSCs. Audiences engage with these sites by both reading and viewing them as well as commenting directly about content.

A qualitative content analysis was conducted to identify the frames used to visualize or to communicate about CSCs on YouTube. Relevant videos were collected on February 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017, using the search term “Cannabis Social Clubs”. This search strategy returned 4.520 videos of which we analyzed the 50 most viewed clips, as identified by YouTube. Irrelevant, duplicate, and video clips in other languages than Dutch, English, Portuguese and Spanish were excluded. The content in each relevant video was manually coded and analysed, following an inductive (grounded-theory) approach.

This paper aims to offer an overview of the representation of the CSCs on YouTube and how this invites audiences to actively comment about the content and to discuss the model. Common themes and characteristics are identified, including visual/textual representations of the clubs, its functioning or members’ use, tone of comments, and appreciation of the model. We hope that our findings can contribute to advancing the knowledge about this under-researched domain in criminological research, and drug research in particular. Methodologically, this paper also allows to enter novel challenges related to online qualitative research methods.

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## Stigmatising users by Measuring “Harm to Others”

According to modern human rights principles individuals are entitled to increase their health risk as long as they do not inflict severe disadvantages to others. This principle was and still is hard to accept for individuals though, who depreciate certain behaviours as immoral or who worry about close persons involved with these behaviours. A promising strategy to prepare the ground for dedicated actions against various behaviours, like premarital sex, birth control, homosexuality, substance use etc. is to relate these behaviours to negative outcomes for third parties. A successful narrative in this context was to portray illicit drug use and addiction as infectious disease, thus endangering the whole society, and consequently to define illicit drug users as criminal perpetrators. An interesting but in the public sphere not extremely successful counter strategy was to label illicit drug use “victimless crime”.

Since the idea of harm reduction became the dominating paradigm in Western drug policy discourse the topic “harm to others” lost importance in the field of illicit drugs and the issue “harm to the user” gained impact. At the same time though, carried by an initiative of several alcohol researchers, the issue “harm to others” gained importance in alcohol prevention research. A research tool was developed that makes minor problems look big and inflates the actual magnitude of harm to others tremendously. This presentation will introduce and analyse this tool and argue, that this tool can easily be abused to stigmatise almost any unwanted group of individuals in society. In case this tool is transferred into the illicit drugs field as well, a sever backlash for the harm reduction movement can be expected.

## Friendship and commercial exchanges: dimensions of social supply in cannabis networks

**Objectives:** Is there something like a ‘retail-level dealer’? Is this dealer different from suppliers that are ‘friends doing each other a favour’? Or is this apparent dichotomy not a dichotomy at all? Over the years different conceptualisations of social supply have stimulated further debate on the extent to which there is a separate arena where supply is social rather than commercial (Coomber & Turnbull, 2007; Taylor & Potter, 2013).

The first aim of the paper is to disentangle the concept of social supply by examining the composition and structure of networks where cannabis use and supply is present. Some argue the *non-commercial* dimension mainly refers to non-monetary exchanges, others argue ‘a little bit of money does not transform supply into ‘dealing’. The *social* dimension then often includes friends, family as well as acquaintances, while some suggest all non-strangers can be part of it (e.g. Harrison et al., 2007; Hough et al., 2003; Parker, 2000; Werse, 2008).

Second, the paper aims to provide a theoretical contribution to the supply debate. The paper therefore explores the nature of individual supply exchanges as part of the wider supply setting. This way the extent to which supply might be explained as an individual action is then evaluated against voices pointing to a possible continued relevance of Becker’s (1963) work on deviant subcultures (Fitzgerald et al., 2013; Gourley, 2004).

**Methodology:** The social world of networks in which cannabis is used and supplied is explored from a personal network perspective. Data was collected via a computer-assisted interview. Using the technique of participatory mapping 50 young recreational cannabis users drew their own personal network in a software programme (VennMaker). Qualitative and quantitative analysis of strength and exchange experiences disentangled social supply layer by layer.

**Results:** The studied supply exchanges took place in friendship networks with an ‘edge’. A two-dimensional definition of (social) supply was found. The social dimension was reflected by the strength of the social relationship, the ‘non-commercial’ dimension was expressed in terms of monetary exchanges within the personal network. The findings considering network structures and discussion of supply settings suggested explanations of why supply is defined as such, individual and social aspects are inextricably entangled.

**Conclusions:** The paper argues that social supply could benefit from a two-dimensional perspective. The interaction between the found dimensions showed how although one might be inclined to look into the subcultural theories to understand perceptions of supply, it is in the interaction between the social and the individual one might find an explanation. The paper concludes with reflections on the wider practical relevance of this two-dimensional conceptualisation towards prevention workers and treatment providers.

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