

Role of evidence in drug (de)criminalisation in the Czech Republic

Assoc. Prof. Viktor Mravčík, M.D., Ph.D.

National Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Addiction, Czech Republic

> Background

- Czech Rep. in the Central Europe, 10,2 mil. inhabitants
- Relatively high prevalence of cannabis use, problem (injecting) use of methamphetamine (pervitin)
- Low prevalence of drug-related HIV/AIDS and HCV, low level of drug overdoses
- Balanced and pragmatic drug policy since 1993
- Harm reduction is one of four drug policy pillars
- Inter-disciplinary character of drug policy
- > Inter-ministerial coordination, civil society involved
- National monitoring system and National monitoring centre for drugs and addictions (Reitox NFP) part of the coordination structure

Recommended reading:



Timeline of (de)criminalisation

- Drug use has never been criminalised
- Drug possession for personal use:
 - > 1950-1989: criminal offence
 - > 1990-1998: any drug possession decriminalised
 - > 1999-2009:
 - > personal possession in "greater than small amount" criminalized
 - > personal possession in "small amount" remained decriminalized
 - > 2010-present:
 - additionally, personal cultivation "in small amount" decriminalized
 - punishment between cannabis and other drugs differentiated
 - threshold quantities ("greater than small amount") defined by governmental decree
 - 2013: governmental decree annulled and replaced by Supreme court opinion:
 - threshold quantities decreased in some drugs

Recommended reading:



What has been the role of evidence in the process?

> What is required for research to have an impact on drug policy?

- Impact where research linked directly to the policy
- Networks, think-tanks and policy entrepreneurs
- > Key actors champions of an idea or set of evidence
- Appropriate packaging of findings
- Communication channels to allow the translation of research evidence, i.e. a knowledge transfer process.
- Receptive audience and a window of opportunity
- > Timely delivery of findings, to act quickly
- > Alliances of researchers



Timeline of evidence in the process

- 1950-1989: no systematic monitoring and analysis allowed
- > 1990-1998: moral panic about "drug epidemic", no systematic evidence collected
- > 1999: personal possession in "greater than small amount" criminalized
- > 1999-2001: Impact Analysis Project of New Drugs Legislation (PAD)
 - convincing evidence that the criminalisation is ineffective, did not deliver the desired deterrent effect
 - recommended to the government that the criminal law should distinguish between different types of drugs according to their harms
 - funded basis of the NFP and the drug information system.
- 2002: NFP was established systematic monitoring and collection of evidence
- 2010: following PAD, personal cultivation "in small amount" decriminalised, punishment between cannabis and other drugs differentiated, threshold quantities defined
- > 2009-2013: discussion on **setting the threshold quantities** ("what is the evidence?")





Effect of decriminalisation in 2010

Alleged deterrent effect of a stricter policy and in contrary stimulating effect of lenient policy was not confirmed



Cannabis decriminalization and the age of onset of cannabis use[†]

[Jakub Červený a, Pavla Chomynová b.c., Viktor Mravčík b.d.c., Jan C. van Ours e.f.g.h.a

Cent Eur J Public Health 2017; 25 (4): 261-265

LEGISLATIVE NORMS TO CONTROL CANNABIS USE IN THE LIGHT OF ITS PREVALENCE IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC, POLAND, SLOVAKIA, AND HUNGARY

Róbert Čecho, Tibor Baška, Viera Švihrová, Henrieta Hudečková

Department of Public Health, Jessenius Faculty of Medicine in Martin, Comenius University in Bratislava, Martin, Slovak Republic

Panel B. Cannabis use cumulative starting probabilities

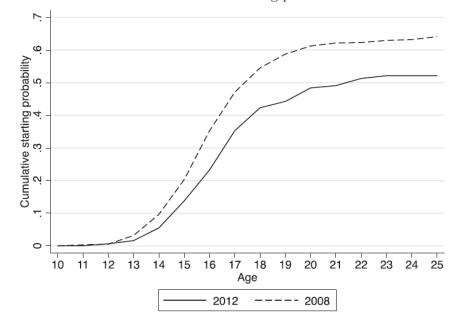
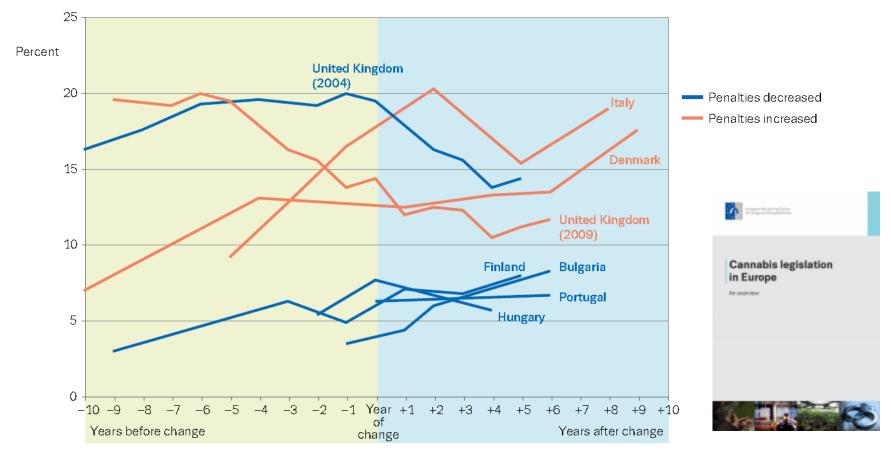


Fig. 2. Cannabis use starting rates and cumulative starting probabilities by age.

> Relationship between (de)criminalisation and level of use

FIGURE 4

Cannabis use before and after changes in legislation in selected countries: use in previous 12 months among young adults (age 15–34)





Discussion on the threshold quantities

- 2 contradicting positions in the Czech Republic:
 - >low-enforcement agencies: to keep them low close to one (average) dose
 - NFP and service providers: to increase the threshold at equivalent of seven times the (average) daily dose
- Review of evidence showed:
 - Iack of evidence in setting the threshold quantities
 - inconsistency between countries
 - unclear principles
 - inconsistency between threshold for cultivation and possession in the same country

European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction. (2010). Threshold quantities for drug offences. Retrieved from http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/html.cfm/index99321EN.html#T1

Transnational Institute, & European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction. (2011). TNI-EMCDDA expert seminar on threshold quantities, Lisbon – 20 January 2011.



2013 change of threshold quantities

Drug	Quantity "greater than small" in Government Decree no. 467/2009 Coll.	Unifying opinion of the Supreme Court ref. no. Tpjn 301/2013
Pervitin (methamphetamine)	>2 g	>1.5 g
Heroin (diacetylmorphine)	>1.5 g	unchanged
Cocaine	>1 g	unchanged
Ecstasy (MDMA/MDA/MDEA)	>4 tablets of 0.4 g powder or	unchanged
	crystals	
LSD	5 paper tabs, tablets, capsules	unchanged
	or "crystals"	
Marijuana (delta-9-THC)	>15 g dry matter	>10 g dry matter
Hashish	>5 g	unchanged
Psilocybin mushrooms	>40 fruiting bodies	unchanged

Mravcik, V. (2015). (De)criminalisation of possession of drugs for personal use - A view from the Czech Republic. Int J Drug Policy, 26(7), 705-707. doi:10.1016/j.drugpo.2015.01.022





Drug policy rules: sarcastic, but true

- Evidence that a drug impairs human capacities is always believable and important.
- Our best estimate of a drug's harm is not the average estimate but the most severe estimate yet obtained.
- Evidence that an illicit drug could have benefits may not be collected.
- Treatment requires evidence of both effectiveness and costeffectiveness.
- Evidence regarding prevention is always welcome, but it still would not get much funding.
- Law enforcement and interdiction require no evidence at all; they are assumed to be effective and appropriate.
- Evidence against enforcement creates a presumption that the researcher is a liberal.
- Evidence for harm reduction creates a presumption that the researcher approves of drug use.
- Scientific research on drugs cannot motivate a change from tough law to lenient law, but it can motivate a change in the opposite direction.

> Conclusion

- Evidence is an important element in policy processes and debates on decriminalisation
- NFP and drug information system close to drug policy processes plays important role in informing the drug policy
- Routine communication channels are important, but window of opportunity is equally important
- Despite increasing role of evidence, decisions are not necessarily motivated by the evidence and go in opposite direction
- Alleged deterrent effect of the strict drug policy still has a strong voice in the debate



Thank you for your attention!

www.drogy-info.cz

mravcik.viktor@vlada.cz

Sources

- Belackova, V., & Stefunkova, M. (2018). Interpreting the Czech drug decriminalization: The glass is half full Response to Cerveny, J., Chomynova, P., Mravcik, V., & van Ours, J.C. (2017). Cannabis decriminalization and the age of onset of cannabis use. Int J Drug Policy, 52, 102-105. doi:10.1016/j.drugpo.2017.10.010
- Cecho, R., Baska, T., Svihrova, V., & Hudeckova, H. (2017). Legislative Norms to Control Cannabis Use in the Light of Its Prevalence in Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary. Cent Eur J Public Health, 25(4), 261-265. doi:10.21101/cejph.a5019
- Cerveny, J., Chomynova, P., Mravcik, V., & van Ours, J. C. (2017). Cannabis decriminalization and the age of onset of cannabis use. Int J Drug Policy, 43, 122-129. doi:10.1016/j.drugpo.2017.02.014
- > Csete, J. (2012). A Balancing Act: Policymaking on Illicit Drugs in the Czech Republic. New York: Open Society Foundations.
- European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction. (2010). Threshold quantities for drug offences. Retrieved 16 June, 2014, from http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/html.cfm/index99321EN.html#T1
- European monitoring centre for drug and drug addiction. (2017). Cannabis legislation in Europe: an overview. Lisbon: EMCDDA.
- MacCoun, R. (2010). The implicit rules of evidence-based policy analysis, updated. Addiction, 105(8), 1335-1336. doi: 10.1111/j.1360-0443.2010.02936.x
- MacCoun, R., & Reuter, P. (2008). The implicit rules of evidence-based drug policy: a U.S. perspective. Int J Drug Policy, 19(3), 231-232; discussion 233-234. doi: 10.1016/j.drugpo.2008.02.012
- MacGregor, S. (2011). The Impact of Research on Policy in the Drugs Field. Methodological Innovations Online, 6(1), 41-57. doi:10.4256/mio.2010.0027
- Mravcik, V. (2015). (De)criminalisation of possession of drugs for personal use A view from the Czech Republic. Int J Drug Policy, 26(7), 705-707. doi:10.1016/j.drugpo.2015.01.022
- Transnational Institute, & European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction. (2011). TNI-EMCDDA expert seminar on threshold quantities, Lisbon 20 January 2011. Lisbon: TNS and EMCDDA.
- Radimecký, J. (2007). Rhetoric Versus Practice in Czech Drug Policy. Journal of Drug Issues, 37(1), 11 44.
- Zábranský, T. (2004). Czech Drug Laws as an Arena of Drug Policy Battle. Journal of Drug Issues, 34(3), 661-686. doi: 10.1177/002204260403400309
- Zábranský, T., Mravčík, V., Gajdošíková, H., & Miovský, M. (2001). Projekt analýzy dopadů novelizace drogové legislativy v ČR (Souhrnná závěrečná zpráva) (Impact analysis project of new drugs legislation summary final report).
- Zeman, P. (2007). Legislation and Practice Concerning Prosecution of Drug Offenses in the Czech republic. Journal of Drug Issues, 37(1), 45 72.