

Premier ministre





Evolutions and consequences of European cannabis market



23rd Elisad annual meeting 6-8 October 2011 – Paris, France

Plan

- I. Problematic, goals and methodology
- II. Main results (Europe and France)
- III. Conclusions

I. Problematic, goals and methodology

Background

- Specific demand from MILDT (the Inter-departmental Mission for the fight against drugs and drug addiction)
- How to explain the gap between:
 - cannabis self production consumption (12% of the total cannabis consumption in France –Ben Lakdhar study-OFDT 2007)
 - Estimation of consumption 60% of resin et 40% of herbal cannabis in France (OFDT-2007)

VS

• Herbal cannabis seizure (3% of the overall cannabis seizure in 2007)

Problematic

• Is the supply of cannabis in Europe (and in France) changing?

• Do the French law enforcement actions have to be reshaped?

Main goals

- Get a comprehensive view of the French production
 - To discover the modus operandi of cannabis traffickers
 - To describe the cultivation methods, material and the associated cost and the spreading of the know-how
 - To apprehend the presence of "grow shops", "smart shops" and "Headshops"
 - To make a typology of French growers
- Watch and report the best practices from other Europeans countries
 - What is the situation in others countries?
 - How the European law enforcement services are fighting cannabis cultivations ?

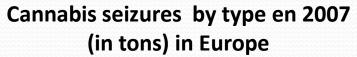
Methodology

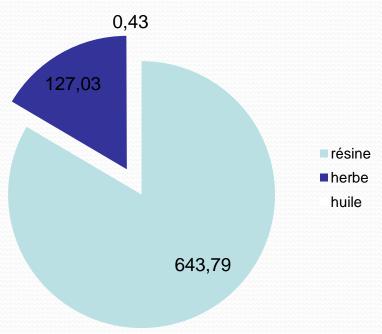
- Literature reviews (institutional reports, academic production)
- Statistical analysis: seizures (sources: EMCDDA, UNODC and comparative approach between UK, Netherlands, Spain, Belgium and France)
- Detailed qualitative analysis from institutional sources (police, customs, gendarmerie nationale, justice, health and agriculture's departments, toxicologists, academic researchers...)
- Typology of French growers arrested based from two sources
 - Every cases recorded in France in 2007 (quantitative data from OCRTIS)
 - 150 detailed police case (2002-2008) from OCRTIS

II. Main results in Europe and France

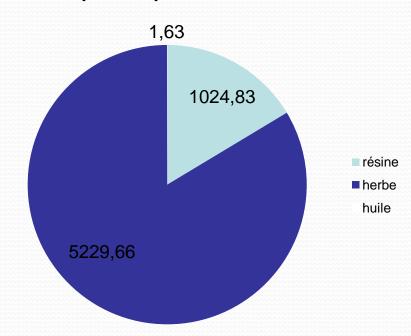
Europe

Europe: a specific cannabis market



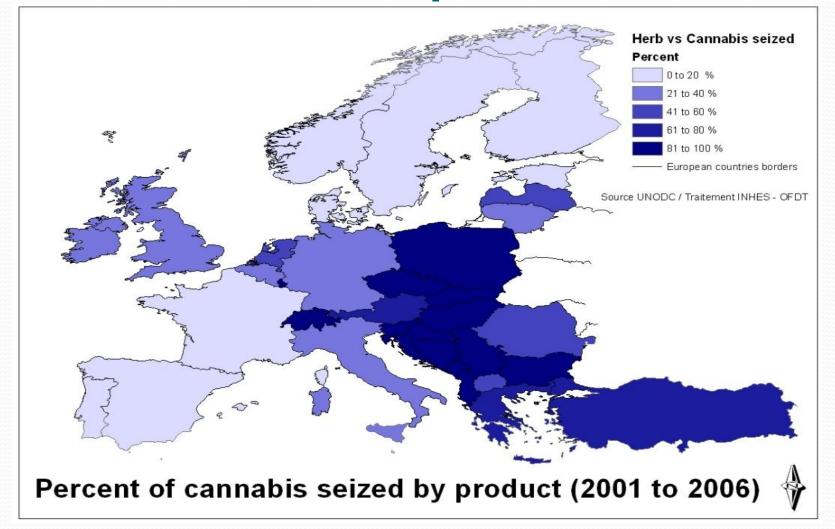


Cannabis seizures by type en 2007 (in tons) in the world



Source: UNODC, 2008.

Two different cannabis markets in Europe

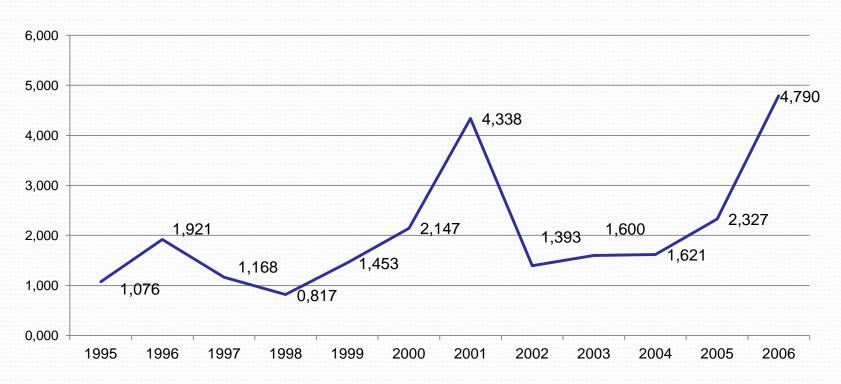


The increase of cannabis seizures

- 9/11: border controls
- European police cooperation
 - MAOC N (Lisbon) CECLAD M (Toulon)
 - European warrants (europol)
- Consequences: more than 75% of the cannabis seizures is intercepted in the Iberian peninsula (450 tons in 2007 and 650 tons in 2008 in Spain)

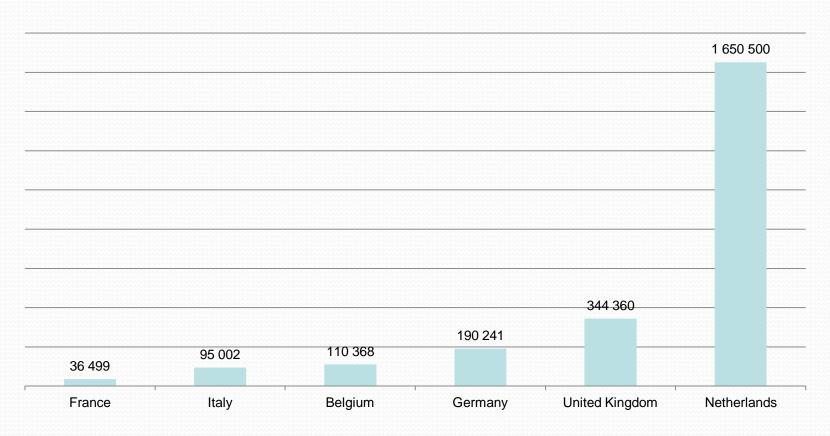
4,7 millions of cannabis plants seized in Europe in 2006

Number of cannabis plants in millions



Source :EMCDDA annual report 2007

Cannabis plants seizures in 2007



Source EMCDDA anual report2007

The rising of European cannabis production

- Netherlands (750 t produced annually /500 tons exported annually)
 80 's: the aficionados

 - 90's: the middle class appropriation
 - 2000's: organized crime
- Eastern Europe emerging production (Czech republic, Poland, etc.)
 - Bad quality
 - For local consumption
- Domestic production in every European countries (specially in UK, Belgium, Nordics countries and Switzerland)
- In the other side : Morocco (1500-2000 tons produced)
 - An official reduction?
 - The Moroccan production could be sufficient to provide European consumption (with the rising of eastern countries consumption?

Innovation, diffusion of Equipment and know-hows

- Two innovations :
 - Sinsemilla
 - Indoor technics
- Specific equipments
- Seeds and clones banks
- Grow shops, head shops and smart shops
- Internet and social networks (virtual and real)



Feminized seeds



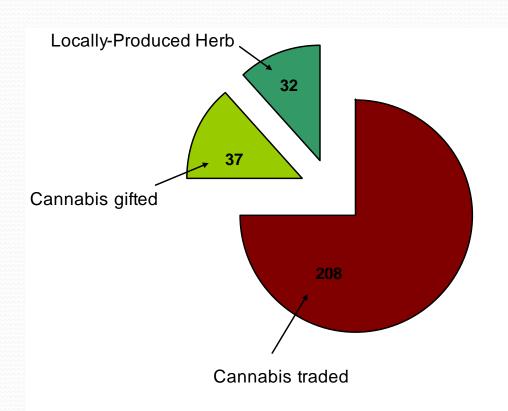
Growing facility

Diffusion of Equipment and know-hows

- The diffusion of innovation (knowledge economy: Californian and Dutch strategy)
- The cycle of diffusion (aficionados, middle class users, organised crime)
- The role of internet
- New actors, new business (seeds banks, growshops)
- A major impact on European cannabis market

France

Consumption estimation in France

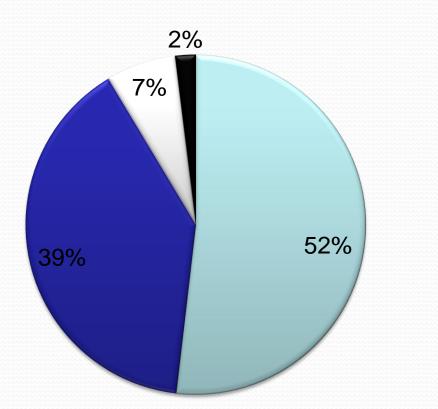


Global volume: 277 tonnes including **at least** 32 tonnes of locally-produced herb.
32 tonnes of LPH mean:

- LPH is 11,5% of the French cannabis Market, or 1 joint on 9 smoked.
- a trading value of €160 millions
- between 950 000 and 1,3 million of plants harvested per year
- between 6,8 and 9,3 plants per home-growers (for a total between 140 000 and 200 000).

Source: Legleye, Ben Lakhdar & Spilka (2008); Ben Lakhdar (2009) Toufik, Legleye & Gandhilon (2007).

Cannabis plantations discovered in France



- 1 à 5 plantes
- ■6 à 49 plantes
- plus de 250 plantes

90% of plantations discovered are smaller than 50 plants (and 50% are smaller than 5 plants)

The small scales cannabis growers

- The average of small growers are:
 Older than the average users (29,5 years old)
 Without criminal background

 - More integrated on a social point of view (jobs, family, education level,
- **Motivations**
 - Reduce consumptions' costs
 - Users' preferences (herbal products, organic, taste and effect, quality control)
 - Way of life (individualistic, cocooning, alter)
- Availability of inputs for Europeans middle class target (grow-shop, internet, seeds, culture (English) and <u>social norms</u>)

A mature demand And a social adaptation to the prohibition

The social growers

- Young (25 years old)
- Integrated in consumers socials groups
- Without criminal background (except for possession)
- Motivations

 - Same than the small scales growers
 plus social and festive motivation (having a good weed and sharing it to have a place in the group)
- Association of young people to share the costs (money) and time) and to bypass the family control and limitations (they usually live in the parents' home)

The commercial cannabis growers

- Older than the others (32 years old)
- Usually no employee (27%) or worker (26%)
- With criminal background (for drug traffic/ weapons possessions)
- Motivations
 - Making profit
- Different kinds of commercial cannabis growers
 - Facilitator/ Investor (financials ties with growshops)
 - Expert (usually from others countries)
 - Gardener
 - Ad hoc activities

The rising of cannabis factories

- A threat announced from Dutch, English and Belgium law enforcement services
- An increasing of large plantations (more than 250 plants) in 2008 in France)
- A significative case in France in 2010 with violence and modern slavery

http://www.ofdt.fr/ofdtdev/live/publi/dei/dei1.html













Law enforcement actions against cannabis cultivation in Europe

- North-west European polices are involved in fighting cannabis cultivation
 - Specifics actions (thermal goggles, clones, Internet surveillance)
 - Dutch experience: fighting against small cultivators increased the impact of OCG
 - UK experience: depenalization and repenalization of cannabis use
- South-west European polices are involved in fighting cannabis resin importation
 - Change resistance: how to increase sharing experiences (Europol)
 - How to adapt law enforcement ?



III. Conclusions

Conclusion

- A mature supply (Availability of inputs: grow-shop, internet, seeds, marketing) and new opportunity for OCG's
- A mature demand (less risk, organic, taste and effect).
- Innovation and diffusion: drugs economy and
- The role of culture and norms : a prohibition social bypass

Academic approach and public decision making help

- Sharing experience between French law enforcement agencies and others Europeans law enforcement agencies (specifically between Dutch and French)
- A better comprehension of others legal frameworks
- Distinguish home growing and commercial growing
- Help police action to focus on specific actions
- Response to the cannabis seeds prohibitions projects
- And build a trust relation between law enforcement world and academic world

Highlights: cannabis cultivation phenomenon and data

- Comparison s' data homogeneity is needed
 - Number of plants vs weight
 - Seeds or not
 - Size of plantations
- Legal framework and statistics heterogeneities
- How to analyse Internet websites qualitative data