Drug Market and Crime workbook

France - 2016

2016 National report (2015 data) to the EMCDDA by the French Reitox National Focal Point

Supervision: François Beck
Coordination and editorial: Aurélie Lermenier-Jeannet and Anne de l'Eprevier

Contribution to the workbooks

1.1 *Drug Policy*: Cristina Díaz-Gómez
1.2 *Legal Framework*: Caroline Protais, Cristina Díaz-Gómez
2 *Drugs*: Olivier Le Nézet, Agnès Cadet-Taïrou, Magali Martinez, Eric Janssen
3.1 *Prevention*: Carine Mutatayi, Caroline Protais
3.2 *Treatment*: Christophe Palle, Anne-Claire Brisacier
3.3 *Best Practice*: Carine Mutatayi
3.4 *Harms and Harm Reduction*: Anne-Claire Brisacier, Cristina Díaz-Gómez, Maitena Milhet
4 *Drug Market and Crime*: Michel Gandilhon, Magali Martinez, Thomas Néfau, Caroline Protais, Cristina Díaz-Gómez
5.1 *Prison*: Caroline Protais
5.2 *Research*: Isabelle Michot, Maitena Milhet

Proofreading (French version)
Julie-Émilie Adès, François Beck, Aurélie Lermenier-Jeannet, Marie-Line Tovar (OFDT)
Danièle Jourdain Menninger, president of the Interministerial Mission for Combating Drugs and Addictive Behaviours, and the project managers of the MILDECA

Proofreading (English version)
Anne de l'Eprevier, François Beck

Documentation: Isabelle Michot
Legal references: Anne de l'Eprevier

The EMCDDA is investigating how the submission of the workbooks could be made easier through the use of technology. In the first instance, a pilot using templates in Word with defined fields to distinguish the answers to questions is being tried. The outcome of the pilot will be to evaluate the usefulness of this tool and establish the parameters of any future IT project.

Templates have been constructed for the workbooks being completed this year. The templates for the pre-filled workbooks were piloted in the EMCDDA.

1. The principle is that a template is produced for each workbook, and one version of this is provided to each country, in some instances pre-filled.
2. Answers to the questions should be entered into the "fields" in the template. The fields have been named with the question number (e.g. T.2.1). It will be possible to extract the contents of the fields using the field names.
3. Fields are usually displayed within a border, and indicated by "Click here to enter text". Fields have been set up so that they cannot be deleted (their contents can be deleted). They grow in size automatically.
4. The completed template/workbook represents the working document between the NFP and the EMCDDA. Comments can be used to enhance the dialogue between the EMCDDA and the NFP. Track changes are implemented to develop a commonly understood text and to avoid duplication of work.

Table of Contents

T0. Summary

- National profile

Given France's geographic position at the heart of Western Europe, it is a transit area for the main illegal substances (cannabis, cocaine, heroin and synthetic drugs) produced worldwide. This is also the case due to its overseas departments on the American continent (Guadeloupe, Martinique and French Guyana) close to the major cocaine production and transit zones (Colombia, Venezuela). Also, like many developed countries, where the population has strong purchasing power, France has significant levels of use (for some of these substances), making it a strategic market for drug traffickers. In recent years, the major changes in terms of supply have concerned cannabis, cocaine and MDMA/ecstasy. These changes notably provide insight into why the levels of prevalence for use of these three substances are showing such a significant increase, as supply dynamics are partly able to explain the dynamics of demand.

- Trends

Over the past few years, the cannabis market in France has been in upheaval, like other European countries, with herbal cannabis increasingly competing against cannabis resin produced in Morocco. While the cannabis resin market is still superior, the herbal cannabis market is becoming increasingly dynamic, driven by protagonists sharply contrasting with the usual profiles. Hence, alongside home-grown cannabis growers with a marginal role on the market, herbal cannabis factories have emerged, cultivating hundreds or, indeed, thousands of plants. Among the latter, two types of groups can be distinguished. Vietnamese criminal gangs, long having specialised in this illegal segment, particularly in Britain, who are becoming established in France, drawn by the dynamic market and prospects in terms of profit, and private individuals, a priori not connected to the traditional criminal scene, who are turning to large-scale illegal commercial cultivation for the same reasons. A third group is in the process of emerging, also made up of "housing estate" dealers, specialising in the resale of cannabis resin and moving into production more suited to the new reality of demand.

The second largest illegal market, cocaine, has also been affected by changes in supply. These changes do not concern those involved in importing the substance into France, whether traditional organised crime networks (Corsican and North African) or the lower spheres of minor trafficking, or "small-time drug runners" in police jargon. The changes supposedly affect major trafficking channels, notably with the increasing role of French overseas departments. This phenomenon, which started to grow in amplitude from 2011, should be connected with the recent reopening of cocaine routes in the Caribbean headed to the United States and Europe, further to the security crisis in Venezuela which has become a major transit country for Colombian cocaine.

Lastly, the MDMA/ecstasy market has experienced renewed dynamism as before its shortage in 2009. The availability of powder and crystal forms has increased with high purity levels, while the tablet form has been on the rise since 2013, particularly in the recreational setting, with high MDMA potency. Furthermore, dealers' attention to tablet appearance (bright colours, 3D forms, etc.) has boosted their appeal to young users.

- New developments

A recent analysis of the situation in French departments in the Americas (DFA: Martinique, Guadeloupe and French Guyana) offers an up-to-date perspective on international trafficking, although the developments described do not only cover 2015 and are the result of prior changes. Martinique and Guadeloupe are not only areas of freebase cocaine (crack)

consumption, but now play an increasingly important role in supplying the metropolitan market. The police services, in fact, estimate that between 15% and 20% of annual seizures throughout French could originate from these two departments.
Cocaine trafficking is intensifying in French Guyana, a department bordered by Suriname and Brazil, with a long coastline running along the Atlantic. As for Martinique and Guadeloupe, cocaine trafficking destined for Europe slowly developed from the beginning of the 1990s, and has literally rocketed in the past five years. This appeal has been confirmed by the substantial and consistent increase in seizures conducted both locally and in metropolitan France.
These developments can be explained by two key changes. Firstly, at the end of the 1990s, the emergence of the West African route to Europe via French Guyana, aiming to circumvent the security systems set in place by the European Union. Secondly, the intensified control of the air route connecting Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname, and Amsterdam. Owing to more vulnerable security systems, French Guyana represents a strategic point for organised crime in Suriname, in terms of cocaine exports, via Cayenne and its international airport.
Nevertheless, in the past few years, criminal gangs in French Guyana have become more empowered. They recruit French "mules" to travel to Paris, so as to set down roots in small and medium-sized metropolitan cities. The cocaine which passes via French Guyana is of equivalent quality (at least 70% purity) but half the cost (5,000 euros per kg on average) as that purchased in the West Indies or in the Dominican Republic. In view of the price and poverty faced by the inhabitants, Guyanese channels could increase in scale in the next few years. Similar phenomena to those observed in Martinique currently in play, with the emergence of a local market and bartering of cannabis resin for cocaine.
Furthermore, the port of Le Havre, owing to its connection with the port of Fort-de-France in Martinique and its status as a leading French port for container traffic, is increasingly used as a major doorway for cocaine into the French and European markets, like other major ports in northern Europe, such as Rotterdam and Antwerp.

In 2014-2015, according to the TREND scheme observation sites, heroin was very widely available in northern and eastern France although it still had limited visibility in the south where its accessibility is reduced. The surviving trafficking is due to small networks of users who obtain their supplies in Spain, or, indeed, in the Netherlands or Belgium. In the Paris region, the law-enforcement services (police) have reported a strong increase in seizures in the areas around Paris, indicating high availability of the substance, and which could foreshadow its major return to the streets of the capital. Furthermore, a number of problems have been observed related to the diversion and abuse of opioid medications, prescribed for the treatment of pain or obtained via the Internet.

As regards new psychoactive substances (NPS), the total number of seizures fell between 2014 and 2015 (865 *vs.* 1,200) and involved fewer agents (111 *vs.* 131). This decline is difficult to interpret; however, there are more personal seizures than previously, which could be the result of the growth in retail resale activities, not on the Internet but between individuals.
Synthetic cannabinoids still play a key role in the semi-wholesale market (large quantities of powder, at least one or more kg) and among substances presented in commercial forms (small quantities). This market, borne more by supply rather than demand, concerns agents usually sold with brand names or instead of a "conventional" illegal substance, such as alpha-PVP and similar products, methylone, or synthetic cannabinoids in the JWH series, AB-FUBINACA and AB-CHMINACA. Commercial efforts are especially evident with the plant/herbal form (43.9% of seizures in 2014, 34.7% in 2015) in which artificial flavourings (strawberry, vanilla) have been identified for the first time in France.
In contrast to the retail market, the activity of the wholesale or semi-wholesale market is characterised more by shortages, with the practical disappearance of certain agents (such as chloromethcathinone), new arrivals (clephedrone seized for the first time in France in 2015) and substantial seizures (more than 10,000 tablets in the same single seizure).

T1. National profile

The purpose of this profile is to provide a commentary on the drug supply chain within your country.

T1.1 Drug market

The purpose of this section is to summarise the basic structure of the drug market in your country. Namely it should provide a commentary on

- Sources of drugs in your country: international sources of the drug, trafficking routes, domestic production/cultivation
- Information available on the wholesale drug market
- Information available on the retail drug market
- The numerical data submitted through ST11, ST13, ST14, ST15, ST16

Note: Please focus on the main/most important drugs in your country.

T1.1.1 Please describe any domestic production of drugs within your country by drug.
For synthetic drugs please include also processing stages such as tableting operations.

Herbal cannabis is the only illegal substance for which production is seen in France. Although herbal cannabis has mainly been cultivated by individuals at home and on a very small scale, the situation has begun to change. Starting in 2011, “cannabis factories” began to appear. These factories are overseen by organised crime and use the investment of individual people in commercial cultivation.

All of these phenomena were confirmed in 2015, providing a fairly precise overview of the French herbal cannabis supply. In terms of production, the main players can be classified as follows:

- Small growers, whose number is estimated to be 80,000 persons (OFDT 2015), who produce for themselves or for their immediate circle and are strictly sticking to this method of supply.
- Individuals getting involved in relatively large-scale commercial herbal cannabis production (several dozen plants).
- Criminal groups implementing real production units (“cannabis factories”) with up to several thousand plants (Weinberger 2011), with an increasing involvement of groups coming from so-called “sensitive” suburban areas that originally were specialised in importing and distributing cannabis resin.

T1.1.2 Please comment on any available information on the routes of trafficking for drugs imported into your country whether in transit or not.
Information relevant to this answer includes:
- origin
- most recent country prior to your country
- any other information on trafficking routes as well as the mode of transport

Cannabis

The cannabis resin smoked in France comes from Morocco and usually transits through Spain. It may also arrive directly from Morocco notably via the Tangier-Marseille sea route. Herbal cannabis seized in France, besides that produced on the national territory, mainly originates from Spain, and, to a lesser extent, the Netherlands and Belgium.

The routes for cannabis resin destined for the European and French market have been changing over the past two years. Hence, dealers taking advantage of the collapse of the state are said to be increasingly using Libya as a transit country, as evidenced by the scale of seizures in the eastern Mediterranean since 2014.

To a more marginal extent, France is seeing the emergence of markets for cannabis resin from Afghanistan and herbal cannabis from Albania, the latter becoming a major producer of this substance in Europe.

Cocaine
The cocaine used in France mainly comes from Colombia, the second largest producer worldwide. It mainly passes through the south via Spain and the north via the Netherlands (Rotterdam) and Belgium (Antwerp). Over the past few years, the port of Le Havre appears to be becoming a major gateway for cocaine to France. This change is explained by the connections between the Antilles port of Fort-de-France and Le Havre in a context where the French West Indies are becoming a major developing zone for cocaine destined for France and Europe (Gandilhon 2014a; Gandilhon and Weinberger 2016). The substance leaves Colombia, passes through Venezuela (Weinberger 2013), and reaches Martinique via the Caribbean sea. French Guyana is increasingly establishing itself as a major source of cocaine destined for France or, indeed, the European market (see T3).

Heroin
The heroin used in France mainly comes from Afghanistan (brown heroin) and passes *via* the Balkans (Turkey, Greece, Albania). White heroin originating from the Golden Triangle (Thailand, Myanmar and Laos) is also imported; however, this phenomenon is unclear due to its marginal nature.
Over the past few years, some Afghan heroin has been passing through African countries (Chad, Niger, Mali) and reaching the port of Dakar, Senegal, before directly arriving in France.
The Netherlands, ahead of Belgium, is the main platform which supplies French dealers.

Amphetamines and MDMA/ecstasy
Synthetic drugs (MDMA/ecstasy, amphetamines) used in France mainly come from the Netherlands, the leading production zone in Western Europe. France is also a transit country for dealers particularly targeting the United Kingdom and Spain.

New psychoactive substances (NPS)
NPS, which circulate on the French market via the web, are mainly produced in Asia, particularly in China and India.

T1.1.3 Please comment on any available contextual information on trafficking within your country.
Information relevant to this answer includes:
- range and relative importance of different products
- size of transactions
- smuggling methods
- organisation

The cannabis, cocaine and heroin markets are the three largest illegal drug markets in France. In 2015, the global sales of illegal drugs (cannabis, cocaine, heroin, MDMA/ecstasy, amphetamines) was estimated at 2.34 thousand million euros [lower limit: 1.53, upper limit: 3.15] (Ben Lakhdar *et al.* 2015).
The cannabis market (herbal cannabis and cannabis resin) has reached a consumed annual volume of approximately 154 tonnes with sales of 1.12 thousand million euros (between 0.81 and 1.42 thousand million euros), i.e. nearly half the total illegal drug sales in France.
The second largest market, the cocaine market, apparently reached approximately fifteen tonnes with estimated sales of 0.90 thousand million euros (between 0.50 and 1.3 thousand million euros).
The heroin market, in decline compared to the 1990s, although persistent, is the third largest market. The quantities consumed apparently reached between 5.1 and 8.2 tonnes with sales ranging between 204 and 329 million euros (M€; average estimate: €266.5 M).

The wholesale and semi-wholesale levels of these drug markets are controlled by major organised crime networks. The police departments highlighted the stranglehold of the North African scene (specialising in cannabis resin) on cocaine trafficking, to the detriment of the

Corsican-Marseille scene. The explanation resides in the fact that a large part of the cocaine destined for European and French markets arrives via West and North Africa. It is stored in southern Spain where French criminal gangs have a firm foothold, notably via their investments in the property sector. Police observations also report the growing importance of Barcelona in French organised crime, as a large secondary market for cannabis resin.
Another factor is the increasing demand in France and the multiplicity of the social circles of cocaine users. Over the past few years, networks located in certain neighbourhoods with a high proportion of social housing and specialised in cannabis resin, are targeting working-class groups. Hence, in Marseille for instance, cocaine is present and available in all points of sale located in the northern districts of the city specialising in the resale of cannabis resin and herbal cannabis.
Alongside these "large" networks exist a myriad of small trafficking channels run by user-dealers, directly supplied by the Netherlands and Belgium.
The law enforcement services have observed an increase in postal cocaine trafficking originating from French overseas departments such as French Guiana and the French West Indies (Guadeloupe and Martinique). Nevertheless, the preferred vector is still "mules" carrying small quantities of the substance in their bodies.

The heroin market in France is controlled by Turkish and Albanian organised crime networks. As for the developments concerning cocaine, user-dealer micro-networks, sourcing their supplies in the Netherlands and Belgium, play an important role in explaining the availability of the heroin in France, particularly in the north-east of the country with extensive use in rural and periurban areas (Gandilhon and Cadet-Taïrou 2015).

T1.1.4 Please comment on available information on the wholesale drug and precursor market.
Information relevant to this answer includes:
- range and relative importance of different products
- size of transactions
- common prices
- product transformation
- adulteration
- the nature and organisation of buyers, sellers and intermediaries

As France is not a zone in which the production of synthetic drugs takes place, problems related to chemical precursors are marginal (Gandilhon 2014b).
Regarding the issue of wholesale markets, the most important point is the growing control of the cocaine market by organised crime networks which import cannabis resin.
In 2015, the median price per kilogram of cocaine is 33,000 euros (€). Furthermore, a wholesale cocaine market also exists, notably in the French West Indies, where dealers obtain supplies at prices ranging from €6,000 to €9,000 per kilogram.
In 2015, the price per kilo of cannabis resin is about €2,000 and approximately €15,000 per kilo for heroin.

T1.1.5 Please briefly comment on available information on the retail drug market.
Information relevant to this answer includes:
- nature and organisation of buyers, sellers and intermediaries
- range and relative importance of different products
- size of transactions
- common prices
- purity of products
- market locations and settings

Two main types of organisations control the retail market for illegal drugs:
- so-called “housing estate” networks, which are established in neighbourhoods located at the periphery of major cities; these networks deal either in wholesale or in retail sales.
- user-dealers of varying reach.

Nevertheless, in recent years, the supply of drugs in France has been affected by several phenomena: the creation of priority safety zones (ZSP)[1] in 2012, which led to dispersed trafficking with different organisation methods, and the emergence of the deep web with a constantly growing supply of substances on the Internet (see T2.1).

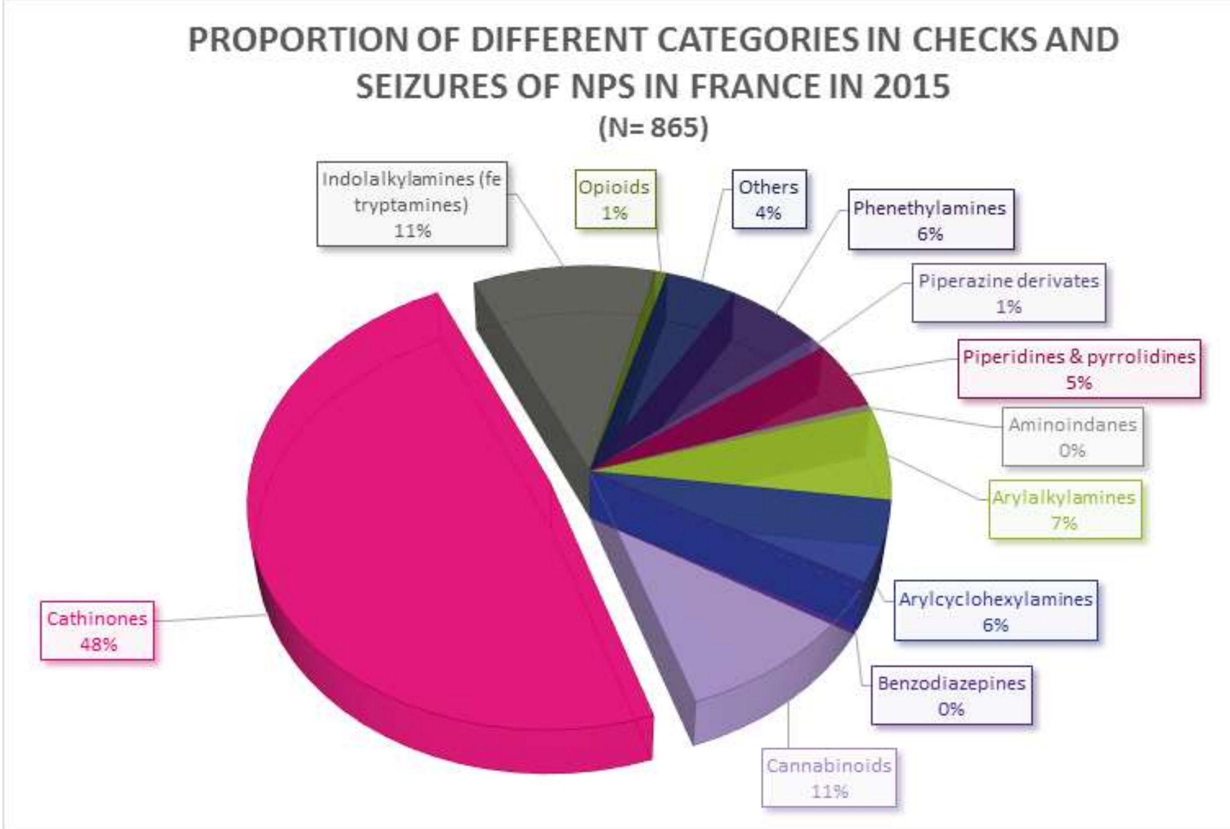
Cannabis
According to the OCRTIS (Central office for the repression of drug-related offences), the median price for herbal cannabis in 2015 was approximately €10 per gram and ranged from €7 to €10 per gram. The median price of cannabis resin is now €7 (see table in T2.1).
Average cannabis resin potency reached 22% in 2015, whereas that of herbal cannabis is 11% (STUPS© file data). Of the 26 samples of cannabis collected by OFDT SINTES scheme (15 in the form of resin and 11 as herbal), 24 samples were indeed cannabis with an average THC content of 18% for resin (n=15) and 10% for herbal cannabis (n=9).

Cocaine
The price per gram of cocaine hydrochloride was €65 in 2015 and the average purity of samples seized in the street (< 10 g) corresponds to 46%. The average purity of cocaine samples collected by the SINTES scheme (n=37) is almost the same (47%).

Heroin
The median price for a gram of brown heroin was approximately €35. Samples seized by the police are 11% pure on average and those collected through SINTES (n=34) are 14% pure.

MDMA/ecstasy
It is necessary to indicate the galenic form in which the substance is sold: tablets, powder or crystal.
According to the OCRTIS, the 2015 price of a tablet of ecstasy was €10, although this retail price does not fully reflect the reality of the retail market since users tend to buy several dozen tablets at a time to lower the price per unit. By doing so, consumers can lower the unit price of a tablet to €2.50. The average potency of MDMA/ecstasy in samples collected through SINTES was 37% for the samples that did contain the active ingredient.
In 2014, a specific investigation evidenced great variability in the mass of tablets (ranging from 186 mg to 457 mg) and in the amount of contained MDMA/ecstasy (from 50 mg to 280 mg) (Néfau *et al.* 2015).
In 2015, the price per gram of MDMA/ecstasy in crystal form was about €55. The average purity level measured in seizures is 69%; this level is higher in samples analysed by SINTES, where it reaches 80% in average (and sometimes more than 95%).

New psychoactive substances (NPS)
In 2015, there were 865 seizures or checks[2] related to 110 different NPS[3]. The cathinones category is the most widely represented (419 seizures concerning 32 agents), ahead of synthetic cannabinoids (SC: 98 seizures with 25 different agents identified) and tryptamines (92 seizures involving 6 agents).
As regards the different substances, 3-MMC is still the most widely seized agent (180 seizures with a total weight of 5.7 kg[4]), ahead of 4-MEC (57 with 2.2 kg). This is then followed by methylone (28 seizures, equally split between the powder and tablet form), alpha-PVP (27 seizures) and clephedrone, recently identified in France (26 seizures representing 24 kg).
Among synthetic cannabinoids, the most frequently encountered substance is 5F-AKB-48 (32 seizures with a weight of 2 kg on average). The indolalkylamines category is almost exclusively represented by DMT, which, for the liquid form, represents the largest number of seizures (59 for 110 litres in total) and, for the powder form, amounts to 21 seizures for a total weight of 47.2 kg. However, out of all seizures concerning this substance, only three were ultimately destined for France.



Source : SCL and STUPS© national database

Furthermore, in 2015, 44 new agents were identified in France, 8 of which for the first time in Europe. Cathinones are the most widely represented category among these newly identified substances, ahead of synthetic cannabinoids.

[1] The ZSP cover areas with high criminality rates, with a particularly strong presence of the law-enforcement services
[2] A substance, when not classified as a narcotic, may nonetheless be removed from postal/express freight in order to limit its diffusion. In this case, this act is perceived as a control and is not counted as a seizure.
[3] The data presented concern synthetic substances and exclude plants or extracts perceived as new psychoactive substances (NPS) by the EMCDDA. If these were taken into account, they would exceed synthetic substances in qualitative terms, notably given the extent of khat circulation between the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. Other than khat, other plants catalogued as NPS and identified in France in the context of trafficking are harmine, kratom and ibogaine.
[4] Out of the total number of seizures and checks, 21% are not quantified (by weight or by volume). However, it is highly likely that these cases primarily involve very small quantities. Moreover, a majority of seizures and checks have a destination other than France, especially when it comes to a quantity greater than 1 kg.

T1.2 Drug related crime

The purpose of this section is to provide a commentary on the context and possible explanations of drug law offences within your country.

T1.2.1 Please comment on drug law offences data.
Please structure your response around supply data (if possible distinguish between trafficking, cultivation/production, wholesale/ retail, and other supply offences) and possession/use data.

Since 2010, national statistics no longer provide details of arrests according to substance. Roughly 140,000 arrests were recorded in 2010 for narcotic use, 90% concerned simple cannabis use, 5% heroin use and 3% cocaine use. Eight out of ten arrests for drug-related offences involved the use of illegal narcotics (all substances combined).
In 2015, the total number of persons accused of narcotic use in France (metropolitan France and overseas) reached 166,390. Aside from these drug use offences (83% of the total), the police services and French *Gendarmerie* accused 17,620 individuals of drug use-resale and 12,127 of trafficking-resale without the use of narcotics.
In 2014, convictions and fixed penalty notices issued for drug-related offences represented 9% of all convictions registered on the national criminal record, i.e. 66,672, predominantly for illegal use (see T3.2 of the Legal Framework workbook).

T1.2.2 ***Optional****. If possible summarise any available data on drug related crime outside of drug law offences (i.e. possession/supply), e.g. money laundering, crimes undertaken under the influence of drugs (e.g. driving under the influence of drugs) or as a result of the use of drugs, crimes committed to fund drug use, crimes between drug market actors (e.g. violent crime, including homicide).*

Driving under the influence of narcotics has been an offence in France since 2003. These prosecutions only represent 3% of all offences stated in criminal records (8% of road safety offences), but are constantly on the increase (almost 22.000 in 2014 against 5,200 in 2007). To compare, convictions relating to driving under the influence of alcohol account for 46% of road safety offences.

T1.3 Drug supply reduction activities

The purpose of this section is to summarise the drug law enforcement activities for drug supply reduction.

T1.3.1 Please comment on drug supply reduction activities within you country.
Please structure your response in terms of
a) the key priorities of supply reduction
b) areas of activity of supply reduction
c) organisational structures/co-ordinating bodies
Please note that information on specialist drug law enforcement (eg. drug squads) is part of a separate focused data collection.

The 2013-2017 Government Plan for Combating Drugs and Addictive Behaviours (MILDT 2013), and its subsequent 2016-2017 Actions Plan (MILDECA 2016), include a line of action for stepping up measures against trafficking, with the following objectives:

- Acting at pre-trafficking stages: notably by strengthening international cooperation and capabilities for control, and by sharing information;
- Adapting the public response to the scale of narcotic trafficking: trafficking involving minors, trafficking at local level in "priority safety zones" (see T1.1.5 above), in the prison setting (actions 5.4 to 5.7 of the 2016-2017 Actions Plan), and trafficking on an international scale;
- Reinforcing anti-money laundering measures and an asset-based approach to legal investigations (actions 5.8 and 5.9);
- Acting on major emerging trends in terms of production and supply: step up measures against in-door cannabis growing (action 5.10), contraband tobacco (action 5.11), synthetic drugs (action 5.3 Increase the monitoring of the use of Internet and the fight against the online supply of illicit substances) and diversion of chemical precursors (action 5.12);

- Promoting targeted anti-narcotics trafficking action overseas (action 4.3 Strengthen the fight against trafficking between islands in the Caribbean / action 4.4 Strengthen the action of the Interministerial Training Center for the Fight Against Drugs (CIFAD) of Fort-de-France towards the neighbouring States of the French overseas departments in the Americas).

As regards operational aspects, given the nature of the drugs market in France, law enforcement services focus on dismantling criminal organisations which import cannabis resin and cocaine. One of France's main priorities is to cut off international cannabis and cocaine trafficking routes in the Mediterranean and Caribbean sea. To do so, France has joined international cooperation organisations, such as the MAOC-N (Maritime Analysis and Operation Center for Narcotics) and CECLAD-M (Mediterranean anti-drug coordination centre). As regards the Caribbean sea, in 2004 the French government created the "Caribbean" branch of the OCRTIS, which has been set up in Fort-de-France. Like its metropolitan counterpart, this is an interministerial organisation, made up of representatives from the *Gendarmerie*, the French Navy, Customs and police, together with liaising officers from three foreign countries (Great Britain, United States and Spain). This branch also works with other anti-trafficking organisations, such as the JIATF-S (*Joint Inter-Agency Task Force South*), a North American interministerial anti-trafficking entity which notably covers the Caribbean sea. Given the essentially sea-based nature of trafficking, the French Navy is the major operational armed branch for operations out at sea. The Interministerial Training Center for the Fight Against Drugs (CIFAD), based in Fort-de-France, is responsible for training agents and improving international cooperation in the fight against trafficking, notably via information sharing with other Caribbean and Latin American countries. It brings together representatives of the French public authorities involved in combating drugs (Customs, French *Gendarmerie* and police, justice and health).
The other line of action against drug trafficking is the seizure and confiscation of criminal assets accumulated by dealers. In 2010, France therefore created an Agency for the Recovery and Management of Seized and Confiscated Assets (AGRASC).

T2. Trends

The purpose of this section is to provide a commentary on the context and possible explanations of trends in drug markets and crime within your country.

T2.1 For the most important drugs in your country, please comment on the possible explanations of short term trends (5 years) in the following aspects of the drug market:
- seizures (by weight bin if possible)
- price (wholesale and retail if possible)
- purity (wholesale and retail if possible)

Examples: changes in police practices, patterns of drug use, interruptions to the supply of drugs or the emergence of substitutes or alternatives.

In recent years, the supply of drugs in France has been affected by several phenomena: the creation of priority safety zones (ZSP) in 2012, which led to dispersed trafficking with different organisation methods, and a constantly growing supply of substances on the Internet via the deep web. Regarding the first aspect, highly visible in Metz and Paris, the dismantling of major dealing sites has generated changes in the networks, in addition to the recognised displacement phenomena. These adapt by partly breaking with the sales point model, structure based on the lookout/tout/drug dealer trio, in which the drug user approaches the seller. They now favour individual contact via mobile phone. Clients are often chased up by text messages, and the separation between the supplier and drug dealer thus means that this type of network is very complicated for the police forces to dismantle. In Paris, this practice not only affects cocaine, since drug users may also be offered crack,

as some drug dealers travel to deliver "rocks". In Metz, ethnographic observations indicate the emergence of real trade based on the resale of SIM cards, the market value of which is proportional to the amount of potential client numbers. The difference with the capital city lies in the fact that this trafficking affects a more destitute clientele and mainly concerns heroin.
Regarding the emergence of the Internet as a favoured vector for trafficking, the law-enforcement services (police, French *Gendarmerie*) and drug users themselves describe the growing use of this form of trafficking, although it is harder to observe a phenomenon confined to the private sphere. The latter does not only concern NPS, but also affects substances such as cocaine, MDMA/ecstasy, heroin, and even methamphetamine (Cadet-Taïrou *et al.* 2015).

Cannabis
Like in the rest of Europe, the cannabis market in France is undergoing a major upheaval. This is notably expressed by the increased production of herbal cannabis on French soil, driven by private individuals or organised crime networks. In 2015, cannabis seizures (herbal cannabis and cannabis resin) reached high values compared to the past 5 years. This phenomenon also concerns both cannabis resin and herbal cannabis, for which seizures reached a historic record in France at nearly 17 tonnes. The growing importance of the herbal cannabis market in France is corroborated by the scale of plant confiscations, with almost 154,000 being seized in France in 2015, the second highest level ever to have been observed. The other key event is the very strong growth in THC levels in cannabis resin and herbal cannabis, which is explained by the cultivation of hybrid cannabis varieties, in both Europe and Morocco (Afsahi and Chouvy 2015; Stambouli *et al.* 2016). This growing use of hybrids probably explains, given the price of the seeds and higher production costs, the retail prices of herbal cannabis in France, which has never been so high (€10 *vs.* €7.5 in 2011). This increase in herbal cannabis price is also due to the fact that an increasing percentage of consumers appear to display a marked preference for "high-quality" substances.

Cocaine
The cocaine market, driven by regularly growing demand over the past twenty or so years, is highly dynamic. In 2015, cocaine seizures in France reached a historic record with nearly 11 tons. The three key events in recent years are the stranglehold of organised crime networks which import cannabis resin onto this market; the proliferation of vectors that dispatch cocaine in France (postal parcels, "mules", container ships, Internet, etc.) (see T1.1.3) and the diversification of cocaine routes with the emergence of the French West Indies and French Guyana (see T3) as a developing zone and secondary wholesale market. Crack seizures reached 14 kg in 2015, corresponding to the average levels reached since the start of 2010. The price per gram of cocaine hydrochloride remained stable relative to 2013-2014, which indicated a rise in the stagnant prices observed for the past five years (€60).

Heroin
The heroin market is relatively limited given the small number of users. However, it is still present, notably sustained by dynamic cross-border small-time drug runners from the Netherlands and Belgium. Heroin seizures reach high levels since 2014, after having regularly declined since 2010.
The "quality" of the substance in circulation in France was somewhat poor, which caused certain users to switch to opioid medications such as morphine sulphates (Cadet-Taïrou and Gandilhon 2014) and/or buprenorphine (Subutex®). However, the purity of police seizures has slightly increased since 2012 (STUPS© file data), with the median price per gram of brown heroin 10% lower compared to 2010, which could be explained by the end of the shortage of the substance observed in other European countries.

Synthetic drugs

The synthetic drugs market is still dominated by MDMA/ecstasy. However, for the past few years, major changes have been observed with the development of the "crystal" form, which has attracted strong interest from younger generations (under 25s) in the recreational setting; this phenomenon transcends both cultural affiliation and social class. Furthermore, after years of decline, there has been a resurgence in the use of tablets in the recreational setting, whether in the commercial scene (clubs, discotheques) or the alternative scene (free parties, teknivals, etc.). This re-emergence goes hand in hand with a genuine marketing strategy by producers with larger, more potent, 3D tablets. Although a slight increase in the average content of MDMA per tablet has been observed, it is primarily the larger tablet mass since 2013 (from 279 mg to 316 mg) which has caused the increase in the quantity of MDMA per tablet (125 mg *vs.* 93 mg).

Moreover, the supply network is organised via user-dealer micro-networks who obtain supplies in Belgium and the Netherlands where most of the European production units are based. The increase in seizures of ecstasy tablets in 2015 (see Table 1) clearly confirms the dynamics of this market, and prices have markedly risen in recent years (in contrast to the "crystal" form for which the price per gram has rather tended to fall since 2010).

Methamphetamine is very scarce on the French market due to the lack of structured supply. It is distributed within tightly restricted social circles. In 2014 and 2015, however, this substance was identified in the Bordeaux (Aquitaine) region via the SINTES scheme. According to user claims, it originates from purchases on the deep web, where it sells for between 20 and 30 euros as capsules, and between 80 and 120 euros per gram.

Table 1: Quantities of drugs seized (in kilograms), from 2011 to 2015 and changes from 2014 to 2015 (in %)

Drugs seized	2011	...	2014	2015	Change 2014-2015 (%)
Cannabis: resin	55,641		36,917	60,790	+ 64.6
Cannabis: herbal	5,450		10,073	16,835	+ 67.1
Cannabis: plants	73,572		158,592	153,895	- 3.0
Heroin	883		990	818	- 17.4
Cocaine	10,834		6,876	10,869	+ 58.1
Crack	13		19	14	- 24.3
Amphetamines	601		260	385	+ 48.2
Ecstasy (tablets)	1,510,500		940,389	1,325,305	+ 40.9
LSD (blotter)	3,136		2,390	4,478	+ 87.4
Ketamine	0.1		na	na	na

Source: OSIRIS (OCRTIS)
na: not available

Table 2: Change in retail median drug prices (in euros) since 2000

	TREND*					OCRTIS**		
	2000	…	2012	2013	2014	2013	2014	2015
Heroin	59		43	47	42.5	35	35	35
Cocaine	84		71	77	80	65	65	65
Ecstasy (tablets)	15		10	8	9.7	7.5	8,5	10
Cannabis resin	na		7	7	7.3	6	6.5	7

Herbal cannabis	na		10	10	10.4	8.5	8.5	10
Amphetamines	15		14	14	15.5	na	na	15
LSD (blotter)	8.5		10	10	10.3	na	na	10

Source:
**: Half-yearly TREND (OFDT) price analysis for heroin, cocaine, ecstasy tablets, cannabis resin and herbal cannabis; TREND ethnographic observations for amphetamines and LSD. For 2014, prices were calculated from TREND ethnographic data and qualitative questionnaires administered to structures or associations in contact with drug users.*
***: OCRTIS Price Barometer*
na: not available

New psychoactive substances (NPS)

Although seizures and controls on NPS increased in number between 2013 and 2014 (from 1,076 to 1,243), they decreased considerably in 2015 (865). Furthermore, the number of new agents identified fell compared to 2014, despite constantly rising since 2008 (with a major increase from 2011). However, it is still high, above 2013 levels. Given the limited hindsight in terms of the surveillance of NPS circulation, these data are currently difficult to interpret.

The market seems to be gradually structuring itself around agents with a particularly strong presence over several years. Continuity of retail market trends are observed (small quantities destined for the end user), for instance predominantly involving cathinones, through 3-MMC and 4-MEC (see T1.1.5). As regards synthetic cannabinoids, seizures and controls evidence the high visibility of 5F-AKB-48. The popularity of this substance, which emerged in 2014, was confirmed in 2015 on user forums.

On the other hand, other agents which were frequently observed in the past two years have suddenly disappeared from view in seizures and controls, such as 4-fluoroamphetamine (4-FA: 90 seizures in 2013, 89 in 2014 and 12 in 2015) and methoxetamine (MXE: 34 seizures in 2013, 35 in 2014 and 13 in 2015). The explanation, for 4-FA, could reside in the changes to the online supply of the main sales sites based in the Netherlands and targeting the French-speaking market, and, for MXE, in its European-wide classification.

T2.2 ***Optional****. For the most important drugs in your country, please comment on the possible explanations of long term trends (greater than 5 years) in the following aspects of the drug market:*
- *seizures (by weight bin if possible)*
- *price (wholesale and retail if possible)*
- *purity (wholesale and retail if possible)*

Examples: changes in police practices, patterns of drug use, interruptions to the supply of drugs or the emergence of substitutes or alternatives.

As regards cannabis resin, average THC potency has tripled in ten years to reach 22% in 2015, whereas that of herbal cannabis, at 13%, is at its highest in 15 years (STUPS© file data). This is notably explained by the growing use of hybrid varieties (see T2.1).

The average purity of cocaine samples seized in the street (< 10 g) was around 45% in 2014-2015, after having stabilised between 30% and 35% in the previous 10 years.

The average purity of heroin has increased slightly after a few years in which it was less than 10%.

Ecstasy tablets contain 125 mg of MDMA on average (some tablets contain more than 200) compared to 50 to 60 mg in the 2000s (Néfau *et al.* 2015). This increase reflects the marketing strategy adopted by ecstasy producers (see T2.1).

T2.3 ***Optional****. Please comment on the possible explanations of long term trends and short term trends in any other drug market data that you consider important.*

T2.4 Please comment on the possible explanations of short term trends in the following drug law offences data:
- supply (if possible distinguish between trafficking, cultivation/production, wholesale, retail, and other supply offences)
- possession/use
Examples: changes in law enforcement practices, government priorities, patterns of drug use, sources of drugs.

In terms of narcotics, the control of demand is a major aspect of law-enforcement service (police) activities. Hence, the majority of accused individuals are drug users, mainly for cannabis (as an indication, arrests currently represent less than 4% of the estimated number of active cannabis users). Between 2010 and 2015, the total number of individuals accused of narcotic use in France (metropolitan France and overseas) increased from nearly 142,300 to 166,400, i.e. a 17% rise. Narcotics use is a type of offence that is especially susceptible to the intensity of police efforts, since it constitutes an offence "revealed" by police activity. It could therefore be worthwhile for police to target these drug use offences, which are cleared as soon as they are recorded, thus enabling a higher clearance rate to be easily achieved (Obradovic 2015).

*T2.5 **Optional**. Please comment on the possible explanations of long term trends in the following drug law offences data:*
- supply (if possible distinguish between trafficking, cultivation/production, wholesale, retail, and other supply offences)
- possession/use
Examples: changes in law enforcement practices, government priorities, patterns of drug use, sources of drugs.

*T2.6 **Optional**. Please comment on the possible explanations of long term trends and short term trends in any other drug related crime data that you consider important.*

T2.7 Please indicate notable trends or important developments in the organisation, coordination and implementation of drug supply reduction activities in your country over the past 5 years.

The activities carried out in the past five years are a continuity of the public action conducted in France to fight narcotic trafficking. The OCRTIS is responsible for leading and coordinating the most important or delicate surveys for the benefit of all units deployed in the fight against trafficking: territorial squads which handle local crime, the anti-gang brigade for moderate crime and regional anti-gang or intervention groups for more serious or organised crime. Their action is based on prior and constant analysis of the threat, both on an national and international level. In recent years, priority emphasis has been placed on searching for the organisers behind trafficking and identifying their property. Hence, the police services and French *Gendarmerie* have dedicated a substantial part of their activities to increasing the confiscation of goods resulting from illegal activities (13 million euros in revenue in 2014 *vs.* 10 million in 2012.

T3. New developments

The purpose of this section is to provide information on any notable or topical developments observed in drug market and crime **since your last report**.

T1 is used to establish the baseline of the topic in your country. Please focus on any new developments here.

If information on recent notable developments have been included as part of the baseline information for your country, please make reference to that section here. It is not necessary to repeat the information.

T3.1 Please report on any notable new or topical developments observed in the drug market and crime in your country since your last report.

A recent analysis of the situation in French departments in the Americas (DFA: Martinique, Guadeloupe and French Guyana) offers an up-to-date perspective on international trafficking, although the developments described do not only cover 2015 and are the result of prior changes.

Martinique and Guadeloupe are not only areas of freebase cocaine (crack) consumption, but now play an increasingly important role in supplying the metropolitan market. The police services, in fact, estimate that between 15% and 20% of annual seizures throughout French could originate from these two departments.

Cocaine trafficking is intensifying in French Guyana, a department bordered by Suriname and Brazil, with a long coastline running along the Atlantic. The topography of the department has numerous advantages for traffickers, especially an extremely dense river network and equatorial forest which covers nearly 90% of the surface area of the territory. As for Martinique and Guadeloupe, cocaine trafficking destined for Europe slowly developed from the beginning of the 1990s, and has literally rocketed in the past five years. This appeal has been confirmed by the substantial and consistent increase in seizures conducted both locally and in metropolitan France.

These developments can be explained by two key changes. Firstly, at the end of the 1990s, the emergence of the West African route to Europe via French Guyana, aiming to circumvent the security systems set in place by the European Union. Secondly, the intensified control of the air route connecting Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname, and Amsterdam. Owing to more vulnerable security systems, French Guyana represents a strategic point for organised crime in Suriname, in terms of cocaine exports, via Cayenne and its international airport.

Nevertheless, in the past few years, criminal gangs in French Guyana have become more empowered. They recruit French "mules" to travel to Paris, so as to set down roots in small and medium-sized metropolitan cities. The cocaine which passes via French Guyana is of equivalent quality (at least 70% purity) but half the cost (5,000 euros per kg on average) as that purchased in the West Indies or in the Dominican Republic. In view of the price and poverty faced by the inhabitants, Guyanese channels could increase in scale in the next few years (Gandilhon and Weinberger 2016). Similar phenomena to those observed in Martinique currently in play, with the emergence of a local market and bartering of cannabis resin for cocaine.

Furthermore, the port of Le Havre, owing to its connection with the port of Fort-de-France in Martinique and its status as a leading French port for container traffic, is increasingly used as a major doorway for cocaine into the French and European markets, like other major ports in northern Europe, such as Rotterdam and Antwerp.

In 2014-2015, according to the TREND scheme observation sites, heroin was widely available, especially in urban areas (squats, drug user support centres, etc.) and in rural areas, in northern and eastern France (Lille and Metz). A very clear cut-off is observed with the south of the country (Bordeaux, Marseille and Toulouse), where this substance still has limited visibility on the markets and reduced accessibility. The surviving trafficking is due to small networks of users who obtain their supplies in Spain, or, indeed, in the Netherlands or Belgium. In the Paris region, the law-enforcement services (police) have reported a strong increase in seizures in the areas around Paris, indicating high availability of the substance, and which could foreshadow its major return to the streets of the capital.

Furthermore, a number of problems have been observed related to the diversion and abuse of opioid medications, prescribed for the treatment of pain or obtained via the Internet (see T3 of the section on opioids in the Drug Use workbook).

As regards new psychoactive substances (NPS), the total number of seizures fell between 2014 and 2015 (865 *vs.* 1,200) and involved fewer agents (111 *vs.* 131). This decline is difficult to interpret; however, the distribution of seizures between the customs departments, police and French *Gendarmerie* has changed, to the benefit of the latter two. This change indicates that there are more personal seizures than previously, which could be the result of the growth in retail resale activities, not on the Internet but between individuals.
Synthetic cannabinoids still play a key role in the semi-wholesale market (large quantities of powder, at least one or more kg) and among substances presented in commercial forms (small quantities). This market, borne more by supply rather than demand, concerns agents usually sold with brand names or instead of a "conventional" illegal substance, such as alpha-PVP and similar products, methylone, or synthetic cannabinoids in the JWH series, AB-FUBINACA and AB-CHMINACA. Commercial efforts are especially evident with the plant/herbal form (43.9% of seizures in 2014, 34.7% in 2015) in which artificial flavourings (strawberry, vanilla) have been identified for the first time in France.
In contrast to the retail market, the activity of the wholesale or semi-wholesale market is characterised more by shortages, with the practical disappearance of certain agents (such as chloromethcathinone: 1200 kg in 2 seizures in 2014 *vs.* 4 kg in 2015), new arrivals (clephedrone, 24 kg seized for the first time in France in 2015) and substantial seizures (10,800 5-MAPB tablets, 1,250 pyrazolam tablets and 542 1-PEA tablets in the same single seizure).

Although the data on seizures and controls particularly depend on customs opportunities, the possibility that some observations could indicate an underlying phenomenon affecting France or other European countries has not been ruled out. For instance, this was the case for indolalkylamines in 2015, in equal proportions to synthetic cannabinoids (11%). This visibility is due to the major DMT[1] seizures performed. This substance is typically an NPS with long-standing use, but with renewed diffusion due to the general NPS phenomenon (Miller 2014).

[1] The liquid form of DMT is often combined with harmine or harmaline (63 seizures). This format shows that the batches were supposed to be presented as preparations for ayahuasca brews. In 2014, DMT had an especially strong presence in the indolalkylamines category.

T4. Additional information

The purpose of this section is to provide additional information important to drug market and crime in your country that has not been provided elsewhere.

T4.1 ***Optional****. Please describe any additional important sources of information, specific studies or data on drug market and crime. Where possible, please provide references and/or links.*

T4.2 ***Optional****. Please describe any other important aspect of drug market and crime that has not been covered in the specific questions above. This may be additional information or new areas of specific importance for your country.*

T5. Notes and queries

The purpose of this section is to highlight areas of specific interest for possible future elaboration. Detailed answers are not required.

Yes/No answers required. If yes please provide brief additional information.
T5.1 Is there a framework for assessing the impact of law enforcement on illicit drug markets at the national level? Yes/No and if possible a brief description of methodology.

"YES" or "NO"?	NO

T5.2 Are there in your country studies comparing the costs (governmental expenditure) and impacts (e.g. value of seized drug) of law enforcement interventions aimed at reducing drug production and/ or distribution? Yes/No and if possible a brief description and reference(s).

"YES" or "NO"?	NO

T6. Sources and methodology

The purpose of this section is to collect sources for the information provided above, including brief descriptions of studies and their methodology where appropriate.

T6.1 Please list notable sources for the information provided above.

Sources

Afsahi, K. and Chouvy, P.A. (2015). Le haschich marocain, du kif aux hybrides. Drogues, enjeux internationaux [Drugs, international challenges]. OFDT (8).

Ben Lakhdar, C., Lalam, N., Weinberger, D., Spilka, S. and Janssen, E. (2015). Estimation des marchés des drogues illicites en France : synthèse. Institut National des Hautes Etudes de la Sécurité et de la Justice (INHESJ), Paris.

Cadet-Taïrou, A. and Gandilhon, M. (2014). Morphine sulphate consumption by French drug users: recent trends (2012-2013). Memo 2014-9 (10 July 2014) of the OFDT's TREND scheme to the ANSM. OFDT, Saint-Denis.

Cadet-Taïrou, A., Gandilhon, M., Martinez, M. and Néfau, T. (2015). Psychoactive substance use in France: recent trends (2014-2015). Tendances. OFDT (105).

Gandilhon, M. (2014a). Les Antilles françaises (Martinique, Guadeloupe, Saint-Martin) et la Guyane au cœur du trafic international de cocaïne. Note n°2014-9. OFDT, Saint-Denis.

Gandilhon, M. (2014b). Chemical precursors, the unknown dimension of the world's illegal drug market. Drugs, international challenges. OFDT (7).

Gandilhon, M. and Cadet-Taïrou, A. (2015). Les usages de drogues en espace rural. Populations, marchés, réponse publique. Tendances. OFDT (104).

Gandilhon, M. and Weinberger, D. (2016). Les Antilles françaises et la Guyane : sur les routes du trafic international de cocaïne. Drogues, enjeux internationaux. OFDT (9).

MILDECA (2016). Plan gouvernemental de lutte contre les drogues et les conduites addictives. Plan d'actions 2016-2017. Mission interministérielle de lutte contre les drogues et les conduites addictives, Paris.

MILDT (2013). Government plan for combating drugs and addictive behaviours 2013-2017. MILDT, Paris.

Miller, R.J. (2014). Drugged. The science and culture behind psychotropic drugs. Oxford University Press, Oxford - New York.

Néfau, T., Martinez, M., Cadet-Taïrou, A., Gandilhon, M., Réseau Trend and Dispositif Sintes (2015). What is new on ecstasy in France? Shapes, rates and user perceptions. Poster presented at the Lisbon Addictions Conference. OFDT, Saint-Denis.

Obradovic, I. (2015). Trente ans de réponse pénale à l'usage de stupéfiants. Tendances. OFDT (103).

OFDT (2015). Drugs, Key Data (6th édition). OFDT, Saint-Denis.

Stambouli, H., El Bouri, A. and Bouayoun, T. (2016). Évolution de la teneur en Delta9-THC dans les saisies de résines de cannabis au Maroc de 2005 à 2014. Toxicologie Analytique et Clinique 28 (2) 146-152.

Weinberger, D. (2011). Criminal networks and indoor cannabis in Europe: has the phenomenon reached France?. Drugs, international challenges. OFDT (4).

Weinberger, D. (2013). Le Venezuela : un épicentre du trafic régional et mondial de cocaïne. Drogues, enjeux internationaux. OFDT (6).

Besides these bibliographic references, the main source of information is data from law enforcement services (police, Customs and *Gendarmerie*), which are centralised on an annual basis by the Central Office for the Repression of Drug-related Offences (OCRTIS). This report indicates, among other things, the quantities of illegal drugs seized in France, the prices and any information on the structure of the trafficking networks.
Additionally, the TREND scheme provides qualitative information on methods for gaining access to substances and on micro-trafficking.
Online sales of new psychoactive substances, whether classified in France or not, gives rise to different forms of traffic. Their documentation requires additional information sources to contribute. The Customs Joint laboratories department (SCL) and the French National Forensic Science Institute (INPS) are the main bodies collecting information on the number of seizures, the quantities seized, and the identification of the substances seized.

Analyses of seizures by law enforcement laboratories provide the main source of information on the composition of illegal substances in France. The OCRTIS provides a summary of all of the data on the composition of illegal substances seized and analysed by all French law enforcement services during the year for the whole country. The data represents the results of analyses of seizures without regard for the volume of each seizure, with the exception of cocaine, for which a distinction is made between airport seizures and street seizures.
The content of the main psychoactive substance is determined; with few exceptions, the other substances in the product are simply identified.
The analyses performed on drug user data collected as part of the OFDT's SINTES system contribute to the knowledge on the composition of the substances.

T6.2 Where studies or surveys have been used please list them and where appropriate describe the methodology?

Methodology

Data on prices

Two resources make it possible to collect unit sale prices of illegal substances:

- A periodic OCRTIS survey based on data collected at 69 sites throughout metropolitan France records the median semi-wholesale and retail prices of certain illegal substances (heroin, cocaine, cannabis and ecstasy).
- The TREND network, based on qualitative questionnaires completed by CAARUD low threshold structures and staff operating in the techno/party scene on each site involved in the scheme. For each substance under consideration (whether illegal drugs or misused legal medications), the retail price and an estimate of the lowest price, the highest price and the usual price are requested. In 2011, at the request of the MILDECA, the collection of information on prices was reinforced by data collected from seven TREND sites every six months (every year since 2012). The illegal substances in question were cannabis (herbal, resin), heroin, MDMA/ecstasy (tablets, powder, crystal) and cocaine (for which the prices were collected in both urban areas and on the party scene.

SINTES: National Detection System of Drugs and Toxic Substances

French Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (OFDT)

The SINTES scheme is based on collecting samples of illegal and legal substances directly from drug users. The products collected are forwarded to one of the 8 forensic laboratories working in partnership with OFDT, to determine their composition. At the same time, drug users are asked to complete a questionnaire on the context of use for the substance and its purchase price. This makes it possible to directly correlate the price and purity of a given substance. The SINTES scheme has three sections:

- The observation section provides an annual overview of the composition of a particular illegal substance. The SINTES observation scheme relies primarily on the French TREND network.
- The monitoring section comes under the health alert system. It is based on the TREND network sites as well as sites outside of this network that have signed agreements. The contributions made in this section are limited exclusively to the identification of newly circulating molecules and up-to-date information on the composition of certain substances at a given moment and in a given location.
- Since 2010, SINTES has been exploiting the Internet to monitor for new psychoactive substances (NPS) and document them.

TREND scheme: Emerging Trends and New Drugs

French Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (OFDT)

The aim of the TREND scheme, which was established in 1999, is to provide information about illegal drug use and users, and on emerging phenomena. Emerging phenomena refer either to new phenomena or to existing phenomena that have not yet been detected by other observation systems.

The system is based on data analysed by eight local coordinating sites (Bordeaux, Lille, Lyon, Marseille, Metz, Paris, Rennes and Toulouse) that produce site reports, which are then extrapolated to a national level:

- continuous qualitative data collection in urban settings and the party scene, by the local coordination network, which has a common data collection and information strategy

- the SINTES scheme, an observation system geared towards detecting and analysing the toxicological composition of illegal substances
- recurring quantitative surveys, particularly among CAARUD clients (ENa-CAARUD)
- partner information system results
- thematic quantitative and qualitative investigations that aim to gather more information about a particular subject

STUPS© national database

French National Forensic Science Institute (INPS)

Created in 1986, the French National Register of Drug Seizures (FNDS) initially focused on heroin analyses; from 1990, cocaine samples were also studied, before being extended to all drugs, as part of the STUPS© (harmonised narcotics processing system) database, initiated in 1999.

Five national forensic science institutes (Lille, Paris, Lyon, Marseille, Toulouse) and the Forensic Sciences Institute of the French *Gendarmerie* (FSIFG) add their analyses to this database, accompanied by photos, logos, etc. in order to identify the substances in circulation.