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REPORT ON GENERAL POPULATION SURVEY ABOUT DRUG POLICY IN 7 COUNTRIES

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IDPSO

(Illicit Drug Policies and Social Outcomes)

Work Package 3: Drug Policy Perceptions

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Introduction

IDPSO is an international research project on drug policy and practice. The general objective is to assess how differences in national drug laws, policies and practices related to illicit drug production, distribution, and consumption impact on key social indicators, with a particular focus on cannabis. The research is conducted in seven countries: Portugal, France, Italy, the Netherlands, United Kingdom, Canada and Australia. Together these countries represent similarities as well as differences in drug legislation, legal system, drug policy and practices.

For example, in the Netherlands cannabis was decriminalized in 1976 and since the 1980s the sale of cannabis to consumers is semi-legal in so-called coffeeshops (up to 5 grams per person per day), in Portugal possession of cannabis for personal use (up to 25 grams of plant material or 5 grams of hashish) was decriminalized in 2011; and as of 17 October 2018 the cultivation, possession, acquisition and consumption of cannabis was legalized in Canada. In contrast, all these cannabis related acts remained illegal in the other four countries in this study. As to law enforcement practice regarding cannabis supply, strong variation across European countries in the sentencing practices has been reported, with lowest (shortest) sentences for the supply of 1 kg and 10 kg of cannabis resin in the Netherlands, somewhat higher sentences in France, and relatively high sentences in Italy.¹

Part of the project (Work Package 3) is a mixed method approach to capture perceptions regarding the actual operation of drug policies ('law in action'): (i) qualitative semi-structured interviews with experts; a quantitative survey among the general population (18-40 years) designed to obtain evidence on the perceptions of drug laws; and (iii) a quantitative survey among current drug users.

Here we report on the general population survey.

Method and sample

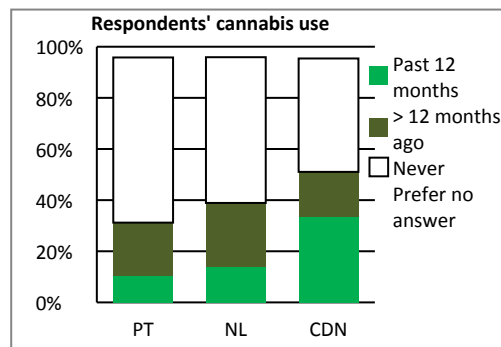
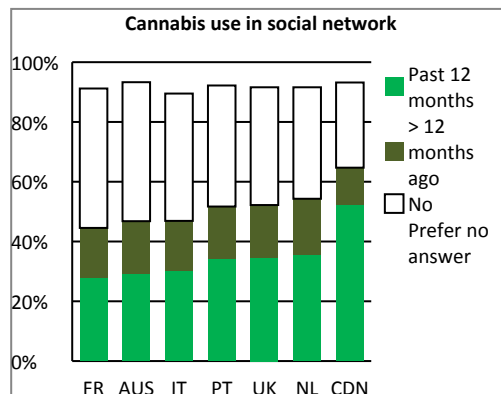
In the course of November 2018, five to six weeks after cannabis legalization in Canada, the general population survey took place in the seven participating countries. In each country, quota sampling was applied (gender*age, education, and region) to approach respondents from participants in a large national online opinion panel of a professional international survey firm, until a minimum of 1,000 respondents per country had completed the online questionnaire in the applicable language (Dutch, English, French, Italian or Portuguese; for Canada: English and French). The survey data were nationally representative weighed (gender*age, education, and region) and analyzed with SPSS v. 24.²

¹ EMCDDA (2017) *Drug trafficking penalties across the European Union*. Lisbon: EMCDDA. This report is about 26 European countries, but does not include data from the UK.

Table 1 depicts the gender and age distribution as well as educational level across the country samples. The total number of respondents was 7,105, with slightly more males than females. Mean age was 29.3 years (SD = 6.66). Gender ratio did not differ between countries. In comparison, the Italian and Portuguese samples had somewhat lower numbers in the youngest age category (18-24 years) and larger numbers in the oldest age group (35-40 years). Education referred to highest level received (whether or not completed with diploma), and categorized into low, medium and high. Educational level (low, medium, and high) was lowest in the Italian and Portuguese samples, and highest in the Canadian sample, albeit that differences also reflect cross-national differences in educational systems and in categorization into the three levels (see Table 2 for overview per country). Geographically, respondents were proportionally spread over six (the Netherlands, Italy) to thirteen (France) regions (see Table 3 for overview per country).

As the ethics department of the international survey firm did not allow questions about respondents' personal illegal behavior, in countries where cannabis use is defined as illegal in the national drug law respondents could not be asked about their personal use. As an alternative, we applied an indirect indicator of cannabis use prevalence. In all participating countries respondents were asked about cannabis use in their social network ("Thinking about people you know, have they ever used cannabis? If so, when was the last time they used cannabis?"). Slightly over one third of the total sample (34.9%) reported cannabis use in their social network in the past 12 months, with lower rates in France, Italy and Australia, and with more than half of the sample by far the highest rate in Canada (Table 4). Note that 8.2% of the total sample preferred not to answer this question, which indicates at least some stigma around cannabis use.

In the three countries in our study where the use of cannabis is not prohibited by the national drug law, respondents were also asked about their own cannabis use. Across these countries, prevalence of personal use was reported in same rank order as use in social networks, i.e. clearly highest in Canada, with one third of respondents reporting cannabis use in the past 12 months, including one quarter in

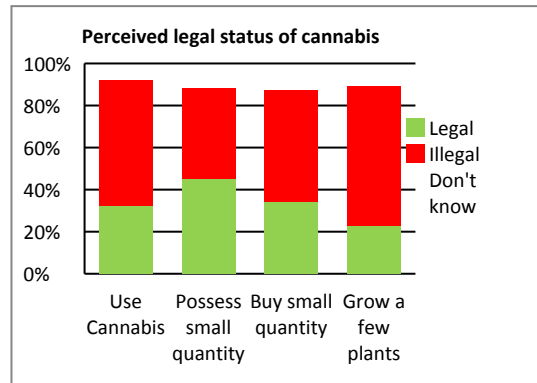


² Weigh factor ranged .33-5.01 (M 1.16, SD .554).

the last 30 days. Last year prevalence was 14.1% (including 7.6% last month) in the Netherlands and 10.4% (including 5.5% last month) in Portugal (Table 4).

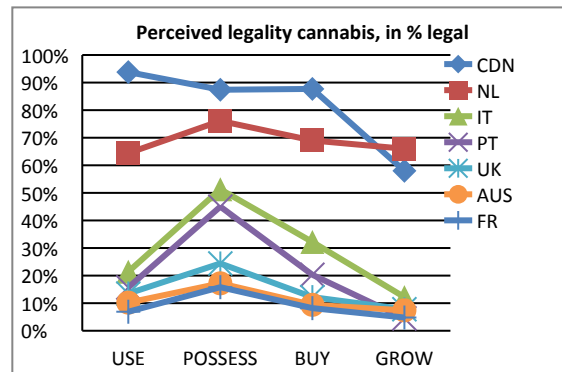
Cannabis: perceived legal status

To assess the perceived legal status of cannabis, respondents were asked whether it is legal or illegal in their country to use cannabis, to possess a small quantity (a few grams) of cannabis for personal use, to buy a small quantity (a few grams) of cannabis for personal use, and to grow a few marihuana plants. Interestingly, possession was most often thought to be legal (45.2% of total sample), substantially more often than use (32.2%), and use was more often perceived as illegal than buying (Table 5). Growing a few marihuana plants was least often perceived as legal.



In comparison, perceived legality of cannabis was highest in Canada, followed by the Netherlands (Table 5). In both countries, the majority of respondents thought that all four cannabis related acts were legal.

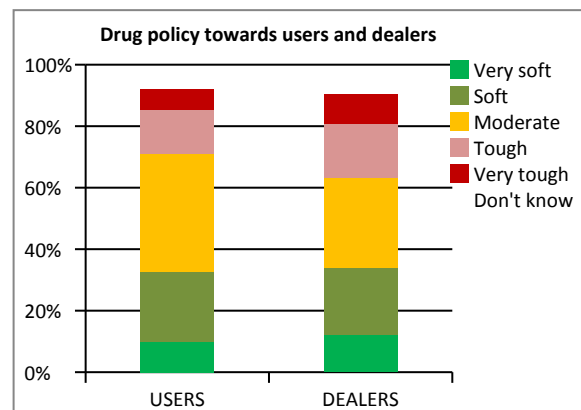
In contrast, possession and buying for personal use was least often perceived as legal in France, Australia and the UK. Italy and Portugal took an intermediate position with around half of respondents who believe that it is legal to possess a small quantity of cannabis for personal use. In other words: perception of legal status of cannabis possession for personal use was most ambiguous in Italy and Portugal.



Note that with each cannabis related act around one in ten respondents answered 'don't know'. This amounted to one in six respondents in the case of growing a few marihuana plants in Italy and one in five in Canada (Table 5).

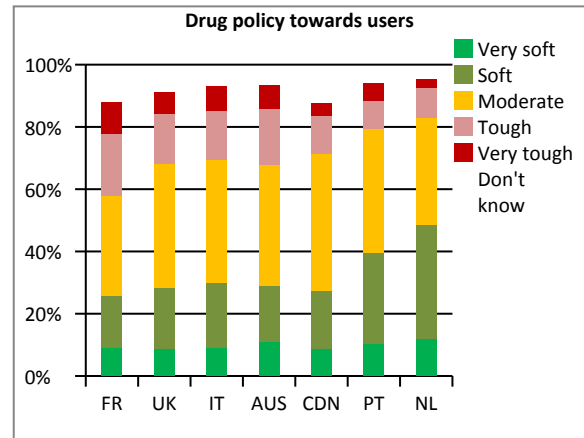
Drug policy perception: soft or tough?

To assess the perception of drug policy in their country, respondents were asked how soft or tough in their opinion this policy is towards drug users and towards drug dealers. On a five point Likert scale (from very soft to very tough),

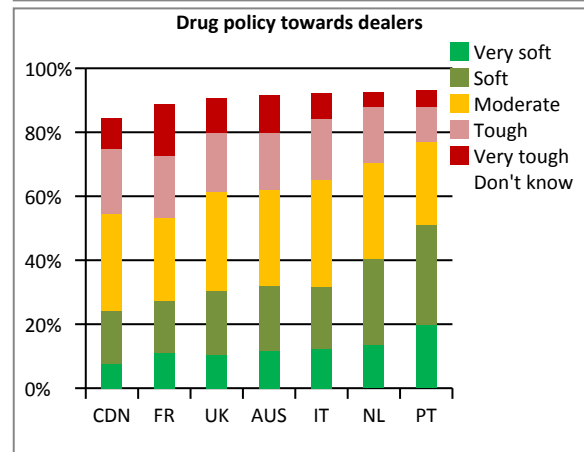


respondents more often chose for soft or very soft than tough or very tough, with regard to both users and dealers – albeit more often (very) tough towards dealers than towards users.

In the Netherlands about half of respondents perceived drug policy towards drug users as soft or very soft, followed by four in ten in Portugal. In contrast, in France respondents were most likely to perceive drug policy towards users in their country as tough or very tough. French and Canadian respondents most often answered ‘don’t know’ (Table 6).



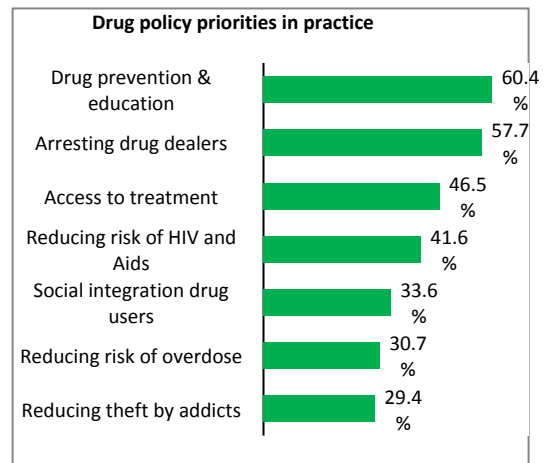
Around half of respondents in Portugal perceived drug policy towards drug dealers as soft or very soft, followed by four in ten in the Netherlands. In other words: in Portugal drug policy towards dealers was perceived as softer than towards users, and in the Netherlands drug policy towards dealers was perceived as tougher than towards users. French respondents were most likely to perceive drug policy towards dealers in their country as tough or very tough. Canadian and French respondents most often answered ‘don’t know’ (Table 6).



Drug policy priorities

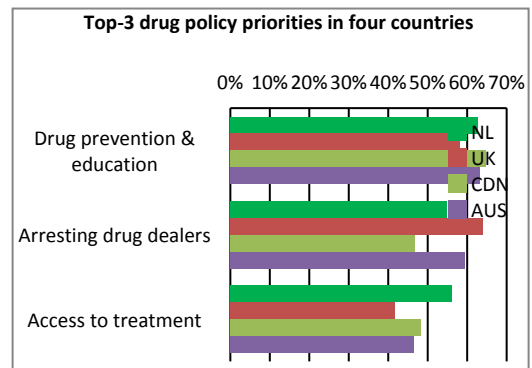
As a next step in the assessment of drug policy perceptions, respondents were asked to nominate three out of seven predefined aspects of drug policy -presented in random order in the electronic questionnaire- that in their opinion in practice are given the highest priority in their country. Drug prevention and drug education scored highest, followed by arresting drug dealers. Reducing theft committed by drug addicts (as indicator of drug-related crime) and reducing risk of overdose (as an indicator of harm reduction) scored lowest (Table 6).

In four countries respondents nominate the same top three drug policy aspects: drug prevention/education, arresting drug dealers, and providing drug addicts access to treatment – albeit in different rank order. Drug prevention/education ranks number one in the Netherlands, Canada and Australia, and second in the UK. Arresting drug dealers ranks on top in the UK, second in Australia and third in the Netherlands and Canada.



As to the other three countries:

- French respondents nominate arresting drug dealers on top, drug prevention at number two, and reducing the risk of HIV and Aids among injecting drug users at the third place.
- Italian respondents also put arresting drug dealers on top, followed by social integration/rehabilitation of drug addicts, and drug prevention/education at number three.
- Portuguese respondents nominate drug prevention/ education on top, followed by reducing the risk of HIV and Aids among injecting drug users, and providing drug addicts access to treatment at the third place.



When looking at the different drug policy aspects per country (Table 6), according to respondents and relative to the other countries:

- Drug prevention/education gets the *lowest* priority in Italy;
- Arresting drug dealers has the *lowest* priority in Portugal and Canada;
- Providing drug addicts access to treatment gets the *highest* priority in the Netherlands;
- Reducing the risk of HIV and Aids among injecting drug users has the *highest* priority in Portugal, at distance followed by France;
- Social integration/rehabilitation of drug addicts scores *highest* in Italy, followed by Portugal;
- Reducing the risk of drug overdose has the *highest* priority in Canada;
- Reducing theft committed by drug addicts gets the *highest* priority in the UK, followed by the Netherlands.

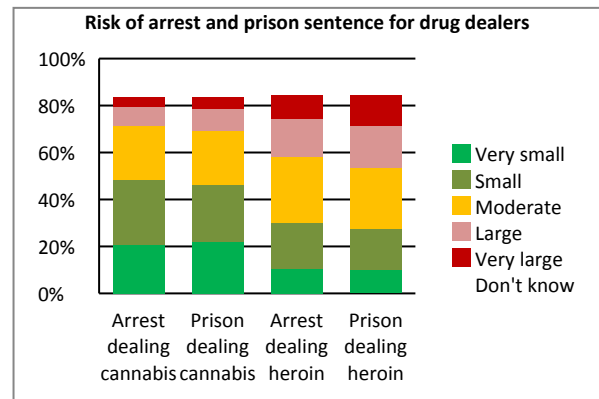
Drug law in action: Perceived risk of arrest and imprisonment

To more specifically assess the perception of the role of law enforcement in drug policy in their country, respondents were asked how large or small the chance is that drug dealers will be

arrested by the police and sentenced to prison. The same questions were asked for cannabis, being the most widely used drug, and heroin, representing the prototypical ‘problem drug’.

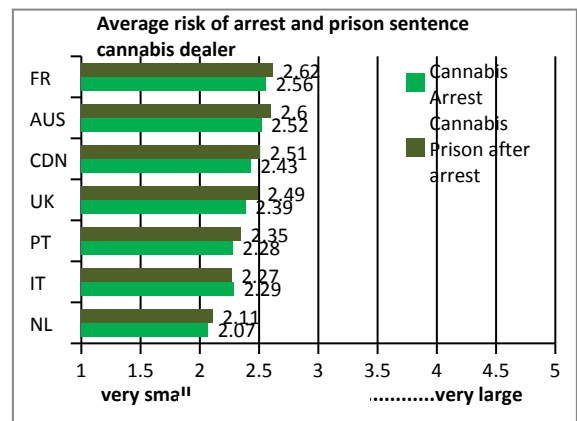
On a five point Likert scale (from very small to very large), close to half of the respondents thought that the chance that a drug dealer who sells 100 grams (3.5 ounce) of cannabis (marihuana, hashish) in one month to users in their country will be arrested by the police is small or very small. Slightly less respondents thought that the chance that a drug dealer who is arrested by the police for selling 100 grams of cannabis in one month to users in their country will be sentenced to prison is (very) small. Contrariwise, about one in six respondents thought that the chance that such a cannabis dealer will be arrested by the police is (very) large, and slightly more thought that the chance that such an arrested cannabis dealer will be sentenced to prison as (very) large (Table 7).

In the case of a drug dealer who sells 100 grams of heroin in one month to users in their country, about three in ten respondents thought that the chance to be arrested by the police is (very) small, and slightly less respondents thought that the chance was (very) small that an arrested heroin dealer will be sentenced to prison. On the other hand, more than one quarter of respondents thought that the chance that such a heroin dealer will be arrested by the police is (very) large, and close to one third thought that the chance that such an arrested heroin dealer will be sentenced to prison is (very) large (Table 7).



Note that with each of these four questions, around one in six respondents answered ‘don’t know’. This was least the case in Italy, but amounted to one quarter in Canada (Table 7).

To compare perceived risk of arrest and of prison sentence across countries, composite scores were calculated (very low = 1, very large = 5; ‘don’t know’ excluded from the analysis). In all countries, risk of prison sentence after arrest was quite similar to risk of arrest. In the case of dealing cannabis average chances of both arrest and prison sentences were between small and moderate, with France and Australia closest to moderate, and the Netherlands closest to small.

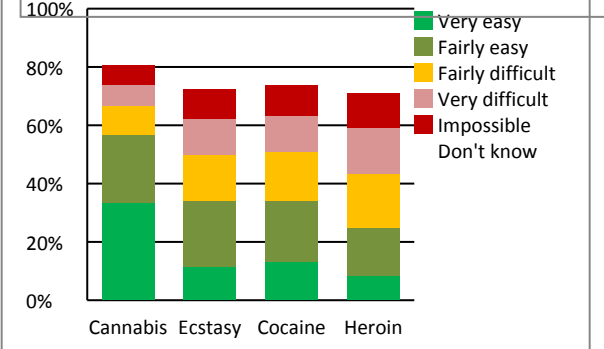
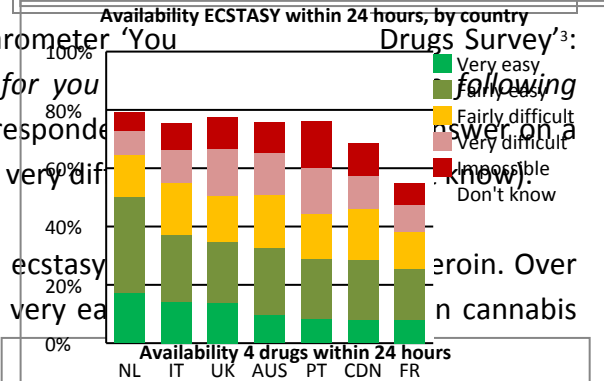
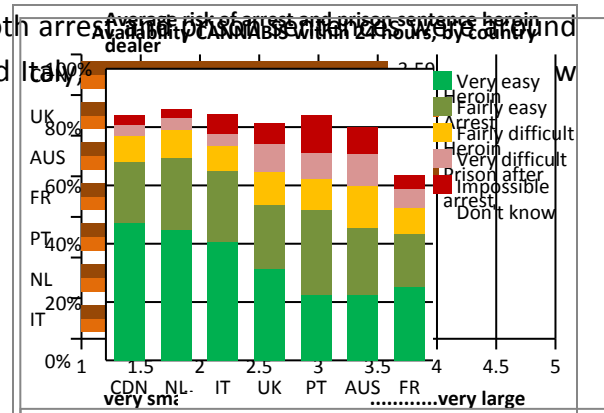


In the case of dealing heroin average chances of both arrest and prison sentence were moderate, with Canada most above moderate, and Italy moderate.

Availability of cannabis and other drugs

As an indicator of access to the supply side of the drug market, we used a question from the Eurobarometer “How difficult or easy do you think it would be for you to obtain substances within 24 hours?” For each substance, respondents answered on a Likert scale (very easy – fairly easy – fairly difficult – very difficult – impossible – don’t know).

In our survey, we asked this question for cannabis, ecstasy, cocaine and heroin. Over half of the total sample reported that it would be very easy (57%); this dropped to around one third in the case of ecstasy and cocaine, and to one quarter for heroin (Table 8).



These figures on access to drugs show a similar rank-order as in the Eurobarometer Young People and Drugs Survey, conducted in 2014 amongst a younger population (aged 15-24 years), with a similar percentage of respondents reporting (very or fairly) easy access to cannabis (58%), but lower percentages in case of cocaine (25%), ecstasy (23%) and heroin (13%).

An important difference is that in the latter survey only up to 2% opted for ‘don’t know’, while in our general population survey this applied to one in five respondents for cannabis, and to more than one quarter for cocaine, ecstasy and heroin. In our survey, French respondents much more often than other participants chose ‘don’t know’.

Availability of cannabis was most often reported as (very or fairly) easy in Canada, the Netherlands and Italy, by around half of respondents in the UK and Portugal, and less than half of French and Australian respondents.

Easy availability of ecstasy was reported by close to half of respondents in the Netherlands, at distance followed by those from Italy and the UK.

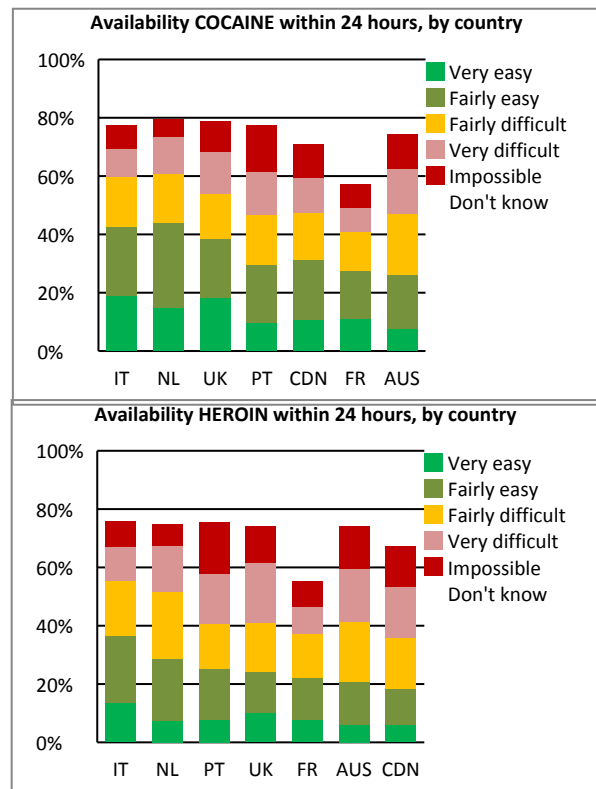
³ Eurobarometer (2014) *Young people and drugs*. Flash Eurobarometer 401. TNS Political & Social. European Commission, DG COMM.

Easy availability of cocaine was reported by more than four out of ten respondents in Italy and the Netherlands, at short distance followed by those from the UK.

Easy availability of heroin was reported by over one third of respondents in Italy, at some distance followed by those from the Netherlands.

In comparison, reported (very or fairly) easy availability per country was as follows:

- The Netherlands: on top for ecstasy, second for cannabis, cocaine and heroin;
- Italy: on top for cocaine and heroin, second for ecstasy and third for cannabis;
- Canada: on top for cannabis, medium for cocaine, below medium for ecstasy and heroin;
- UK: intermediate position (third for cannabis and cocaine, fourth for ecstasy and heroin);
- Portugal: intermediate position (third for heroin, fourth for cocaine, fifth for cannabis and ecstasy);
- France: medium-low position (fifth for heroin, sixth for ecstasy and cocaine, last for cannabis);
- Australia: medium-low position (fourth for ecstasy, sixth for cannabis and heroin, last for cocaine).



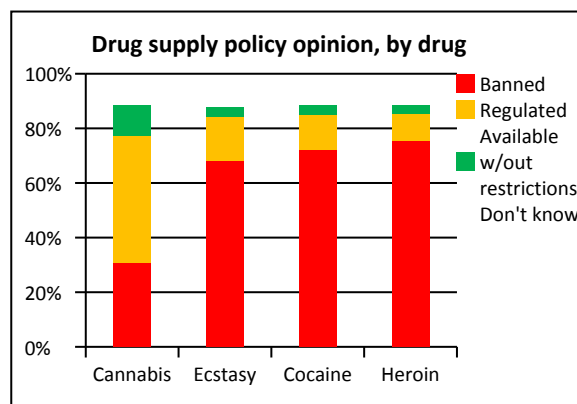
While among the European countries in our survey, the Netherlands scored highest on easy access to cannabis, it took an intermediate position in the Eurobarometer Young People and Drugs Survey (58%, same as European average). This difference might largely be explained by the younger age (15-24 vs. 18-40 in our survey). In the Netherlands, coffeeshops are the main source to procure cannabis, but not for minors, as the minimum age to visit a coffeeshops is 18 years.⁴ Contrariwise, in our survey easy access to cannabis scored lowest in France, while it was above average in the Eurobarometer (63%). One explanation could be that in our survey French respondents by far most often answered ‘don’t know’ (36%). If the respondents would be excluded from the analysis (i.e. defined as missing values), French respondents would take an intermediate position with respect to easy availability of cannabis (66% vs. 71% of total sample). The rank-order of the three other European countries in our survey is the same as in the Eurobarometer (Italy, easy availability 70%; UK 66%; Portugal 49%).⁵

Opinion on drug supply policy

To investigate opinions in the general population about drug policy, we replicated another question from the Eurobarometer Young People and Drugs Survey, with a focus on drug supply policy: *“In most countries, the sale of drugs such as cannabis, cocaine, ecstasy and heroin is officially banned. The sale of legal substances such as alcohol and tobacco is not prohibited, but regulated. This means, for example that there is a minimum age limit for buying, limits in concentration of active components or licensed sales through specialised shops. Do you think the following substances should be banned, or should they be regulated?”*⁶

This question was asked for the same drugs as in the previous section, and for each drug respondents could choose between banned, regulated, available without restriction, and don’t know.

While the majority of the total sample opted for a ban on ecstasy, cocaine and heroin, less than one third did so for cannabis (31%), and many more preferred a regulated sale of cannabis (46%). Although only a minority (11%) of the total sample preferred cannabis to be available without restrictions, this was three times as often as for the other drugs (Table 9).

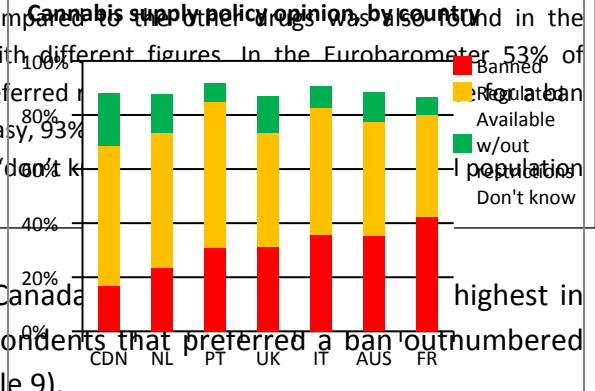


⁴ Korf, D.J. (2002) Dutch coffeeshops and trends in cannabis use. *Addictive Behaviors*, 27: 851-866; Van Ooyen-Houben, M. and Kleemans, E. (2016) Drug Policy; The “Dutch Model”. *Crime and Justice*, 44(1): 165-226.

⁵ Eurobarometer (2014): page 25.

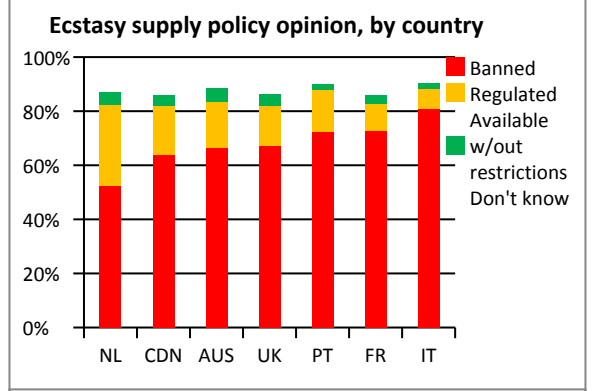
⁶ Question slightly rephrased. The original question referred to “all EU Member States” (Eurobarometer, 2014: pp. 35). As two non-European countries were included in our survey, we rephrased this into “most countries”.

The much lower preference for a ban on cannabis as compared to other drugs was also found in the Eurobarometer Young People and Drugs Survey, albeit with different figures. In the Eurobarometer, 53% of respondents preferred a ban on cannabis sales, and 45% preferred on sales of other drugs was much more outspoken (91% ecstasy, 93% cocaine). Note that only up to 2% of Eurobarometer sample answered 'don't know'.

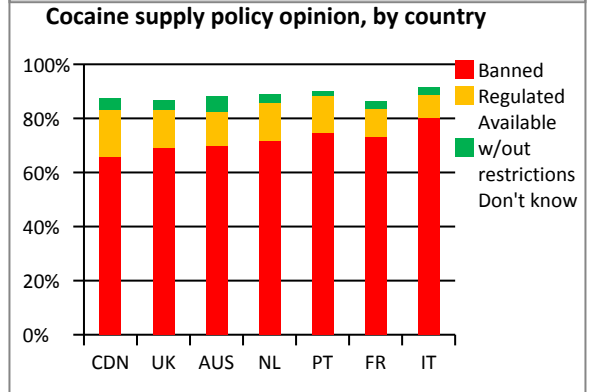


Preference for a ban on cannabis was lowest in Canada and highest in France, the only country in this study where respondents that preferred a ban outnumbered those who chose for a regulated cannabis sale (Table 9).

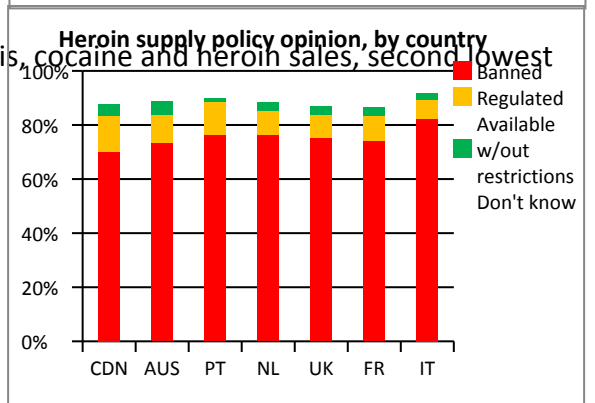
With regard to ecstasy (MDMA), preference for a regulated sale was highest in the Netherlands, albeit that a slight majority of Dutch respondents chose for a ban. Preference for a ban on the sale of ecstasy was strongest in Italy.



Preference for a ban on cocaine sales ranged from close to two thirds of Canadian to more than three quarters of Italian respondents



Preference for a ban on heroin sales was most prevalent in Italy, with more than eight out of ten respondents, and dropped to seven out of ten respondents in Canada.



In comparison, opinions on drug supply policy varied across countries as follows:

- Canada: lowest preference for a ban on cannabis, lowest preference for a ban on ecstasy sales;
- The Netherlands: lowest preference for a ban on ecstasy sales, second lowest preference for a ban on cannabis sales, intermediate position regarding cocaine and heroin sales;
- Portugal: highest preference for regulated cannabis sales, intermediate position regarding ecstasy, cocaine and heroin sales;

- UK: second lowest preference for a ban on cocaine sales, intermediate position regarding cannabis, ecstasy and heroin sales;
- Australia: second strongest preference for ban on cannabis sales (but more preference for regulated cannabis sales), second/third lowest preference for a ban on ecstasy, cocaine and heroin sales;
- Italy: strongest preference for a ban on ecstasy, cocaine and heroin sales; intermediate position regarding cannabis sales (with more preference for regulated sales than for a ban);
- France: strongest preference for a ban on cannabis sales, relatively strong preference for ban on ecstasy, cocaine and heroin sales.

Country profiles

So far, stepwise analysis of various characteristics of national drug laws, drug policy and practice as perceived by the general population revealed significant cross-national differences. In a final step we analyzed whether different aspects investigated in the general population survey are interrelated and can be translated into country profiles, or maybe even in a typology, for example more versus less punitive states. In a qualitative rather than a statistical approach we looked at contrasts between countries as well as coherence within countries. In an integrated overview contrasts between countries were visualized for five themes, in colors ranging from **dark green** for the lowest country score to **dark red** for the highest country score – or, for another two themes, in reverse order. Coherence within countries was analyzed by inspection of similarity in colors between themes/items per country, e.g. mostly green, mostly red, et cetera.

Perceived legal status of cannabis: percentage of respondents reporting use, possession for personal use, buying for personal use or growing a few marihuana plants as illegal. Drug policy perception: percentage of respondents perceiving drug policy towards users and dealers as tough or very tough. Risk of arrest and prison sentence: percentage of respondents perceiving risk of arrest for dealing 100 grams of cannabis or 100 grams of heroin, and risk of being sentenced to prison after arrest for dealing 100 grams of cannabis or 100 grams of heroin as large or very large. Availability of drugs: percentage of respondents reporting easy of very easy access to cannabis, ecstasy, cocaine or heroin within 24 hours (*visualized in reverse order*). Cannabis use in social network: percentage of respondents reporting that people they know have used cannabis in the past 12 months (*visualized in reverse order*). Perceived drug policy priorities in practice: percentage of respondents that from a list of seven drug policy aspects report an aspect as one of the three being given the highest priority in practice. Opinion on drug supply policy: percentage of respondents that think that cannabis, ecstasy, cocaine or heroin should be banned.

As for some themes or items contrasts between countries, i.e. the difference between the lowest and the highest score) were much larger than for others, an extra column (range Max-Min%) was placed at the right side of the overview, in colors ranging from light blue (<15% difference) to dark blue (>80% difference).

COUNTRY PROFILES

	NL	IT	CDN	PT	UK	AUS	FR	Range Max-Min %
Perceived legal status cannabis: % illegal								
Use cannabis	22.5	70.4	3.6	76.9	76.1	80.9	85.4	81.8
Possess small quantity for personal use	13.4	35.5	5.0	42.3	61.9	68.7	73.4	68.4
Buy small quantity for personal use	18.3	51.5	4.8	66.2	72.8	77.1	80.7	75.9
Grow a few marihuana plants	25.2	74.9	22.2	88.0	82.8	83.5	87.3	65.8
Drug policy perception: % (very) tough								
Towards Users	12.2	23.4	16.3	15.0	22.7	25.4	32.2	20.0
Towards Dealers	21.9	27.3	30.1	16.3	29.2	29.6	35.5	19.2
Risk of arrest and prison sentence: % (very) large								
Arrest Dealing Cannabis	6.1	13.0	12.0	12.2	12.0	13.8	16.2	10.1
Prison Dealing Cannabis	7.8	11.6	14.9	14.9	14.9	17.5	19.9	12.1
Arrest Dealing Heroin	17.1	19.8	35.2	25.2	29.4	29.3	27.8	18.1
Prison Dealing Heroin	26.3	21.6	42.0	25.5	35.0	32.1	35.1	20.4
Availability of drugs within 24 hours: % (very) easy COLOURS IN REVERSE ORDER								
Cannabis	69.8	65.2	68.4	51.8	53.5	45.6	43.4	26.6
Ecstasy	50.1	37.2	28.8	28.9	34.5	32.8	25.4	24.7
Cocaine	44.0	42.6	31.2	29.7	38.6	26.0	26.4	18.0
Heroin	28.8	36.4	18.3	25.3	24.1	20.7	22.1	15.7
Cannabis use in social network: COLOURS IN REVERSE ORDER								
Yes, in past 12 months	35.6	30.2	52.4	34.3	34.5	29.2	28.0	24.4
Perceived drug policy priorities in practice								
Drug prevention and education	62.6	47.4	64.7	63.1	58.2	63.3	63.9	17.3
Arresting drug dealers	54.8	69.1	46.7	43.5	63.9	59.3	66.6	25.6
Access to treatment	56.0	41.3	48.3	47.8	41.7	46.4	44.1	14.7
Reducing risk of HIV & AIDS IDU	34.9	37.7	39.1	59.6	34.4	38.3	47.5	25.2
Social integration drug users	33.7	48.2	29.1	42.0	31.2	27.5	23.2	25.0
Reducing risk of OD	22.4	29.9	46.0	20.0	30.3	34.6	31.3	26.0
Reducing theft by drug addicts	35.6	26.4	26.1	23.9	40.3	30.4	23.4	16.9
Opinion on drug supply policy: % banned								
Cannabis	23.5	35.7	16.9	31.1	31.3	35.4	42.4	25.5
Ecstasy	52.3	80.9	64.0	72.4	67.3	66.3	72.9	28.6
Cocaine	71.6	80.2	65.8	74.5	69.0	70.0	73.3	14.4
Heroin	76.5	82.1	70.2	76.5	75.4	73.5	74.2	11.9

Overall, the strongest contrast can be observed between the Netherlands and France. Relative to the other countries, the most characteristic country features arising from the survey are as follows.

The Netherlands: least punitive, highest in drug policy priority to access to treatment

- Punitivity: low on perceived illegality of cannabis related acts; drug policy towards users and dealers not perceived as tough; relatively low perceived risk of arrest and imprisonment for dealing cannabis and heroin.
- Supply: easy availability of various drugs; lowest support for a ban on ecstasy.
- Demand: medium level of cannabis use in social network.
- Policy: higher priority to providing drug addicts access to treatment than in other countries, relatively high priority to reducing theft committed by drug addicts, and relatively low priority to reducing risk of HIV and Aids among injecting drug users and risk of overdose.

Italy: highest priority to arresting drug dealers and social integration, lowest to prevention

- Punitivity: relatively low perceived risk of arrest for dealing heroin and lowest perceived risk of imprisonment for dealing heroin; relatively tough drug policy towards users; relatively low risk of arrest and lowest risk of imprisonment for dealing heroin.
- Supply: relatively easy availability of various drugs, easiest access to heroin; highest support for a ban on ecstasy, cocaine and heroin.
- Demand: medium level of cannabis use in social network.
- Policy: highest priority to arresting drug dealers and social integration of drug users; drug prevention lower priority than in other countries.

Canada: by far least punitive towards cannabis, most punitive towards heroin dealers, highest priority on overdose reduction

- Punitivity: by far lowest perceived illegality of cannabis related acts; relatively tough drug policy towards dealers; highest perceived risk of arrest and imprisonment for dealing heroin.
- Supply: easy availability of cannabis, relatively low access to ecstasy and heroin; lowest support for a ban on cannabis, cocaine and heroin.
- Demand: by far highest level of cannabis use in social network.
- Policy: highest priority to drug prevention and much higher priority to reducing risk of overdose than in other countries.

Portugal: highest priority on reducing health risks among intravenous drug users, lowest on arresting drug dealers

- Punitivity: highest perceived illegality of growing a few marihuana plants; drug policy towards users and dealers not perceived as tough; relatively low risk of arrest and imprisonment for dealing heroin.
- Supply: medium access to various drugs; moderate support for a ban on cannabis, ecstasy, cocaine and heroin.
- Demand: medium level of cannabis use in social network.
- Policy: much higher priority to reducing risk of HIV and Aids among injecting drug users than in other countries, relatively high priority to social integration of drug users; lowest priority to arresting drug dealers and reducing risk of overdose.

UK: highest priority to drug related theft, relatively high priority to arresting drug dealers

- Punitivity: medium-high perceived illegality of cannabis related acts; medium-tough drug policy towards users and dealers; relatively low risk of arrest for dealing cannabis and relatively high risk of arrest and imprisonment for dealing heroin.
- Supply: medium access to various drugs; medium support for a ban on cannabis, ecstasy, cocaine and heroin.
- Demand: medium level of cannabis use in social network.

- Policy: highest in priority to reducing theft committed by drug addicts, relatively high priority to arresting drug dealers, lowest priority to reducing risk of HIV and Aids among injecting drug users and relatively low priority to access to treatment.

Australia: relatively punitive, low priority on social integration of drug users, relatively high priority on overdose reduction

- Punitivity: high perceived illegality of cannabis related acts; relatively tough drug policy towards users and dealers; relatively high risk of arrest and imprisonment for dealing cannabis and highest risk of arrest and imprisonment for dealing heroin.
- Supply: low access to cannabis, lowest access to cocaine and heroin; medium support for a ban on cannabis, ecstasy, cocaine and heroin.
- Demand: relatively low level of cannabis use in social network.
- Policy: relatively high priority on reducing overdose, and relatively low priority on social integration of drug users.

France: most punitive, lowest priority on social integration of drug users

- Punitivity: highest perceived illegality of cannabis use, and possession and buying for personal use; toughest drug policy towards users and dealers; highest risk of arrest for dealing cannabis, relatively high risk of imprisonment for dealing cannabis or heroin.
- Supply: lowest access to cannabis and ecstasy, relatively low access to cocaine and heroin; strongest support for a ban on cannabis.
- Demand: lowest level of cannabis use in social network.
- Policy: relatively high priority on drug prevention, arresting drug dealers, and reducing risk of HIV and Aids among injecting drug users; lowest priority on social integration of drug users and reducing drug-related theft.
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Tables

Table 1 Gender, age, education and cannabis use, in %

(n)	FR (1017)	IT (1023)	NL (1000)	PT (1011)	UK (1024)	CDN (1014)	AUS (1017)	Total (7105)	Test Chi ² (df)	p
Gender										
Male	49.7	50.6	50.3	49.7	50.0	50.5	50.5	50.2	.414	.99
Female	50.3	49.4	49.7	50.3	50.0	49.5	49.5	49.8	(6)	9
Age									36.7 (18)	.00 6
18-24	29.2	26.5	30.7	26.8	30.0	30.5	29.4	29.0		
25-29	21.1	20.7	22.6	19.5	22.1	23.4	22.9	21.8		
30-34	22.1	21.9	21.3	21.9	21.2	23.3	22.9	22.1		
35-40	27.5	30.9	25.4	31.8	26.8	22.9	24.8	27.2		
Education received									1083.2 (12)	.00 0
High	38.6	20.3	49.5	28.2	30.2	65.5	51.5	40.5		
Middle	46.1	49.7	44.1	36.9	54.8	24.4	47.4	43.4		
Low	15.3	30.0	6.4	34.9	15.0	10.0	1.1	16.1		

Table 2 Three levels of education, per country

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
France	École primaire Collège	Lycée d'enseignement général et technologique Lycée professionnel	Études supérieures courtes (Bac +2) Études supérieures longues (Bac +3/4/5 – Grandes écoles/Universités) Doctorat/Post-doctorat
Italy	Scuola elementare, Scuola media inferiore	Istituto professionale, Scuola superiore	Università, Master, Dottorato
Netherlands	VMBO beroepsgericht/MBO-1 Basisschool Geen opleiding	Havo/VWO bovenbouw & onderbouw MBO-2, -3, -4 of MBO voor 1998 VMBO theoretisch/gemengd	Master HBO/WO, Bachelor HBO/WO, Propedeuse HBO/WO
Portugal	No level of education Basic education - First cycle / Second cycle / Third cycle	Secondary and post-secondary education	Higher education
UK	Combined Junior and Infant School/ Infant School Junior School Comprehensive School	Comprehensive School (GCSE)/ Secondary Modern (GCSE)/ Grammar School (GCSE)/ City Technology College (GCSE)/ Sixth Form	College/ Institution of Higher education Open College - College of Technology - Institute/ Teacher Training College University/ Open University
Canada	Elementary school Completed some high school	High school graduate	Completed some college, College degree Completed some postgraduate Master's degree Doctorate, law or professional degree
Australia	Primary School	High School TAFE/diploma	Bachelor Degree, Postgraduate Degree Other qualification

Table 3 Regional representation per country, in %

France (n=1017)		Italy (n= 1023)		Netherlands (n=1000)		Portugal (n=1011)	
Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes	12.5	Central	19.5	Three largest cities	15.3	Norte	35.5
Bourgogne-Franche-Comté	3.9	Northest	18.2	West	30.1	Algarve	4.5
Brittany	4.7	Northwest	25.2	Noord	9.5	Centro	21.0
Centre-Val de Loire	3.6	Sardegna	2.7	Oost	20.6	Área Metropolitana de Lisboa	27.1
Corsica	.5	Sicilia	9.1	Zuid	20.6	Alentejo	6.4
Grand-Est	8.6	South	25.4	Rand-gemeenten	3.9	Região Autónoma dos Açores	2.9
Hauts-de-France	9.5	Total	100.0	Total	100.0	Região Autónoma da Madeira	2.7
Île-de-France	22.0					Total	100.0
Normandie	4.8						
Nouvelle-Aquitaine	8.3						
Occitanie	8.6						
Pays de la Loire	5.7						
Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur	7.3						
Total	100.0						
United Kingdom (n=1014)		Canada (n=1014)				Australia (n=1017)	
East of England	8.7	Alberta	12.9			Australian Capital Territory	1.9
East Midlands	6.7	Atlantic Canada	5.7			New South Wales	31.8
London	17.1	British Columbia	12.9			Northern Territory	1.0
North East	3.9	Northern Canada	.4			Queensland	19.4
North West	10.8	Ontario	39.0			South Australia	6.5
Northern Ireland	2.9	Quebec	22.0			Tasmania	1.8
Scotland	8.1	Saskatchewan and Manitoba	7.2			Victoria	26.5
South East	13.0	Total	100.0			Western Australia	11.0
South West	7.4					Total	100.0
Wales	4.5						
West Midlands	8.7						
Yorkshire and the Humber	8.2						
Total	100.0						

Table 4 Cannabis use per country, in %

(n)	FR (1017)	IT (1023)	NL (1000)	PT (1011)	UK (1024)	CDN (1014)	AUS (1017)	Total (7105)	Test Chi ² (df)	p
Cannabis use in social network									205.2 (18)	.000
No	46.6	42.6	37.3	40.5	39.4	28.5	46.5	40.2		
Yes, > 12 months ago	16.5	16.7	18.7	17.4	17.7	12.3	17.6	16.7		
Yes, past 12 months	28.0	30.2	35.6	34.3	34.5	52.4	29.2	34.9		
Prefer not to answer	8.8	10.5	8.4	7.8	8.4	6.8	6.7	8.2		
Cannabis use respondents (n)	NA	NA			NA		NA	(3027)	242.8 (8)	.000
Never			57.0	64.6		44.4				
> 12 months ago			24.8	20.8		17.4		55.3		
Last 12 months, not last 30 days			6.5	4.9		8.8		20.9		
Last 30 days			7.6	5.5		24.9		6.7		
Prefer not to answer			4.1	4.2		4.6		12.7		
								4.3		

Table 5 Perceived legality / illegality of cannabis, in %

(n)	FR (1017)	IT (1023)	NL (1000)	PT (1011)	UK (1024)	CDN (1014)	AUS (1017)	Total (7105)	Test Chi ² (df)	p
Use cannabis									3255.5 (12)	.00 0
Legal	6.9	21.4	64.4	15.7	13.5	93.8	10.2	32.2		
Illegal	85.4	70.4	22.5	76.9	76.1	3.6	80.9	59.5		
Don't know	7.7	8.2	13.1	7.3	10.4	2.6	8.8	8.3		
Possess small quantity for personal use									2130.3 (12)	.00 0
Legal	15.8	51.3	76.1	45.0	24.4	87.4	17.2	45.2		
Illegal	73.4	35.5	13.4	42.3	61.9	5.0	68.7	43.0		
Don't know	10.8	13.2	10.5	12.7	13.7	7.6	14.1	11.8		
Buy small quantity for personal use									2874.8 (12)	.00 0
Legal	8.2	32.3	69.0	20.3	12.2	87.7	9.4	34.1		
Illegal	80.7	51.5	18.3	66.2	72.8	4.8	77.1	53.2		
Don't know	11.1	16.2	12.7	13.6	15.0	7.4	13.5	12.8		
Grow a few marihuana plants									2809.8 (12)	.00 0
Legal	4.8	12.2	66.0	4.5	7.8	58.0	7.4	22.8		
Illegal	87.3	74.9	25.2	88.0	82.8	22.2	83.5	66.4		
Don't know	7.9	12.9	8.8	7.4	9.4	19.7	9.1	10.8		

Table 6 Drug policy perception, in %

(n)	FR (1017)	IT (1023)	NL (1000)	PT (1011)	UK (1024)	CDN (1014)	AUS (1017)	Total (7105)	Test Chi ² (df)	p
Drug policy towards users									368.2 (30)	.00 0
Very soft	8.9	9.1	12.1	10.4	8.9	8.6	11.0	9.8		
Soft	17.0	20.9	36.4	29.2	19.6	18.8	17.9	22.8		
Moderate	31.9	39.5	34.5	39.5	39.8	43.9	39.1	38.3		
Tough	20.0	15.5	9.6	9.3	15.8	12.2	17.8	14.3		
Very tough	10.2	7.9	2.6	5.7	6.9	4.1	7.6	6.5		
Don't know	12.0	7.0	4.9	5.8	8.9	12.3	6.7	8.2		
Drug policy towards dealers									359.8 (30)	.00 0
Very soft	11.0	12.2	13.7	19.8	10.4	7.6	11.6	12.3		
Soft	16.3	19.6	26.7	31.1	20.0	16.7	20.5	21.5		
Moderate	26.0	33.2	30.2	25.9	31.0	30.1	30.0	29.5		
Tough	19.4	19.3	17.3	11.1	18.4	20.5	17.8	17.7		
Very tough	16.1	8.0	4.6	5.2	10.8	9.6	11.8	9.5		
Don't know	11.2	7.7	7.6	6.8	9.5	15.5	8.4	9.5		
Drug policy priorities										
Drug prevention and education	63.9	47.4	62.6	63.1	58.2	64.7	63.3	60.4	96.2 (6)	.00
Arresting drug dealers	66.6	69.1	54.8	43.5	63.9	46.7	59.3	57.7	241.3 (6)	0
Access to treatment	44.1	41.3	56.0	47.8	41.7	48.3	46.4	46.5	60.8 (6)	.00
Reducing risk of HIV & Aids IDU	47.5	37.7	34.9	59.6	34.4	39.1	38.3	41.6	203.6 (6)	0
Social integration drug users	23.2	48.2	33.7	42.0	31.2	29.1	27.5	33.6	207.9 (6)	.00
Reducing risk of overdose	31.3	29.9	22.4	20.0	30.3	46.0	34.6	30.7	205.9 (6)	0
Reducing theft by drug addicts	23.4	26.4	35.6	23.9	40.3	26.1	30.4	29.4	119.0 (6)	.00
										0
										.00
										0
										.00
										0
										.00
										0

Table 7 Perceived risk of arrest and imprisonment for drug dealing, in %

(n)	FR (1017)	IT (1023)	NL (1000)	PT (1011)	UK (1024)	CDN (1014)	AUS (1017)	Total (7105)	Test Chi ² (df)	p
Arrested for dealing cannabis									310.2 (30)	.00 0
Very small	15.9	20.8	26.9	24.1	20.0	18.9	17.6	20.6		
Small	27.3	35.0	34.9	31.2	24.6	21.1	22.2	28.0		
Moderate	23.7	23.4	18.3	19.5	24.4	22.7	26.7	22.7		
Large	9.4	9.2	4.6	7.9	8.7	7.5	8.8	8.0		
Very large	6.8	3.8	1.5	4.3	3.3	4.5	5.0	4.2		
Don't know	16.8	7.8	13.8	13.1	18.9	25.2	19.6	16.5		
Arrested for dealing heroin									371.6 (30)	.00 0
Very small	9.0	13.4	13.5	13.6	8.4	5.0	9.1	10.3		
Small	20.3	25.7	26.2	24.7	16.6	11.6	14.2	19.9		
Moderate	26.6	31.2	28.4	25.6	28.5	25.9	29.8	28.0		
Large	16.9	13.3	13.4	17.0	17.1	18.8	17.6	16.3		
Very large	10.9	6.5	3.7	8.2	12.3	16.4	11.7	10.0		
Don't know	16.2	9.9	14.8	10.9	17.0	22.3	17.6	15.5		
Sentenced to prison for dealing cannabis									297.4 (30)	.00 0
Very small	19.0	25.7	27.4	24.0	20.4	17.9	18.2	21.8		
Small	22.6	31.0	28.3	29.1	20.5	20.5	19.7	24.5		
Moderate	23.6	23.2	19.4	19.8	26.2	21.9	26.2	22.9		
Large	11.3	7.4	6.1	10.4	10.1	10.4	11.6	9.6		
Very large	8.6	4.2	1.7	4.5	4.8	4.5	5.9	4.9		
Don't know	14.9	8.5	17.1	12.3	18.0	24.9	18.5	16.3		
Sentenced to prison for dealing heroin									268.3 (30)	.00 0
Very small	9.6	13.7	12.7	15.0	8.8	3.4	8.1	10.2		
Small	15.9	26.9	21.0	20.5	12.9	11.3	13.1	17.4		
Moderate	24.0	27.5	23.1	28.1	26.9	22.2	29.1	25.8		
Large	19.9	15.0	20.4	16.6	18.3	19.2	18.0	18.2		
Very large	15.2	6.6	5.9	8.9	16.7	22.8	14.1	12.9		
Don't know	15.3	10.4	16.9	11.0	16.4	21.1	17.7	15.5		

Table 8 Availability of cannabis, ecstasy, cocaine and heroin within 24 hours, in %

(n)	FR (1017)	IT (1023)	NL (1000)	PT (1011)	UK (1024)	CDN (1014)	AUS (1017)	Total (7105)	Test Chi ² (df)	p
Cannabis									644.5 (30)	.00 0
Very easy	25.2	40.7	45.0	22.4	31.4	47.4	22.3	33.5		
Easy	18.2	24.5	24.8	29.4	22.1	21.0	23.3	23.3		
Fairly difficult	8.8	8.3	9.3	10.6	11.1	8.6	14.2	10.1		
Very difficult	6.8	4.0	4.3	8.7	9.5	4.0	10.9	6.9		
Impossible	4.7	6.8	2.8	13.0	7.2	3.3	9.1	6.7		
Don't know	36.4	15.7	13.9	16.0	18.7	15.8	20.2	19.5		
Ecstasy (MDMA)									420.1 (30)	.00 0
Very easy	8.0	14.1	17.4	8.5	13.8	8.1	9.5	11.3		
Easy	17.4	23.1	32.7	20.4	20.7	20.7	23.3	22.6		
Fairly difficult	12.9	17.8	14.7	15.3	16.1	17.5	18.0	16.0		
Very difficult	9.2	11.3	7.9	16.1	15.9	11.0	14.5	12.3		
Impossible	7.3	9.2	6.2	15.8	10.9	11.1	10.4	10.1		
Don't know	45.3	24.5	21.0	23.9	22.5	31.6	24.3	27.6		
Cocaine									398.9 (30)	.00 0
Very easy	11.0	19.0	14.8	9.6	18.1	10.8	7.8	13.0		
Easy	16.4	23.6	29.2	20.1	20.5	20.4	18.2	21.2		
Fairly difficult	13.3	17.3	16.7	17.1	15.5	16.2	21.2	16.8		
Very difficult	8.2	9.7	12.7	14.5	14.1	12.0	15.1	12.3		
Impossible	8.2	8.1	6.0	16.1	10.6	11.5	12.0	10.4		
Don't know	42.9	22.4	20.7	22.6	21.2	29.0	25.7	26.4		
Heroin									387.1 (30)	.00 0
Very easy	7.8	13.7	7.3	7.6	10.2	6.1	6.0	8.4		
Easy	14.3	22.7	21.5	17.7	13.9	12.2	14.7	16.7		
Fairly difficult	15.2	19.1	22.7	15.2	16.9	17.6	20.7	18.2		

Very difficult	9.3	11.4	15.7	17.4	20.5	17.3	18.1	15.7		
Impossible	8.7	8.9	7.5	17.5	12.4	13.9	14.6	11.9		
Don't know	44.7	24.2	25.3	24.5	26.1	32.9	25.9	29.1		

Table 9 Opinion on drug supply policy, in %

(n)	FR (1017)	IT (1023)	NL (1000)	PT (1011)	UK (1024)	CDN (1014)	AUS (1017)	Total (7105)	Test Chi ² (df)	p
Cannabis									326.0 (18)	.00 0
Banned	42.4	35.7	23.5	31.1	31.3	16.9	35.4	30.9		
Regulated	37.6	47.1	49.9	53.7	42.3	51.9	42.1	46.3		
Available	6.5	7.8	14.4	6.9	13.4	19.4	10.9	11.3		
restrictions	13.6	9.4	12.2	8.3	13.1	11.8	11.6	11.4		
Don't know										
Ecstasy (MDMA)									321.4 (18)	.00 0
Banned	72.9	80.9	52.3	72.4	67.3	64.0	66.3	68.1		
Regulated	9.8	7.3	30.2	15.3	14.9	17.9	17.2	16.1		
Available	3.3	2.2	4.7	2.2	4.4	3.7	5.0	3.6		
restrictions	14.0	9.6	12.8	10.1	13.5	14.3	11.5	12.2		
Don't know										
Cocaine									105.9 (18)	.00 0
Banned	73.3	80.2	71.6	74.5	69.0	65.8	70.0	72.1		
Regulated	10.4	8.3	14.3	13.9	14.3	17.4	12.6	13.0		
Available	2.8	2.9	3.0	1.7	3.5	4.2	5.8	3.4		
restrictions	13.5	8.6	11.1	9.9	13.2	12.6	11.6	11.5		
Don't know										
Heroin									81.8 (18)	.00 0
Banned	74.2	82.1	76.5	76.5	75.4	70.2	73.5	75.5		
Regulated	9.3	7.1	8.7	12.2	8.4	13.3	10.3	9.9		
Available	3.1	2.5	3.3	1.4	3.1	4.1	4.9	3.2		
restrictions	13.4	8.2	11.5	10.0	13.1	12.3	11.3	11.4		
Don't know										

Questionnaire [English]

The next few questions are about drugs and drug policy in [COUNTRY]. With cannabis, we mean marihuana (weed, grass) and hashish.

1. *In your opinion, how soft or tough is drug policy in [COUNTRY] towards drug users?*
Very soft – Soft – Moderate – Tough - Very Tough – Don't know
2. *In your opinion, how soft or tough is drug policy in [COUNTRY] towards drug dealers?*
Very soft – Soft – Moderate – Tough - Very Tough – Don't know
3. *Is it legal or illegal in [COUNTRY] to?*
 - a. Use cannabis
[legal – illegal – don't know]
 - b. Possess a small quantity (a few grams) of cannabis for personal use
[legal – illegal – don't know]
 - c. To buy a small quantity (a few grams) of cannabis for personal use
[legal – illegal – don't know]
 - d. To grow a few marihuana plants
[legal – illegal – don't know]
4. *In your opinion, what aspects of drug policy in practice are given the highest priority in [COUNTRY]? [CHOOSE 3 ANSWERS]*
 - a) Drug prevention and drug education
 - b) Arresting drug dealers
 - c) Providing drug addicts access to treatment
 - d) Reducing theft committed by drug addicts
 - e) Reducing the risk of HIV and Aids among injecting drug users
 - f) Reducing the risk of drug overdose
 - g) Social integration / rehabilitation of drug addicts
5. *How large or small is the chance that a drug dealer who sells 100 grams of cannabis (marihuana, hashish) in one month to users in [COUNTRY] will be arrested by the police?*
[very small – small – moderate – large – very large – don't know]
6. *How large or small is the chance that a drug dealer who is arrested for selling 100 grams of cannabis (marihuana, hashish) in one month to users in [COUNTRY] will be sentenced to prison?*
[very small – small – moderate – large – very large – don't know]
7. *How large or small is the chance that a drug dealer who sells 100 grams of heroin in one month to users in [COUNTRY] will be arrested by the police?*
[very small – small – moderate – large – very large – don't know]
8. *How large or small is the chance that a drug dealer who is arrested for selling 100 grams of heroin in one month to users in [COUNTRY] will be sentenced to prison?*

[very small – small – moderate – large – very large – don't know]

9. *How difficult or easy do you think it would be for you personally to obtain the following substances within 24 hours?*

Cannabis [Very easy – fairly easy – fairly difficult – very difficult – impossible – don't know]

Ecstasy (MDMA) [Very easy – fairly easy – fairly difficult – very difficult – impossible – don't know]

Cocaine [Very easy – fairly easy – fairly difficult – very difficult – impossible – don't know]

Heroin [Very easy – fairly easy – fairly difficult – very difficult – impossible – don't know]

10. *Have you ever used cannabis yourself? If, so, when was the last time?*

No, never used

Yes, but not in the past 12 months

Yes, but not in the past 30 days

Yes, in the last 30 days

Prefer not to answer

11. *In most countries, the sale of drugs such as cannabis, cocaine, ecstasy and heroin is officially banned. The sale of legal substances such as alcohol and tobacco is not prohibited, but regulated. This means, for example that there is a minimum age limit for buying, limits in concentration of active components or licensed sales through specialised shops. Do you think the following substances should be banned, or should they be regulated?*

Cannabis (marihuana, hashish) [Banned – Regulated – Available without restrictions – Don't know]

Ecstasy (MDMA) [Banned – Regulated – Available without restrictions – Don't know]

Cocaine [Banned – Regulated – Available without restrictions – Don't know]

Heroin [Banned – Regulated – Available without restrictions – Don't know]