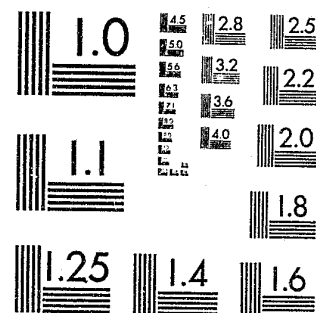


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International Summaries

A Series of Selected Translations in Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice

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Narcotics Developments 1982

Increasing drug abuse and drug-related crime are the subjects of these Swedish studies of various population groups.

Introduction

Sweden, like most industrial nations, has experienced a frightening increase in narcotics use over the last 20 years. Besides the medical and social injury to the user, narcotics use has a significant correlation to crime.

The frequency and use studies summarized here are the foundation of Sweden's understanding of the drug problem in 1982. The studies were done among several populations, including school children, military draftees, inmates, and cross-sections of the country's youth. The drug-related crime problem is also examined, using official statistics gathered over 15 years. Together, the studies give a picture of narcotics trends and crime in Sweden for the years 1969 to 1981.*

Narcotics Habits Among School Children (by Björn Hibell, Sociological Institute, Stockholm University)

Yearly self-report studies among sixth and ninth grade students probe their use of alcohol, narcotics, tobacco, and inhalants. Although survey methods and sampling designs differ over the years 1971 to 1981, results are clear.

Drug use among sixth grade students is rare. They have few opportunities to experiment with drugs and few experiences of being offered drugs. The highest use rate reported in 1971 was 1 percent among boys and 2 percent among girls. Subsequent rates decreased to zero over the years. However, by ninth grade, students were much more

likely to have tried drugs. Use rates ranged from a high of 14 and 17 percent for boys and girls, respectively, to a low of 6 percent for both sexes. Drug use on the whole decreased throughout the 1970's, but increased slightly in the early 1980's. Still, the rate in 1981 (9 percent) was nearly half that reported in 1971.

Frequency of use and current drug use habits were measured by asking students to comment on the number of times they used drugs during the month prior to the survey. Results are consistent with those for rates of use. Almost no use was reported among 6th grade students. Ninth graders' frequency rates tapered off in the 1970's and reached a plateau in mid-decade and through the early 1980's. Student drug use began around age 15 or 16, and usually involved hashish or marijuana. In addition, students reporting drug, alcohol, or tobacco use tended to skip school more often than nonusers. They felt they were not doing well academically, and didn't expect to be particularly satisfied with life after school. Socially, however, they felt they thrived at school to a greater degree than students who reported they had never used drugs.

Narcotics Use Among Military Draftees (by Sten Kjellson)

Again, survey designs varied over the 6-year data gathering period (1976-81). Subjects were male draftees around 18 years of age. An overall increase in drug use is apparent among the draftee population. Use rates were reported at 15.6 percent in 1976 and 19.2 percent in 1980, with a slight drop in 1981 and slight fluctuations in other years.

Narcotics use was mainly an urban phenomenon, although an increase from 7.9 to 10.2 percent occurred among rural draftees. Marijuana smoking was the most prevalent as well as the first drug used, with age of first use usually 16 or 17. Actual use was measured by incidence during the month preceding the survey. Approximately 3 percent of the sample used drugs during that

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month. Because the survey instrument varied over the years, the results could not be compared easily. However, they do show a slight decrease in heavy use from 1977 to 1981.

Small-town and rural youth were most likely not to have been offered drugs, and all youths who had been offered drugs were most likely to have been offered marijuana. Urban area youths had more contact with stronger drugs than did rural and small-town youths, and were nearly three times more likely to be offered morphine or heroin. Stimulants were almost never used by youths living in areas with fewer than 50,000 inhabitants. Examination of data on use after graduation from high school shows that personal income in itself is not correlated with increased drug consumption. Although many employed and unemployed youth smoked marijuana, use of stronger drugs was minimal. Drug habits also can be correlated to life satisfaction. Of draftees who expressed high satisfaction with their life, about 12 percent had used narcotics. Of those who were moderately satisfied, 17 percent reported usage; moderately dissatisfied, 39 percent; and very dissatisfied, 51 percent. Average use of marijuana jumped from 11 percent for the very satisfied group to 22 percent for the very dissatisfied group. Use of stimulants for the groups ranged from 1 to 7 percent, and for morphine and heroin 0 to 12 percent.

The likelihood of having used drugs stronger than marijuana correlates highly with length of use. Persons who began using drugs in 1976 or earlier and who still used drugs were many times more likely to have used stronger drugs, particularly stimulants or morphine and heroin, than those whose use began after 1976. Stimulants, morphine, and heroin were also the drugs most likely to be used by persons who experimented with drugs stronger than marijuana.

Drug Abuse Among the Jail Inmates in Stockholm, 1976-1980 (by Torbjörn Johansson)

Since 1976, 105 inmates of the Stockholm jail have been interviewed yearly to identify drug and alcohol use patterns. Average age of the inmates is 28 years, and nearly all are males. Most subjects have criminal records for property crimes.

Interview data indicate that 22 percent of the total for all the years (112 persons) were alcoholics, with an average weekly intake of 190 cl of 100 percent alcohol. Two-fifths reported that they had been drug users. Thirty-seven percent of the inmates were currently drug abusers (the definition of abuse as opposed to use factored in frequency, intensity, and duration of use as well as kind of drug consumed). A third of this group had earlier alcohol dependencies. About 27 percent of the jail inmates interviewed were abusers of both drugs and alcohol. Forty-five percent had serious addictions, i.e., use of opiates or stimulants daily. About 75 percent of interviewees 29 and younger were addicted to either drugs or a combination of drugs and alcohol, indicating a particularly severe problem among younger inmates. Forty-five percent of inmates 30 and older had

addictions. Stimulants were the most commonly used drugs. Ingestion was the most common form of consumption.

Eighty-five percent of drug abusers or combination (drug/alcohol) abusers confessed to committing crimes to support their habits in the year prior to the interview. Most reported that the age of onset of drug use was 15 to 18 years. Combination use usually began a little later, and alcohol abuse usually began in adulthood (21 or older). Once drug abuse or combination abuse had begun, abusers seldom abstained for a period of more than 1 year.

Narcotics Use Among Juveniles According to SIFO's 1981/82 Study (by Inger Eriksson, Lawyer, Swedish Crime Prevention Council)

SIFO (Swedish Institute for Opinion Studies) conducted a nationwide mail and personal interview survey among Swedish youths 12 to 24 years old; 1,416 respondents (717 boys and 699 girls) submitted data. They answered questions about drug use, acquaintance with someone who used drugs, and background.

Data analysis suggested that use patterns and tendency to experiment with drugs do not vary by sex. The likelihood of contact with drugs or with a drug user increases from age 12 to 16 and then stabilizes. Generally, juveniles from rural areas had less contact with drugs, either personally or through an acquaintance, than urban youth. The number of young people who had contacts with marijuana users tended to increase with respondents' yearly income. Also, living away from home tended to increase the likelihood of drug use or contact with drug users. House dwellers had less exposure to drugs than did apartment dwellers.

UNO's Assessment of the Extent of Heavy Narcotics Abuse

The UNOs (Committee on Extent of Narcotics Abuse) 1979 study defined heavy abuse or severe addiction as any injection of drugs or daily use of any drug. Using this definition, researchers identified 10,000 to 14,000 persons in Sweden who could be called serious abusers, with 60 percent of them living in one of the three most urbanized areas—Stockholm, Göteborg, or Malmö. These cities also accounted for 80 percent of the most serious users.

Stimulants were the dominant drug type, although opiates, such as heroin, were also significant. Cocaine use was rare, an indication that its popularity had not yet spread to Sweden and that users stick to traditional drugs. Most serious abusers appear to use multiple drugs, with alcohol being a common combination drug.

Narcotics Crimes 1969-1981 (by Arthur Solarz, Researcher with the Swedish Crime Prevention Council)

The idea that a correlation exists between crime and drug abuse is not new. The problem comes in trying to trace a cause-and-effect relationship, which can, of course, surface in many forms. For example, drug abuse can directly cause crime, or vice versa. But the rela-

Narkotikautvecklingen 1982 (NCJ 87139) Edited by Arthur Solarz. Swedish Crime Prevention Council, 1982. (Brottsförebyggande rådet, Altasmuren 1,2 tr, 113 21 Stockholm, Sweden) Translated from the Swedish by Denise Galarraga.

*The total report consists of 21 articles. Six frequency and use studies are summarized here. The remaining 15 articles are described briefly.

tionship can become more complicated. Two and three causal variables, such as drug abuse combined with unemployment, can produce an effect on crime.

Another complication arises in the definition of drug abuse—when does use become abuse? This study used the official legal definition of drug abuse: An abuser is one who consumes drugs appearing on the official table of narcotic drugs (drugs that are not used as medicine or consumed legally such as alcohol) and who also consumes the drug repeatedly.

Further dilemmas surface in trying to pin down just what constitutes a drug crime. The narcotics law stipulates that manufacturing, selling, and possessing narcotic drugs are crimes. However, there are many criminal activities not falling under these rubrics that could be considered narcotics-related. For instance, stimulants lessen anxiety and can cause intense activity. Aggressive behavior can occur, usually toward another abuser or acquaintance. Crime accompanying this behavior would be narcotics-related. Traffic offenses committed while under the influence of marijuana are another form of narcotics-related crime.

Official police statistics for 1969 to 1981 are supposed to indicate the extent, structure, and trends of crime. But the problems in defining drug-related crime plus the probability of much crime going unreported or reported as another crime interfere with reliability. Unreliable as they are, statistics on crimes against the narcotics law (manufacture, selling, possession) show that the most common (90 percent) crimes do involve one of these three activities. From 1969 to 1980, there is a decline in the number of crimes. However, statistics for 1970 to 1972 show a slight increase, while from 1973 to 1978 there is no rise. In 1979, crimes increased by 10 percent over 1978, and a dramatic jump occurred in 1981. Such notable fluctuations need explanation. Three hypotheses are proposed:

- (1) Users and crime are increasing;
- (2) The number of abusers remained constant but their frequency of offending increased;
- (3) The data show the effects of more restrictive criminal policies in the later years.

Scrutiny of the data shows that the criminal policy climate affected criminal justice guidelines and practice, and this, in turn, affected the concept of what constituted a narcotics crime. A second significant factor is the opportunity to detect crimes. Narcotics crimes require special insight and information. Local law enforcement agencies usually know many of the abusers in their jurisdiction. Once the abuser has contact with the law, authorities often find out about other, previously unknown crimes the abuser has committed. Another possibility is a ripple effect. Police clearance of one crime can lead to clearing of another and another and so on. Finally, the great increase in numbers of reported narcotics crimes is probably influenced by law enforcement's enhanced knowledge about the subject.

Persons Convicted of Narcotics Crimes. Statistics show that persons convicted of narcotics crimes are young (60 percent are between 15 and 24). Also, young persons' representation in the population of narcotics criminals is 20 percent greater than in the population of perpetrators of traditional crimes. Females are represented in only about 13 percent of narcotics-related crimes (despite figures from other studies showing their high numbers in juvenile drug use). Most persons convicted of abuse in Sweden are Swedish citizens.

When the offense statistics are categorized by severity, minor offenses (punishable with fines) show the greatest increase over the years. Narcotics crimes punishable with fines or up to 3 years in prison and grave narcotics crimes punishable with 2 to 10 years in prison diminish in numbers over the years. This could indicate the effectiveness of countermeasures against street pushers, along with effects of a dwindling market.

Of the 2,549 persons known to have committed or to have been convicted of narcotics crime in 1980, 1,713 were charged with possession and 579 with smuggling. Persons arrested for possession usually had 1 to 10 grams of marijuana.

Sentences. The sentencing law for more serious narcotics crimes was stiffened several times between 1968 and 1972. Serious crimes commanded a sentence of 6 months to 4 years in prison in 1968 and a sentence of 2 to 10 years by 1972. Sentencing patterns over the years reflect this increasingly severe stance. Fines were the most frequent consequence of crime involving marijuana. Crimes involving stimulants or opiates received fines or prison, for the most part, with some probation and supervision orders handed down.

Crime Against Smuggling Laws. Persons convicted of crimes against this law increased from 110 in 1969 to 954 in 1980 and decreased to 924 in 1981. However, grave crimes decreased from 10 to 3.8 percent of the total of all smuggling crimes over the years. In 1980, 60.7 percent of all smuggling crimes were minor, usually involving small amounts of marijuana. Again, offenders were usually young, between 15 and 24.

Conclusion. Several studies are under way in Sweden to develop and test hypotheses on the crime-drugs relationship. Analysis of these available official statistics cannot show a direct crime-drug relationship or even a complete picture of the extent of drug use in the country. Too many factors interfere with reliability of official statistics. Too much crime has gone unreported. Much more research is needed.

Legislation Against Narcotics (by Lena Berke)

Ms. Berke reviews the two major pieces of Swedish legislation against narcotics crime, the Narcotics Penal Code of 1968 and the Smuggling Act of 1960; points out parts of the criminal code that apply to drug crimes and judicial decisions guiding legal reactions to it; and sums up legislative activity in other Scandinavian countries.

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Narcotics Among Drivers—A Crime Against Driving While Intoxicated Laws? by Jan Schuberth, Gunnel Ceder, and Per Homgren)

National Crime Laboratory data on drug use among drivers detained for drunk driving show that 16 percent of detainees were intoxicated from drugs, mainly central stimulants or a combination of central stimulants and marijuana.

Narcotics Abuse in Correctional Institutions—An Examination of Available Statistics (by Norman Bishop, National Board of Corrections Research and Development Branch)

Since 1966, the Swedish National Board of Corrections has surveyed drug use among inmates. These official statistics show that inmate drug use has increased over the years. However, several sampling problems lead the author to believe that these official statistics are not truly representative. Several suggestions are made for correcting these statistical problems, particularly more frequent sampling.

Narcotics Analysis at the National Criminal Technical Laboratory (by Andreas Maehly)

Mr. Maehly criticizes use of quick tests to verify intoxication by drugs and maintains that only chemical analysis can give sure proof. He describes the organization of the National Criminal Technical Laboratory and its place within the criminal justice system.

Viewpoints on Narcotics Analysis (by Nils-Åke Ek)

Mr. Ek reviews the role of the National Criminal Technical Laboratory in Linköping and details steps in proving drug intoxication.

Methadone Maintenance with Heroin Addicts—Foreign and Swedish Experiences (by Jan Ramstrom)

The Swedish methadone maintenance treatment program at the Ullerakers Research Clinic in Uppsala has shown continued improvement in methods and steady success in client rehabilitation since its start in 1967. In contrast to programs in the United States, Denmark, and Norway, the Ullerakers program has a good track record, partly due to its objective—to rehabilitate addicts

rather than to control and prevent drug crime. The rationalization behind methadone maintenance is discussed, as are several criticisms of it.

Injury to the Individual From Abuse of Addictive Drugs (by J. H. Erikson)

Injuries to the individual are categorized by method of drug consumption (ingestion through nose or mouth, injection); type of drug (toxicity of various drugs and effects on various body organs and senses); and indirect injury such as risk of traffic injury or suicide.

Deaths Related to the Abuse of Hard Narcotics—A Follow-up Study in the Metropolitan Stockholm Region for the Period 1975-1981 (by Nils Olof-Danell)

Drug-related deaths from 1975 to 1981 were categorized as: (1) those with drug use as the primary cause of death, (2) those in which drug use was involved in pathological complications leading to death, and (3) those in which the death resulted from living in a drug-related culture. Data are given on age and sex of victims, type of drugs used at death, location of death, and more.

Viewpoints on Several Basic Problems with Death Statistics Among Narcotics Addicts (by Dan J. Lettier and Michael Backenheimer)

The authors comment on several statistical problems concerning the findings of Olof-Danell's study.

Society's Costs Stemming From Narcotics Abuse (by Brent L. Rufener, J. Valley Rachel, and Alvin M. Cruze)

An American model shows social costs of drug abuse in the U.S. for 1975. Data, taken from several studies, are meant to be indicative of the problem. They give costs for the health care and criminal justice systems and for crime prevention work as a direct result of drug abuse. They also present indirect costs of drugs, such as unemployment, physical and mental health care, treatment, and loss in productivity.

The last papers present official statistics on drug abuse and drug-related crime for Japan, West Germany, Great Britain, and the United States.

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