



Drugs crime and recovery



Dr Johnny Connolly

Improving people's health through research and information

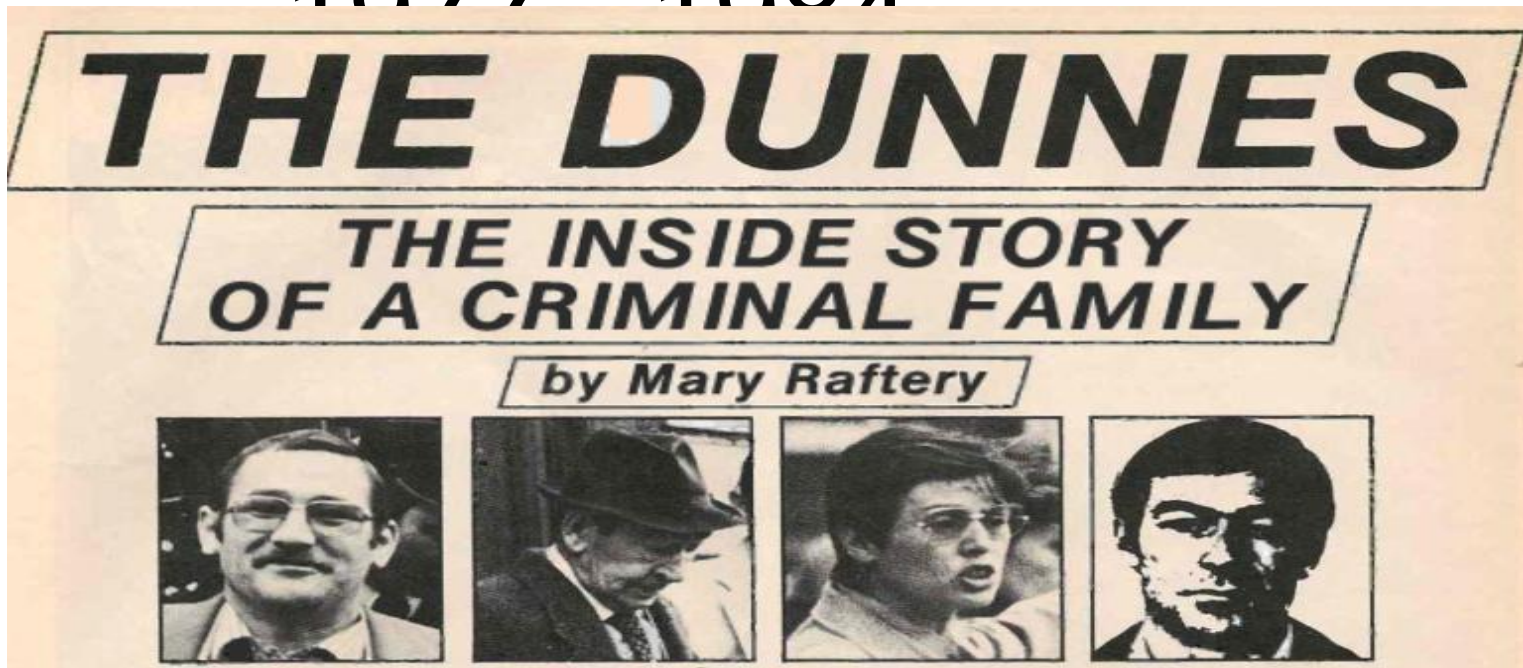


Overview

- Background to the drugs crisis
- Reacting to the drugs crisis:
Denial, moral panic and the
National Drugs Strategy
- Understanding drugs crime nexus
- The limits of supply control
- Recovery: a contagious paradigm

Misuse of Drugs Act,

1977 1994



Drug markets and their 'Host' communities
Armed criminals moving into drug trade
Poor police/community relations/CPAD and
CCCAD/Drug deaths/ Demands for treatment



The drugs crisis: Between official denial & individual pathology

When drug use first identified as an emerging issue in Dublin, the psychiatric paradigm was dominant and prevailing explanations for substance misuse were sought in terms of the drug takers' individual pathologies

- The *moral model* sees dependence as the result of moral weakness, with punishment or moral education the solution;
- The *disease model* sees physiological dependence as the root problem, emphasising medical treatment such as methadone maintenance and managed withdrawal; and
- The *behavioural model* views addiction as a pattern of learned habits to be modified by cognitive or behavioural techniques – such as psychotherapy or behavioural training. (Hser 1990)

Watershed - Summer of 1996

Ecstasy 'The decade of the stimulants' /
Resurgence of heroin use and related deaths /



State response – ‘Moral Panic’



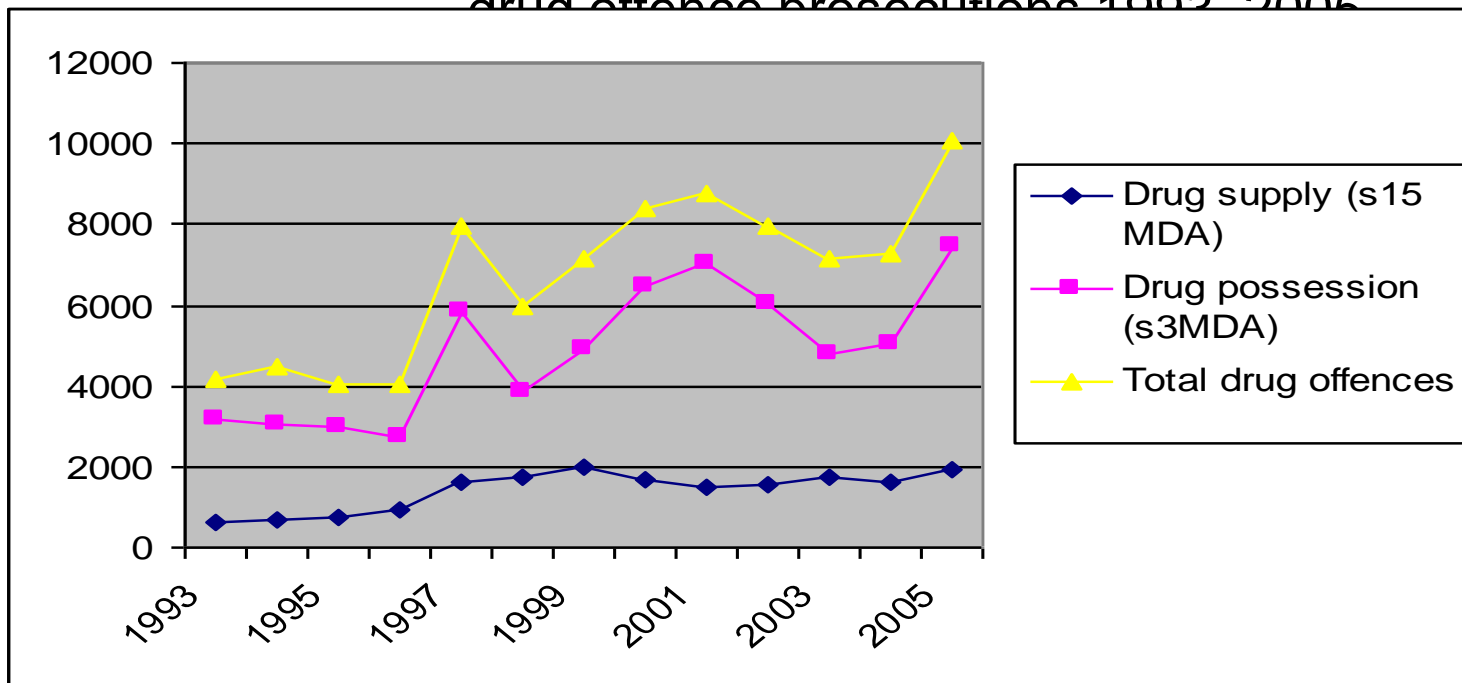
‘a condition or episode, (where a) person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylised and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people... Sometimes the panic passes over and is forgotten... at other times it has more serious and long-lasting repercussions and might produce such changes as those in legal and social policy or

Drug-related legislation – Law as a retaliatory gesture, an ‘acting out’ Garland

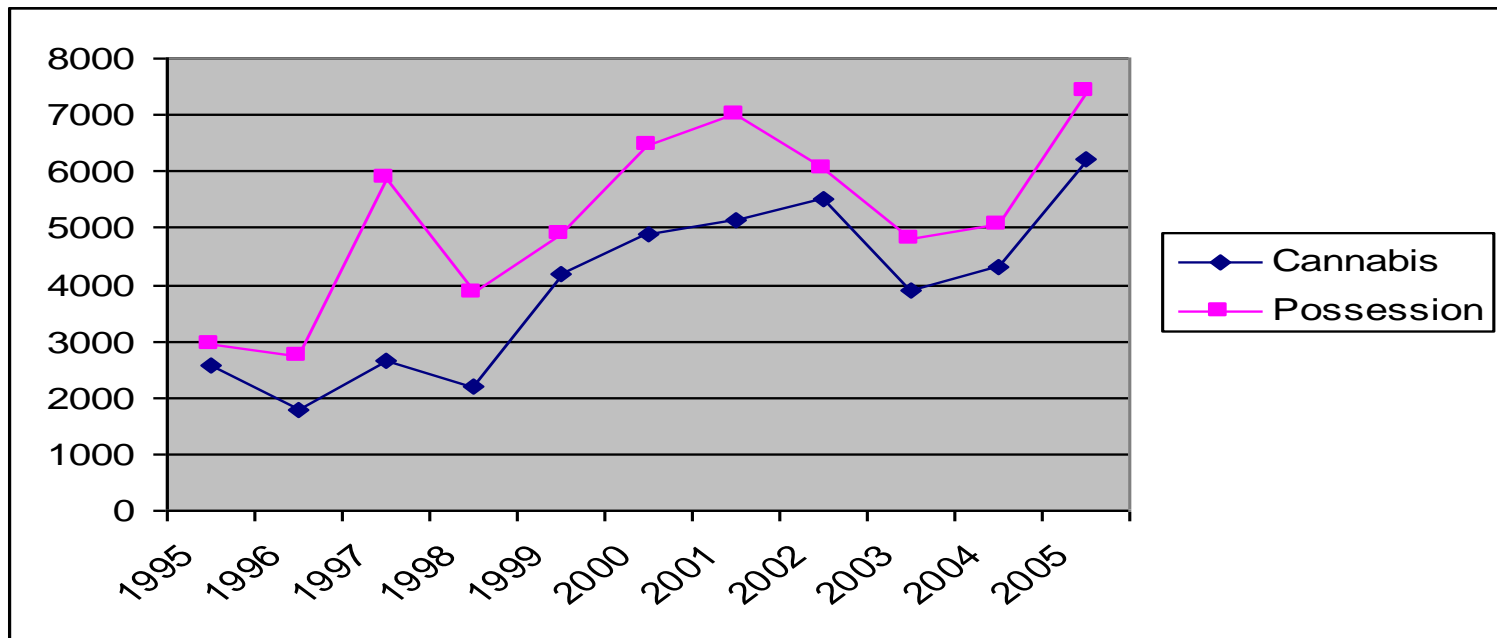
- MDA 1977 Act at the ‘heart of the prohibitionist system and the manner and effectiveness of its enforcement defines the Irish “war on drugs”’ (O’Mahony 2008)
- However, cannabis exemption, and offenders ‘medical and social needs’ as a sentencing consideration
- CJA 1984 and ‘the evil...deemed to be inherent in all illicit drugs’
- CJA 1996, 7-day detention with no rationale provided as to their necessity
- Right to silence restrictions rushed through previous evening without debate
- CAB and reversal of burden of proof to deal with ‘Al Capone’, the ‘Godfathers of crime’ and ‘the mafia’
- Bail referendum 1997
- Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) 1997
- Criminal Justice (Non-fatal offences) Act 1997
- Mandatory 10 year sentences 1999, 2004

The Law in practice

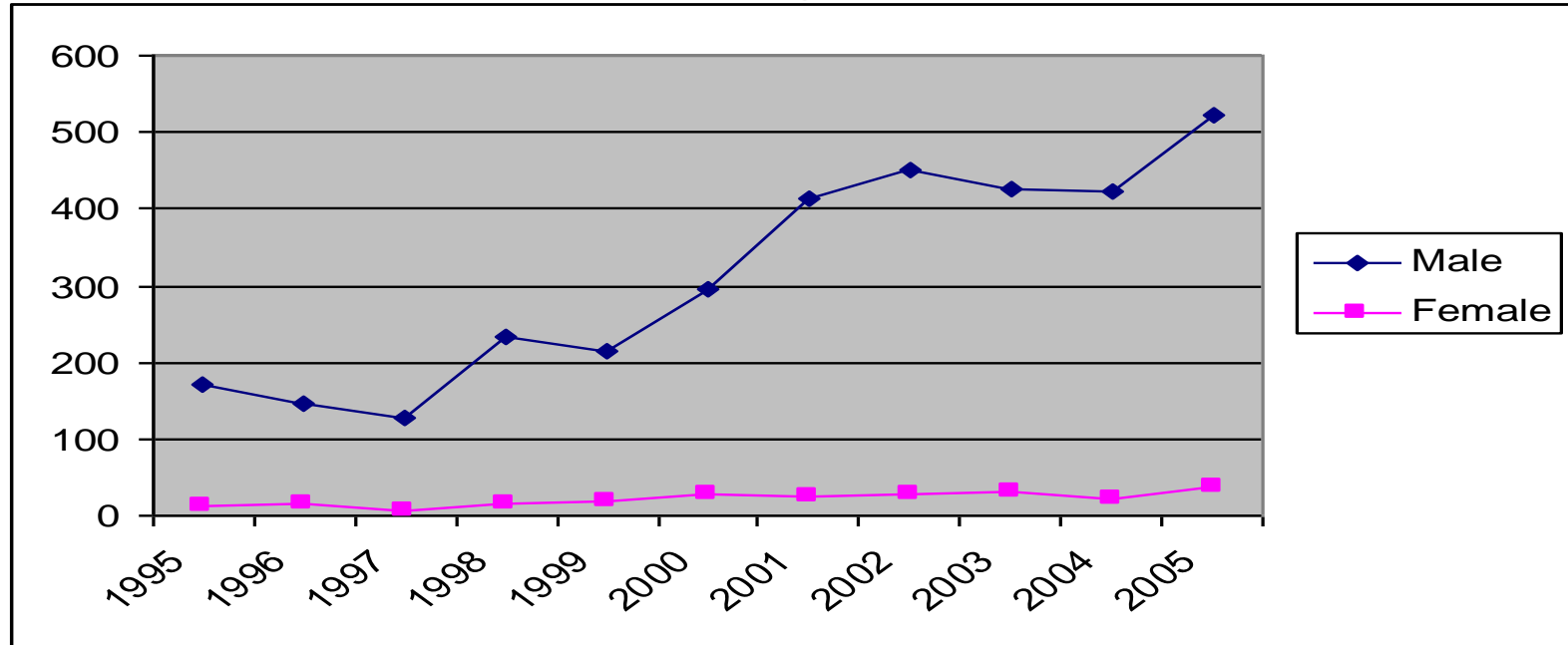
Trends in prosecutions for supply, possession and total drug offence prosecutions 1992-2005



Cannabis and possession offences compared 1995 - 2005




Children (<17) prosecuted for drug offences, by gender 1995-2005



Youth alienation



Explaining the drugs crime nexus

- Psycho-pharmacological model and violent crime
 - Clear evidence for alcohol
 - Refuted for heroin/cocaine
 - Limited for crack/ poly substance
 - Social environment more powerful contributor to violence than drugs
 - Economic compulsive model
 - Systemic model
- 

Economic compulsive: treatment and employment

	Keogh 1997: Drug users cause 66% crime	Fuley and Browne 2004 : Drug users cause 28% crime
Crime as main income source	59%	13%
Unemployment rate	84%	55%
Drug first used - cannabis	51%	55%
First introduced to drugs by a friend	81%	86%
Drugs sourced from local dealer	46%	76%
Number who had been to prison	81%	66%
Estimated daily expenditure	€51	€75

Systemic Link: Changing nature of markets:
Hidden, Credit-based, Mobile, Debt & violence,
Intimidation, No-go areas, Youth gangs,
Community stigma Fear of reprisal Erosion of
profits.



The common cause model

- Drugs and crime common elements of delinquent or deviant lifestyle
- Drugs and crime not causally linked but both produced by underlying social factors such as inequality and deprivation
- Implication: we need more than a drugs

Summarising the link between drugs and crime

- Most drug users do not commit crimes other than those of possession
- There is a link between some forms of illicit drug use and crime (Mostly heroin and cocaine).
- Most problematic users receive prison sentences for drug-related offences rather than drug offences
- Most problematic users began criminal career before drug use
- Drug use speeds up the rate of offending
- Drug users twice as likely to be caught offending as non-users
- No clear causal link between drug use and crime

So, who is the drug user ?



- The regular and the weekend drinker
- One pays the bills, the latter brings the

But who is the criminal?

O'Mahony (1997) Mountjoy, a sociological and

- ~~criminological profile~~ Single, male, aged 14 to 30,
- urban, living in the parental home,
- from large and often broken families,
- left school before the legal minimum age of 16,
- high levels of unemployment,
- best ever job being in lowest socio-economic class,
- high number convictions and rates of recidivism,
- a history of family members being in prison,
- from local authority housing and areas of high



Rabbitte Report and the National Drug Strategy

To significantly reduce the harm caused to individuals and society by the misuse of drugs through a concerted focus on supply reduction, prevention, treatment, rehabilitation and research

100 actions and KPI's & elaborate policy infrastructure incorporating Government Ministers at cabinet level and community level in the areas most affected by the drugs problem

'a managerial philosophy and accompanying structures'

(Butler 2007)

'more normalized and routinized style of drug policy making...significant boost in harm reduction, treatment and preventative approaches...from 440 registered users on methadone maintenance in 1995 to 7000 in 2005'

(O'Mahony 2008)



Reconciling Criminal Justice and Harm Reduction

‘the NDS has failed to address a primary tension between two conflicting perspectives: ‘one based within a healthcare paradigm and the other within a criminal justice or legal paradigm. In the former, drug users are viewed as pathological and in need of therapy, while in the latter they are viewed as immoral rule-breakers deserving of exemplary criminal justice sanctions’. While acknowledging the expanded healthcare services for problem drug users and the application of the social exclusion perspective on the drugs issue, criminal justice

Necessity for new thinking: Limits of deterrence & drug supply reduction

- Little evidence supply control long-lasting impact on dealing or availability/ **1 in 3000 deals detected**
Connolly and Dornovan (2014)
- Some evidence of containment/ displacement
- Estimated that **10–20% available drugs seized**
- UK study 80% to be seized to have any real effect
- Demand inelastic for problematic users
- Drug distribution adapt quickly, **arrested dealers replaced 6-8 weeks**
- Adverse effects of law enforcement - Price increase=Crime increase/ Successful seizures can lead to disruption and increased market violence/ Law enforcement

Towards a recovery paradigm?





Can our justice system aid recovery?

Keane, McAleenan & Barry (2014) *Principles of recovery: a conceptual framework*

Recovery capital

Social capital: The sum of resources people have as a result of relationships with, support from and obligations to groups to which they belong

Physical capital: Tangible assets – property/money

Human capital: Personal skills & education, positive health, aspirations, hopes

Cultural capital: Values, beliefs &

Principles of recovery

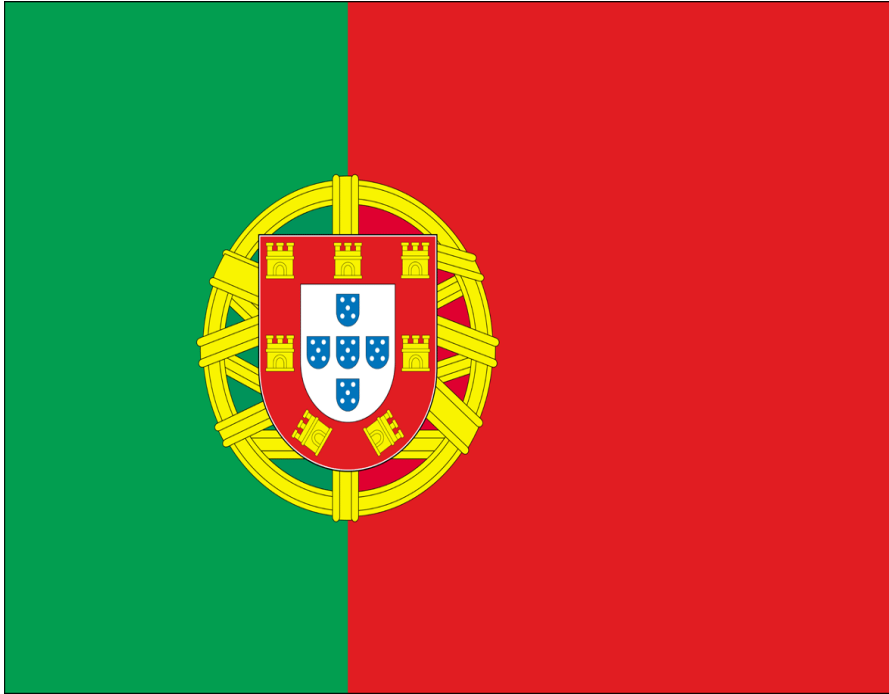
Addressing shame and discrimination

‘If recovery really is to be the ambitious ‘new’ goal of treatment, politicians and policymakers will have to look carefully at the question of stigma and how they and others can shift society towards a more compassionate approach to this deeply stigmatised group’ (Lloyd 2010)

Potential current criminal justice interventions

- Probation & Garda Arrest referral
- Sentencing Depenalisation: the Drug Court model & role of the judge
- Prison, peer support and reintegration
- Legislative reform: 'Second chance' Spent Convictions Bill (2012)
- Family engagement
- Criminal Assets and community re-

System change: Decriminalisation and harm reduction – Portugal

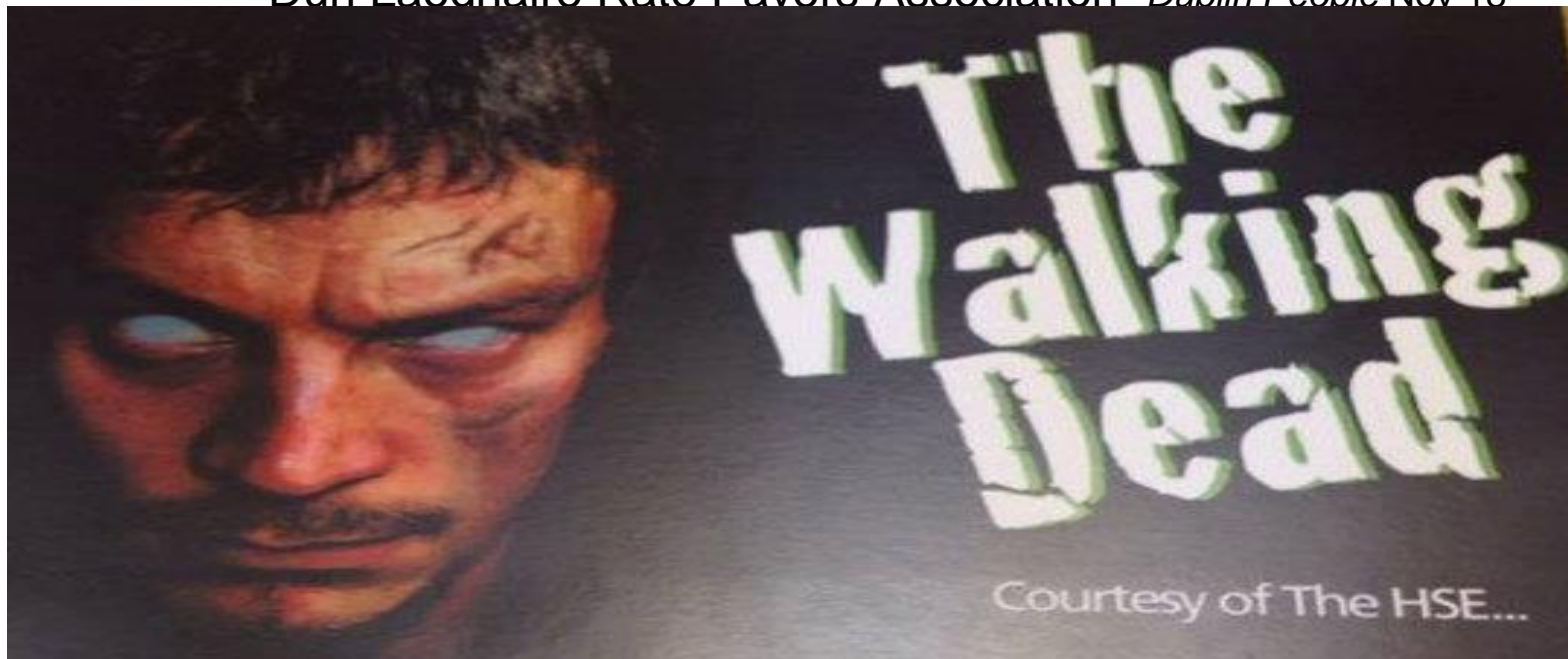


- Large reduction in drug-related deaths
- No increase in drug prevalence
- Broad political support from former opponents

• Positive discrimination &

A societal responsibility?

Dun Laoghaire Rate Pavers Association *Dublin People* Nov 18





Partnership & evidence-based public health approach

Treatment Rehabilitation Homelessness Alcohol supply Policing Planning and urban

A BETTER CITY FOR ALL

A Partnership approach to address public
substance misuse and perceived
anti-social behaviour in Dublin City Centre





SOUTH INNER CITY LOCAL DRUGS TASK FORCE



THE DRUG TREATMENT CENTRE BOARD



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Go raibh maith agat

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