Drug market and crime workbook 2019

France

Contributors
Michel Gandilhon, Magali Martinez, Aurélie Lermenier-Jeannet, Victor Detrez (OFDT)

2019 National report (2018 data) to the EMCDDA by the French Reitox National Focal Point

Supervision: Julien Morel d'Arleux

Coordination and editorial: Aurélie Lermenier-Jeannet, Anne de l'Eprevier and Julie-Émilie Adès

Contribution to the workbooks

1. *Drug Policy*: Cristina Díaz-Gómez, Julie-Émilie Adès
2. *Legal Framework*: Caroline Protais, Cristina Díaz-Gómez, Aurélie Lermenier-Jeannet
3. *Drugs*: Olivier Le Nézet, Magali Martinez, Clément Gérome, Julie-Émilie Adès, Stanislas Spilka, Michel Gandilhon
4. *Prevention*: Carine Mutatayi
5. *Treatment*: Christophe Palle, Anne-Claire Brisacier
6. *Best Practice*: Carine Mutatayi, Anne-Claire Brisacier, Christophe Palle
7. *Harms and Harm Reduction*: Anne-Claire Brisacier, Cristina Díaz-Gómez, Magali Martinez
8. *Drug Market and Crime*: Michel Gandilhon, Magali Martinez, Aurélie Lermenier-Jeannet, Victor Detrez
9. *Prison*: Caroline Protais, Anne-Claire Brisacier, Julien Morel d'Arleux
10. *Research*: Maitena Milhet, Isabelle Michot

Proofreading (French version): Julie-Émilie Adès, Julien Morel d'Arleux (OFDT); Nicolas Prisse, 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

Bibliographic references: Isabelle Michot

Legal references: Anne de l'Eprevier

Table of Contents

T0. Summary

Please provide an abstract of this workbook (target: 500 words) including a summary of the following points: National profile

- Domestic drug market (domestic production/cultivation; trafficking routes for imported drugs) (a summary of T1.1.1 & T1.1.2)
- National drug law offences (main drugs linked to offences; distinguishing between possession/use, trafficking, cultivation/production) (a summary of T1.2)
- Key drug supply reduction activities (a summary of T1.3)

Domestic drug market (summary of T1.1.1 & T1.1.2)

Herbal cannabis is the only illegal substance for which production is seen in France. While growing herbal cannabis in metropolitan France was mainly the work of small, self-sufficient growers, the situation began to change at the start of the 2010s with the emergence of cannabis factories run by organised crime groups and with individuals investing in its commercial production.

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 Guiana) close to the major cocaine production and transit zones (Colombia, Venezuela).

Cannabis resin used in France comes from Morocco and usually transits through Spain while herbal cannabis is imported mainly from Spain, the Netherlands and Belgium.

The cocaine used in France is produced mainly in Colombia. It mainly passes via sea routes through the south via Spain (Algesiras) and the north via the Netherlands (Rotterdam), Belgium (Antwerp) and to a lesser extent Germany (Hamburg). Over the past few years, cocaine, transiting through Venezuela then via the French West Indies, has been entering the European continent through the port of Le Havre. There has also been a major increase in air trafficking by "mules" between Guiana and mainland France.

The heroin used in France mainly comes from Afghanistan (brown heroin) and passes *via* the Balkans (Turkey, Greece, Albania). the Netherlands, ahead of Belgium, is the main platform which supplies French dealers.

Synthetic drugs (MDMA/ecstasy, amphetamines) used in France also mainly come from the Netherlands.

National drug law offences (summary of T1.2)

In 2018, the total number of persons accused of narcotic use in France is 161,300 against about 164,000 in 2017. 8 out of 10 people accused of a drug-related offence corresponded to simple use. The number of people implicated in trafficking offences (15 400) increased by 6% compared to 2017, and user-dealers (18 200), increased by 3%. In 2010, 90% of the arrests concerned the simple use of cannabis, 5% simple heroin use, and 3% simple cocaine use (since 2010 national statistics no longer provide details of arrests for each substance).

Key drug supply reduction activities (summary of T1.3)

The national action plan on addictions (2018-2022) emphasises the importance of implementing a genuine national strategy based on better coordination between the various services involved (police, customs, Gendarmerie, justice). Money laundering, a key issue in a dynamic French drug market, is a major priority. The challenge of international cooperation, in particular, has also been placed at the forefront, notably the important role of French overseas departments (Guiana, Martinique and Guadeloupe, together with the French overseas territory Saint-Martin) in supplying the mainland market with cocaine. Lastly, emphasis is placed on prevention to stop young people, especially minors becoming involved in local trafficking, firmly established in large cities.

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 in mainland France, the situation is changing. 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.

The main producers of herbal cannabis can be classified as follows:

- Small growers, whose number is estimated between 150,000 and 200,000 persons (OFDT 2019), who produce for themselves or for their immediate circle of friends or family.
- 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 (Gandilhon *et al.* 2019), 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

Owing to its geographical position at the heart of Western Europe, France is a transit area for certain illegal drugs. The South-to-North route is used for the transit of cannabis resin, produced in Morocco and transiting via Spain (where it is stored and redistributed), notably destined to supply Northern European markets. The North-to-South route is used for the transit of synthetic drug shipments through France (ecstasy, MDMA), produced in the Netherlands and Belgium, destined for Spain or Italy. This is also the case for heroin, stored in the Netherlands (Rotterdam, Maastricht, etc.), in transit to Spanish and Italian markets.

Cannabis

The cannabis resin smoked in France comes almost exclusively from Morocco and usually transits through Spain. In 2018, of the 85.3 tonnes of resin seized by the police, almost 84% came from Spain (OCRTIS 2019a). 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.

Since 2013, other routes for cannabis resin destined for the European and French market have appeared, notably from Libya. 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 (Europol 2017). 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 largest producer worldwide (UNODC 2019) To reach France, it mainly passes through the south via Spain (Algesiras) 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. The shipping line between the port of Santos in Brazil and Le Havre also seems to play an increasing role in supplying the French market. Therefore, in 2018, for the second consecutive year, Brazil was the first country of origin for cocaine seized in France. Guiana is increasingly establishing itself as a major source of cocaine destined for France or, to a lesser extent, for the Netherlands. There has been a major increase in air trafficking by “mules” between Guiana and mainland France since 2010.

Heroin

The heroin used in France mainly comes from Afghanistan (brown heroin) and mostly 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.

In recent years, some of the Afghan heroin has been trafficked on African routes, passing through East Africa (Kenya), or even South Africa. By 2018, South Africa was the fourth largest source country for heroin of known origin (OCRTIS 2019a). 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 billion euros (Ben Lakhdar *et al.* 2015). Given the sharp increase in cocaine prevalence in the general population since 2014, this estimate is definitely outdated, as is the increase in daily cannabis use.

The cannabis market (herbal cannabis and cannabis resin) has reached a consumed annual volume of approximately 154 tonnes with sales of 1.12 billion euros, i.e. nearly half the total of illegal drug sales in France. The second largest market, the cocaine market, apparently reached approximately fifteen tonnes with estimated sales of 0.90 billion euros. The heroin market is the third largest market. The quantities consumed apparently reached between 5.1 and 8.2 tonnes for an estimated turnover of 266.5 million euros.

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 lies in Spain's major role as a gateway and rebound area for cocaine destined for the rest of Western Europe, where French criminal gangs are well established. It is in the south of the Iberian Peninsula that they wholesale trade resin from metropolitan wholesalers and launder the money made from trafficking. Police observations also report the growing importance of Barcelona, as a large secondary market for cannabis resin in French organised crime.

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. 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 French drug market is increasingly influenced by the three overseas departments located near cocaine production areas, particularly Colombia.

Latin America and the West Indies supply mainland France through two main means: maritime and air.

Maritime supply is by far the most prominent. Almost 57% of cocaine seizures made in 2018 are reported to be carried out through this means, with containers playing a major role, which remain traffickers' preferred concealment method (OCRTIS 2019a).

Martinique and Guadeloupe are no longer only areas where free base cocaine is used (crack) but it now plays an increasingly important role in supplying the mainland market through maritime routes. In this respect, given its status as France's leading port for container transportation, linking it to the French West Indies and Latin America, the port of Le Havre is an important gateway for cocaine on the French and European markets, as are other major ports in northern Europe, such as Rotterdam, Antwerp and to a lesser extent Hamburg. However, based on the cocaine seized in these three ports, Le Havre remains much less affected than the Dutch and Belgian ports. In 2018, for example, 2.5 tonnes of cocaine were intercepted compared to 50 tonnes in the port of Antwerp and 20 tonnes in Rotterdam (OCRTIS 2019a).

The second major trafficking means is by air transport, representing about 19% of seizures in 2018. At the centre of air routes, Guiana's role continues to grow. The increase in air traffic control between Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname, and Amsterdam is probably the main reason for Guiana's increasing role in supplying cocaine to mainland France. Owing to more vulnerable security systems, French Guiana 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 Guiana 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. In 2018, police services recorded an increasing collaboration of these networks with the criminal community that controls the cocaine and crack market. The cocaine which passes via Guiana 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 this price and given the 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.

The law enforcement services have observed an increase in postal cocaine trafficking originating from French overseas departments such as 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 or luggage.

Heroin trafficking in France is highly fragmented and relatively diversified. In addition to Turkish criminal organisations, there are small groups from the outskirts of the metropolitan areas that supply the Netherlands. 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). The past few years has seen the significantly strong presence of criminal Albanian gangs in the Lyon region, operating in both the wholesale and retail market. They tend to take root also in other regions such as Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, Bretagne and Nouvelle-Aquitaine.

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 2018, the median price per kilogram of cocaine is €31,000 against €34,000 in 2016, i.e. a 9% decrease. A wholesale cocaine market exists, notably in the French West Indies, where prices are lower as dealers obtain supplies at prices ranging from €6,000 to €9,000 per kilogram. In Guiana, the kilogram of cocaine is around €5,000.

In 2018, the price per kilo of cannabis resin is about €2,000, the price per kilo for herbal cannabis is €3,000 and €15,000 per kilo for heroin (OCRTIS 2019a). All these prices are stable compared to 2016.

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.

Cannabis

According to the OCRTIS (Central office for the repression of drug-related offences), the median price for herbal cannabis in 2018 was approximately €10 per gram and ranged from €7 to €10 per gram. The median price of cannabis resin is €7 (see table in T2.1).

As regards the price of cannabis reported as part of the OFDT TREND (Emerging Trends and New Drugs) scheme, the price of herbal cannabis per gram apparently remained stable, in the region of €10 in 2017. However, the price of cannabis resin has decreased, from €7 in 2016 to €5 in 2017 (Gérome *et al.* 2018).

The average potency of cannabis resin seized (data from the STUPS© file) reached its highest level ever, recorded at 26.34%. In terms of the OFDT's SINTES scheme, the average potency of the analysed samples (17) was 27%. However, in recent years, the THC content of herbal cannabis has tended to stabilise at around 11% ((INPS 2019).

Cocaine

According to the OCRTIS, the price per gram of cocaine hydrochloride was €70 in 2018. According to the TREND scheme, this price was around €80 in 2017 against €85 in 2016.

The average potency of seized cocaine (retail, semi-wholesale and wholesale markets) in 2018 was 66.31% with a maximum level of 93% (INPS 2019). The average potency of cocaine seized in the street (<10%) in 2017 was 59%. This data is comparable to the data relating to the samples (80 samples, 70 quantifications) sent to SINTES: 65.1% except that this data is more a reflection of the retail market.

Heroin

In 2018, the median price for a gram of brown heroin was approximately €35 according to the OCRTIS. In 2017, this price was €40 on average according to the TREND scheme.

The average potency of seized heroin in 2018, i.e. 16.47%, was slightly higher than in 2017. This is the highest rate recorded in 8 years (INPS 2019). The samples collected as part of the SINTES scheme had an average potency of 13.5% (54 samples, including 40 quantifications) compared to 16% in 2017.

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 2018 average 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. According to the TREND scheme, in 2017, the average price of an ecstasy tablet reached €10, whereas the price per gram of MDMA was close on €48, i.e. its lowest level since 2010.

There was a very sharp increase in the quantities of MDMA in ecstasy tablets collected through the SINTES scheme in 2018. While the total amount of MDMA in a tablet averaged at 89 mg in 2017, samples collected in 2018 contained an average of 185 mg of active ingredient with a maximum potency of 275 mg (16 samples, including 13 quantifications). For powder or crystal forms, the average potency observed decreased from 78% in 2017 to 64% in 2018 (low number of samples: 7, including 6 quantifications). Data obtained through police seizures in 2018 had an average potency of 35.07% without distinguishing the form, thereby making it difficult to interpret (INPS 2019).

New psychoactive substances (NPS)

In 2018, there were 1,199 seizures or checks [1] related to 110 different NPS [2] (against 2,190 seizures or checks in 2017 related to 153 NPS). The cathinones category is the most widely represented (475 seizures concerning 40 molecules), ahead of arylcyclohexylamines (258 seizures concerning 5 molecules) and mainly ketamine (251 seizures), followed by synthetic cannabinoids (148 seizures with 17 different molecules identified). This breakdown by categories has not changed in recent years.

The NPS market continues to be marked by the presence of cathinones and hallucinogenic substances from various families. Over the last four years, cathinones and cannabinoids have been seized the most, with another family of NPS, a different one every year (indolalkylamines, phenethylamines, arylxyclohexylamines or piperidines), taking third place. Ketamine, 3-MMC, 4-MEC, ethylphenidate and DMT have been consistently among the top 10 (or even the top 5) substances that have been seized the most since 2014.

For example, the top four in 2018 were ketamine (251 seizures), 3-MMC (194), 4-MEC (76) and etylphenidate (74). Apart from this fundamental core, it can be seen that in 2017 and 2018, two other NPS remained among the top 10 most seized (two cannabinoids, JWH-210, with 114 seizures compared to 53 seizures in 2018, and 5F-MDMB-PINACA, with 54 seizures compared to 31). Finally, 2C-B (46), GHB (43) and ephelon (26) appeared in this classification.

2018 was unique in that that in terms of quantity, there were a lot of pills, especially for molecules that are not often seen, or that are not often seen in this form. Therefore, 9,393 pills of M-Alpha, an old molecule but that is virtually unknown on the market, were seized twice. 3-MMC was also seized a lot in pill form (735 pills in 11 seizures), while its usual form is powder. There are then two molecules that are seized in this form more often; 2-CB (1,685) and 4-FMA (108). In kilograms, it is surprisingly 2-PEA, a molecule that is not very well-known in France, which together with ketamine, each represents 30% of comparable seizures. Another striking element that year is that phoenition (32.815kg) and pregabalin (8.84kg) were among the NPS seized in large volumes. It is likely that these atypical seizures reflect international transit on the French territory.

It should be noted that a large number of these seizures were from postal freight; however, most of the letters and parcels were not destined for France but were only in transit. Hence, the number of seizures is not necessarily representative of the French market, as shown by the number of khat seizures in plant form. In 2018, there were 439 seizures corresponding to a total weight of 5,000 kg; however, most of the parcels intercepted were destined for the United States or the United Kingdom.

Although synthetic opioids are almost non-existent in terms of quantity or seizures, several clinical cases were identified between 2015 and 2018 (See section T1.1.2 of the Harms and Harms Reduction workbook).

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.

In 2018, the total number of persons accused of narcotic use in France (metropolitan France and overseas) is about 161,300. Aside from these drug use offences (82% of the total), the police services and French *Gendarmerie* accused 18,200 individuals of drug use-resale and 15,400 of trafficking-resale without the use of narcotics. In 2010, (since 2010 national statistics no longer provide details of arrests for each substance), 90% concerned simple cannabis use, 5% heroin use and 3% cocaine use.

In 2017, according to the Ministry of Justice, DLO convictions for main offences (single or multiple) represented 12% of all criminal record convictions, i.e. around 67,500. These offences can be broken down as follows: illegal use (50%), possession-acquisition (47%), supply and sale (2.4%), trade-transport (0.6%), import-export (61 cases), helping others use (55 cases) and other DLOs (199 cases). In the majority of possession-acquisition offences, offenders were sentenced to prison (85%), while using offences were mainly sanctioned by fines (non-fixed fines as the law has not yet come into force) (70%). The number of fixed penalty notices amounted to 8,075.

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 8% of road safety offences but their numbers keep on increasing and almost doubled between 2013 (32,244) and 2017 (49,135). To compare, in 2017 convictions relating to driving under the influence of alcohol account for 45% of road safety offences. In 2016, around 28,400 convictions and fixed penalty notices for driving under the influence of narcotics were issued.

T1.3. Drug supply reduction activities

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

[1] 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.
[2] The data presented concern synthetic substances and exclude plants or extracts perceived as new psychoactive substances (NPS) by the EMCDDA.

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 2018-2022 national action plan on addictions (see Policy workbook) (MILDECA 2018) includes a major line of action for stepping up measures against trafficking, with the following objectives:

- Strengthening the coordination of services which combat drug trafficking
- Diversifying the strategies for combating trafficking, notably by increasing the criminal analysis capacity of police criminal investigation departments
- Strengthening international cooperation
- Reinforcing anti-money laundering measures and an asset-based penalties of legal investigations
- Developing prevention, particularly among young people to stop them being drawn into trafficking (Gandilhon 2016).

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 one foreign country (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).

In March 2019, in order to deal with the significant increase in cocaine trafficking from Guiana, the Ministry of Justice, Overseas Ministry, Ministry of Health and Ministry of the Interior, as well as French Customs, signed a protocol implementing the interministerial action plan to combat the phenomenon of "mules" coming from Guiana. The aim of this protocol is to improve and better coordinate the efforts of the different departments of all the signing ministries, both in mainland France and Guiana. The protocol particularly provides for creating an OCRTIS branch at Orly airport in September 2019, increasing the number of customs staff at Orly airport responsible for checking for smugglers from Guiana, increasing the number of staff from the gendarmerie research brigade in Saint-Laurent du Maroni, creating new hospital rooms in Cayenne, making it possible to double the number of in corpore mules who are treated, and more generally, improving and increasing controls and adopting a targeted approach in Guiana and mainland France.

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), a body designed to assist members of the Judiciary to efficiently fight the underground economy. The support fund, consisting of the proceeds from the sale of assets confiscated as part of criminal narcotics proceedings, reached a total of €14.56 million in 2018.

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) and/or 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.

In recent years, the supply of drugs in France has been affected by several phenomena: the creation of priority safety zones (ZSP[3]), 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 (see T2.1). The wave of attacks that occurred in Paris, particularly from 2015 onwards, and the resulting increased presence of law-enforcement services in public places has led to "new" forms of trafficking developing. Therefore, in recent years, "central purchasing offices", also known as "Cocaine Call Centres", have appeared in the Paris region, which provide home delivery through texts and messaging systems such as WhatsApp. In 2017 and 2018, it seems that this phenomenon is also developing in other major cities.

This development has led some observers to speak of a kind of "uberisation" of trafficking (EMCDDA 2018) This would be based on two phenomena: the emergence of new key figures in the drug market and using new information and communication technologies (ICT). However, it is important to remain weary. It seems that in France the criminal groups behind the creation of the Central Purchasing Offices are not abnormal and rather belong to the circles that have been at the heart of trafficking in France for decades. Given this, the undeniable use of ICT is not enough to evoke a massive "uberisation".

Regarding the emergence of the Internet as a favoured vector for trafficking, the law-enforcement services (police, French *Gendarmerie*, Customs) 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 development of customs seizures in postal or express freight packages shows that narcotic drugs have been sold and purchased online since 2013. More recently, the disbanding of French-speaking or international sales platforms has also demonstrated the sustainability of this market. In France, online operations are carried out by the National Intelligence and Customs Directorate (DNRED) in collaboration with the Central Office for combatting Crime related to Information Technology and Communications (OCLCTIC) of the Central directorate of the judicial police (DCPJ). This does not only concern NPS, but also affects substances such as cocaine, MDMA/ecstasy, heroin, and even methamphetamine (Cadet-Taïrou *et al.* 2015).

[3] The ZSP cover areas with high criminality rates, with a particularly strong presence of the law-enforcement services.

Cannabis
As is the case in the rest of Europe, the cannabis market in France is changing, playing an ever-increasing role in users using herbal cannabis (Gandilhon *et al.* 2019) and in supplying criminal networks. In 2018, herbal cannabis seizures reached a record level at almost 30 tonnes. Herbal cannabis now accounts for almost 26% of total cannabis seizures, compared to 6% in 2012. The French herbal cannabis market is becoming increasingly affected by the situation in Spain which is on its way to becoming a major herbal cannabis producer in Western Europe. Therefore, nearly 90% of the herbal cannabis seized in France comes from Spain. When the destination is known, a significant amount is not destined for the French market. Other European countries are targeted by Spanish herbal cannabis (Germany, Italy, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, etc.). The growing importance of the herbal cannabis market in France is corroborated by the scale of plant confiscations, with more than 138,000 being seized in France in 2018, a very high level.

While a significant proportion of these seizures occurred in the overseas territories in French Polynesia, large plantations were also disbanded in mainland France, both indoors in the north and outdoors in the Mediterranean hinterland.

The other key event is the very strong growth in THC levels in cannabis resin and herbal cannabis in the last 10 years, 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.* €7.50-€8 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 2018, cocaine seizures, after the absolute record of 2017, reached their second highest level ever recorded with 16,3 tonnes. 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 growing implication of the French West Indies and Guiana as a secondary wholesale market and a sourcing zone. Albanian networks, already having a strong presence on the heroin market in certain regions, have been steadily emerging in the field of cocaine trafficking in the past two years, as well as Guiana networks.

In 2018, crack cocaine seizures reached one of their highest levels with over 20kg. This substance is mainly trafficked in Paris and the Parisian region. Manufacturing and reselling crack is carried out by small-scale dealers from Senegal that have been involved in this market for around 30 years. It would appear that the increase in demand observed in recent years is leading to a more advanced trafficking organisation and connections with industries importing cocaine in France.

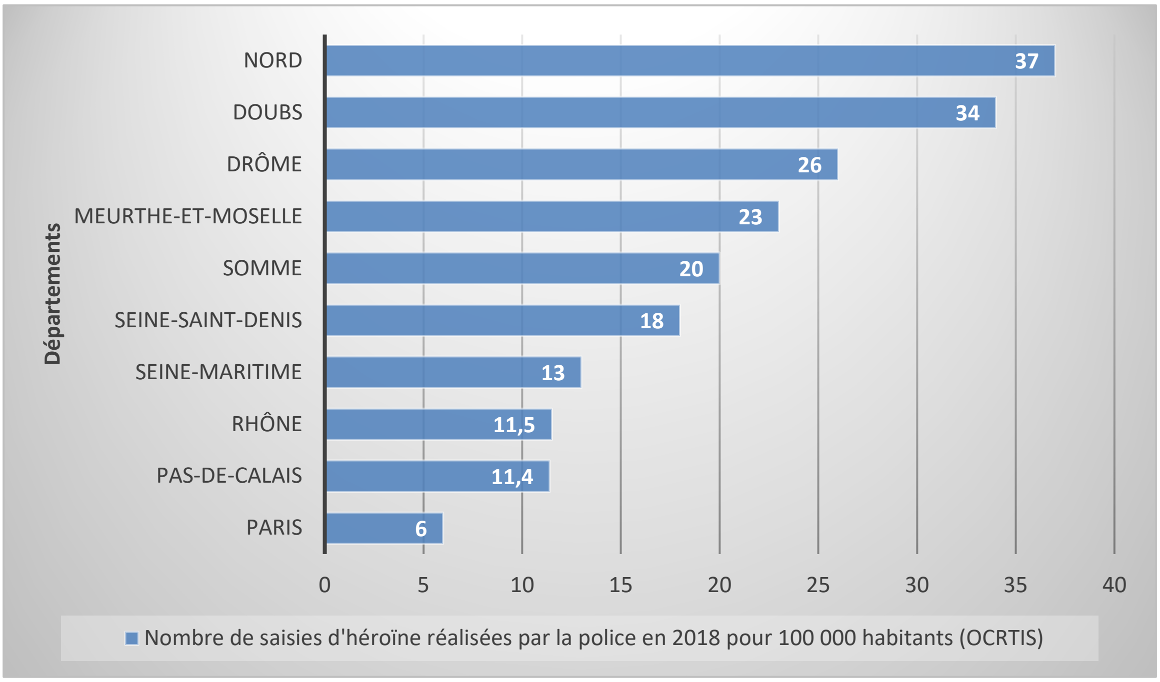
The price per gram of cocaine hydrochloride remained stable.

Heroin
The heroin market is much smaller than the cocaine market. However, it is one of the largest markets in Western Europe.

In 2017, Afghanistan's 9,000 tonne opium production records, (UNODC 2018) and the disbanding of several heroin laboratories in the Netherlands (EMCDDA 2019), which is the main source of supply for the French market, suggested that there would be a surge in supply in France. This seems to have been the case in 2018. Seizures reached their second highest level in history with 1.1 tonnes, while the purity of the substance, measured by the samples analysed by INPS, was the highest in 10 years.

With regards to availability, OCRTIS noted an increase in the amount of heroin in the territory, while highlighting the great regional disparities in this area. Therefore, due to the proximity of the Netherlands and Belgium, northern (Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Somme) and eastern France (Doubs, Meurthe-et-Moselle) were greatly affected. It seems that in 2018, the Lille metropolitan area experienced an increase in trafficking and that it is becoming a national centre for the wholesale resale of heroin for the French networks. When they are located in the south of the country, they would tend to favour northern France over Spain.

Number of heroin seizures made by the police in 2018 per 100,000 inhabitants, in several departments of metropolitan France



Source: OCRTIS

The OFDT's TREND scheme, through its network of sites, reported that there are heroin dealing spots in Bordeaux and Toulouse, while the Lyon site confirms that Albanian networks have settled in the Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes region (Drôme, Rhône).

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 in 2015) which has caused the increase in the quantity of MDMA per tablet (128 mg *vs.* 83 mg in 2013).

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 high level of seizures of ecstasy tablets in 2017 (see Table 1) clearly confirms the dynamics of this market whose strong demand keeps the price of the tablet at a high level (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 mainland 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.

New psychoactive substances (NPS)

The number of new molecules identified is stabilising, despite a steady rise between 2008 and 2014 (with a major increase from 2011). Thus, 16 new molecules were identified in 2018 (compared to 15 in 2017). Given the limited hindsight in terms of the surveillance of NPS circulation, these data are currently difficult to interpret. As in other European countries, however, benzodiazepines and synthetic opioids are more frequently identified, which do not correspond to those placed on the market by the pharmaceutical industry.

The market seems to be gradually structuring itself around molecules 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). These molecules are particularly well known because they are used in *chemsex* practices. However, other molecules were still observed too, such as ethylphenidate, which although banned in France, can be found both in seizures and on online discussion forums.

On the other hand, other molecules 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.

Table 1: Quantities of drugs seized (in kilograms), from 2015 to 2018 and changes from 2017 to 2018 (in %)

Drugs seized	2015	2016	2017	2018	Change 2017-2018 (%)
Cannabis: resin	60,790	52,735	67,359	85,400	+ 27
Cannabis: herbal	16,835	18,206	20,220	29,800	+ 47
Cannabis: plants	153,895	126,389	137,074	138,561	+ 01
Heroin	818	, 080	658	1,100	+ 67
Cocaine	10,869	8,532	17,500	16,400	- 06
Crack	14	8.3	na	20	na
Amphetamines	385	274	238	208	- 12
Methamphetamines	101	78	122	126	+ 03
Ecstasy (tablets)	1,325,305	1,236,649	1,130,839	na	na
LSD (blotter)	4,478	9,447	794	2,979	+ 375

Source: OSIRIS (OCRTIS)
na: not available

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

	TREND*				OCRTIS**		
	2000	…	2016	2017	2015	2016	2017-2018
Heroin	59		42.5	40	35	35	35
Cocaine	84		85	80	65	65	70
Ecstasy (tablets)	15		10	10	10	10	10
Cannabis resin	na		7	5.5	7	7	7
Herbal cannabis	na		10	10	10	9	10
Amphetamines	15		15	15	15	15	15
LSD (blotter)	8.5		10	10	10	10	10

*Source: * TREND ethnographic observations / ** OCRTIS Price Barometer / na: not available*

*T2.2. **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.*

TREND data show that, when sale of synthetic cannabinoids was observed, it is limited to small closed circles of individuals specifically seeking this type of substance. Aside from these rare cases, local attempts to deal are mainly observed, although these do not appear to persist for more than a few months.

However, one exception should be noted: in Mayotte, a French department in the Indian Ocean (Cadet-Taïrou and Gandilhon 2018). Since 2011, a new substance, known locally as "*la chimique*" or "chemical tobacco" (a mixture of synthetic cannabinoids, tobacco and alcohol) has emerged on the street market and is overwhelmingly affecting vulnerable young men. Although Mayotte had somewhat escaped the scourge of traditional criminal networks due to its geographical location away from the main trafficking routes, the Internet has found a way to overcome its isolation.

Synthetic cannabinoids in e-liquid form are highly visible in discussions on forums (Cadet-Taïrou *et al.* 2015), (see also the workbook on drug use) but other data sources (on health, seizures and the TREND scheme) do not reflect this visibility. One hypothesis to explain this difference in visibility is that the users or dealers mix the e-liquid and synthetic cannabinoids themselves. Synthetic cannabinoids would therefore most often be seen by customs as powder when it is being trafficked but not in e-liquid form. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that "commercial" e-liquids, sold as CBD or the equivalent, with dedicated packaging, are not described in all sources of feedback, except in a few rare isolated cases over several years.

T2.3. Please comment on the possible explanations of short- and/or 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.

T2.4. ***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.*

In the summer of 2018, the darknet sales platform for French speakers, Black Hand, which could only be accessed through a paid subscription, was shut down by law enforcement. Described as very active by French customs, who were responsible for it being disbanded, this platform had more than 3,000 members. It was not only for drugs, but was used for reselling firearms, identity documents and bank details. The site manager did not fit the expected profile, as she did not have a criminal record, was around 30 years old and had two children. In the end, four people were brought to justice. This platform is backed by the French-speaking complex web which is mainly supported by the French Deep Web platform. Its closure led to the investigation and shutting down of other sites that depended on the platform.

Therefore, in June 2019, the old French-speaking darknet platform, "French Deep Web-Market (FDW-M)", which was created in 2012, was disbanded by the cyber-customs unit of the National Intelligence and Customs Directorate (DNRED), along with the OCLCTIC and several interregional judicial police departments[4].

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 2018, the total number of individuals accused of narcotic use in France (metropolitan France and overseas) increased from nearly 142,300 to 161,300. 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).

With regards to NPS, forums relay that at least two relatively well-known international sales sites on the surface web were hacked between 2017 and 2018. It is suggested that there was one person behind the offence, who tried to blackmail the sales sites. One of these sites is still running. This hacking may have forced them to make their supply less visible so they could hide out, particularly on social networks (especially Instagram).

T2.5. 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.

[4] See press release No. 719 of 17 June 17 2019 by Gérald DARMANIN, Minister of Action and Public Accounts.

T3. New developments

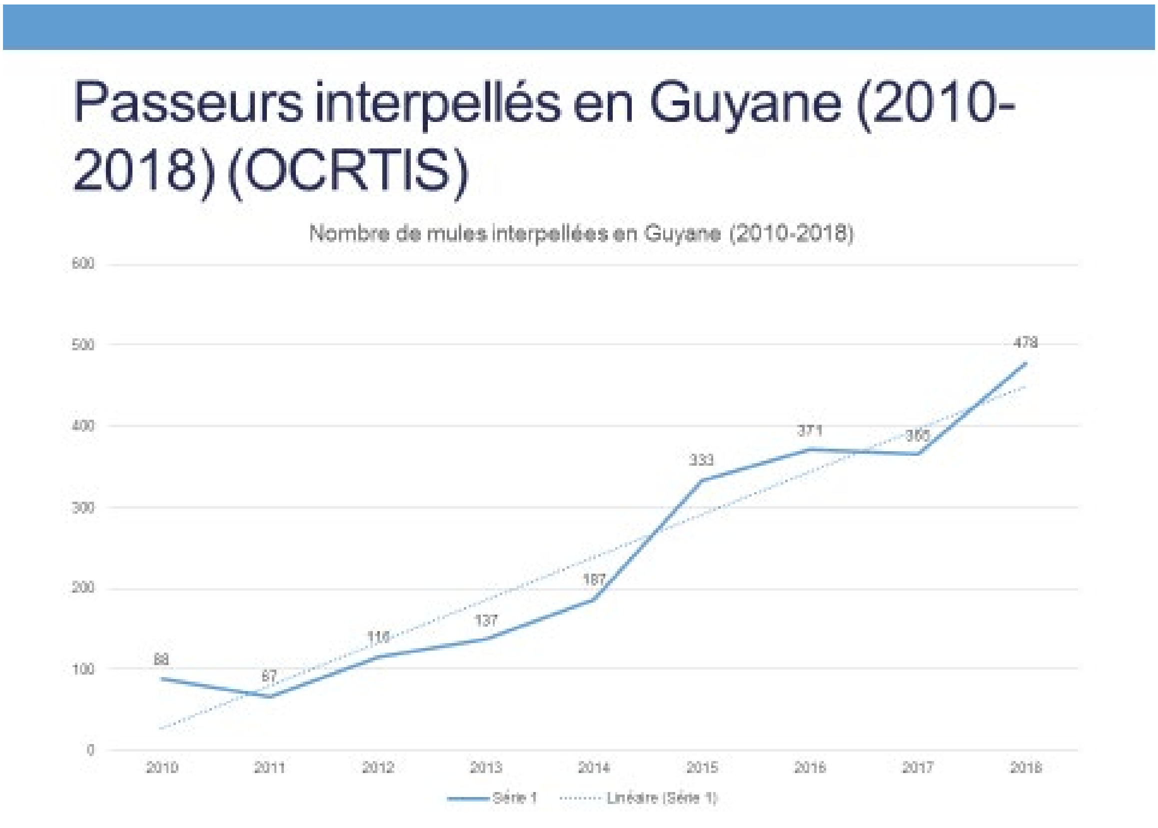
The purpose of this section is to provide information on any notable or topical developments observed in drug market and crime **since your last report**.
T1 is used to establish the baseline of the topic in your country. Please focus on any new developments here. If information on recent notable developments 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.

In 2018, as in the two previous years, the key phenomenon is the increase in the availability and accessibility of cocaine. These findings of the TREND network (Cadet-Taïrou *et al.* 2017) are corroborated by data obtained from the law-enforcement services with 2018 record seizures (second highest level) and a substance circulating on the retail market with the highest purity since the start of the 2000s.

France is clearly affected, through its overseas departments (Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guiana), by the marked expansion of cocaine production in Colombia (UNODC 2018).

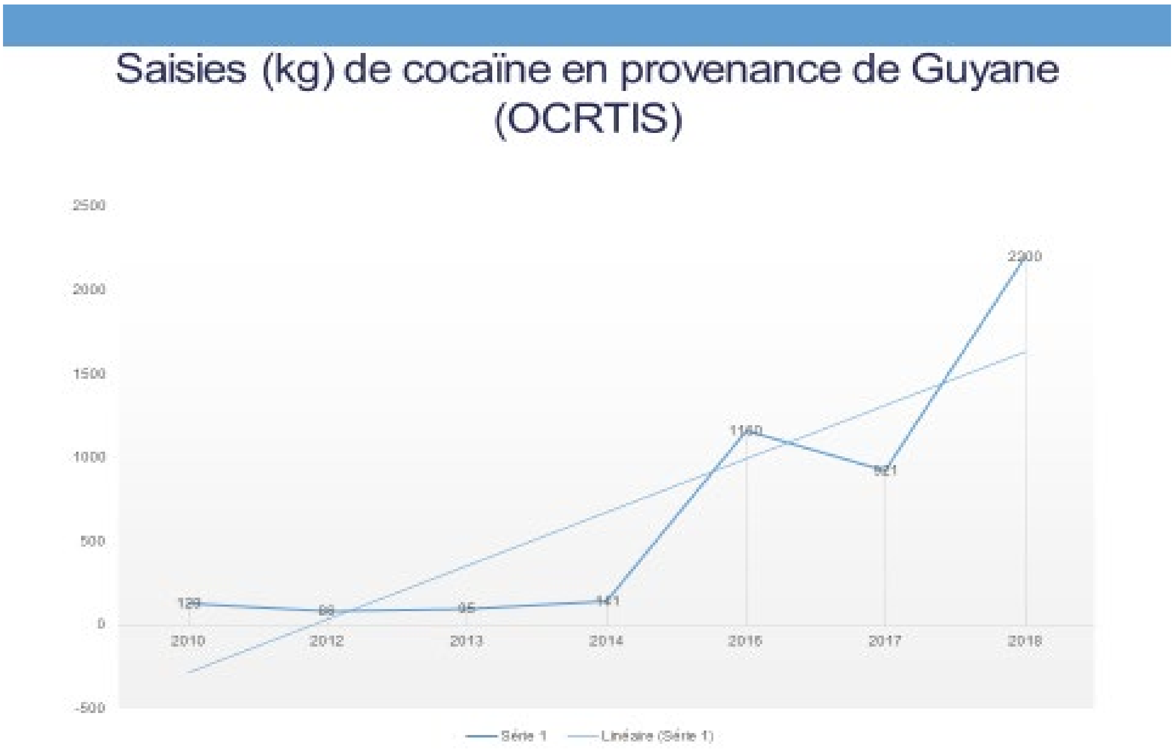
Number of "mules" arrested in Guiana (2010-2018)



Source: OCRTIS

In 2018, mule trafficking from Guiana increased further. The number of smugglers arrested in French Guiana and mainland France increased by 122%, going from 608 to 1,349 (OCRTIS 2019b). The quantities seized amounted to 2.2 tonnes, compared to 921 kg in 2017.

Seizures (kg) of cocaine from Guyana



Source: OCRTIS

There are several types of traffickers: Surinamese criminal organisations who attempt to circumvent the security measures at Paramaribo airport by transiting via Cayenne, and local traffickers who exploit their links with the Guyanese diaspora in mainland France to supply the market in medium-sized towns in the French provinces. The new phenomenon in 2018 is the links that Guyanese industries seem to be forging with the metropolitan cocaine networks, as they want to procure wholesale supplies for lower prices than those recorded in Europe.

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.*

Two reports on the situation in Guiana and on crack cocaine, produced in partnership with the INHESJ and INSERM respectively, should be available at the end of 2019. The first, based on two on-site investigations, will produce an overview of drug use in Guiana and cocaine trafficking, taking into account the networks and their organisation, as well as the regional context (Colombia, Suriname, etc.). The second focuses on the profiles of crack users in Paris and the Parisian region, as well as trafficking networks (dealer profiles, organisation, etc.).

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. Sources and methodology

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

T5.1. 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. 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. Available: https://bdoc.ofdt.fr/doc_num.php?explnum_id=21396 [accessed 08/08/2019].

Cadet-Taïrou, A., Gandilhon, M., Martinez, M. and Néfau, T. (2015). Substances psychoactives en France : tendances récentes (2014-2015) [Psychoactive substance use in France: recent trends (2014-2015)]. Tendances. OFDT (105).

Cadet-Taïrou, A., Gandilhon, M., Martinez, M., Milhet, M. and Néfau, T. (2017). Substances psychoactives, usagers et marchés : les tendances récentes (2016-2017) [Psychoactive substances, users and markets: recent trends (2016-2017)]. Tendances. OFDT (121).

Cadet-Taïrou, A. and Gandilhon, M. (2018). L'offre, l'usage et l'impact des consommations de « chimique » à Mayotte : une étude qualitative. OFDT, Saint-Denis. Available: https://www.ofdt.fr/publications/collections/rapports/rapports-d-etudes/rapports-detudes-ofdt-parus-en-2018/loffre-lusage-et-limpact-des-consommations-de-chimique-mayotte-une-etude-qualitative/ [accessed 08/08/2019].

EMCDDA (2018). Recent changes in Europe's cocaine market: results from an EMCDDA trendspotter study. Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg. Available: http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/publications/rapid-communications/recent-changes-in-europes-cocaine-market_en [accessed 07/08/2019].

EMCDDA (2019). Rapport européen sur les drogues 2019 : tendances et évolutions [European Drug Report 2019: Trends and developments]. Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg. Available: http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/edr2019 [accessed 07/08/2019].

Europol (2017). How illegal drugs sustain organised crime in the EU. Available: https://www.europol.europa.eu/publications-documents/how-illegal-drugs-sustain-organised-crime-in-eu [accessed 07/08/2019].

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

Gandilhon, M. (2014b). Les précurseurs chimiques, dimension méconnue du marché mondial des drogues illicites. Drogues, enjeux internationaux. 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. (2016). Les jeunes dans les trafics de drogues illicites. In: Beck, F. (Ed.), Jeunes et addictions. OFDT, Saint-Denis.

Gandilhon, M. and Weinberger, D. (2016). Les Antilles françaises et la Guyane : sur les routes du trafic international de cocaïne [French Antilles and Guiana: on the international cocaine trafficking routes]. Drogues, enjeux internationaux. OFDT (9).

Gandilhon, M., Spilka, S. and Masson, C. (2019). Les mutations du marché du cannabis en France. Produits, approvisionnements, nouvelles pratiques. OFDT, Paris. Available: https://www.ofdt.fr/publications/collections/rapports/thema/les-mutations-du-marche-du-cannabis-en-france-thema/ [accessed 07/08/2019].

Gérome, C., Cadet-Taïrou, A., Gandilhon, M., Milhet, M., Martinez, M. and Néfau, T. (2018). Substances psychoactives, usagers et marchés : les tendances récentes (2017-2018). Tendances. OFDT (129).

INPS (2019). Bilan STUPS 2018. Institut national de police scientifique, Ecully.

MILDECA (2018). Alcool, tabac, drogues, écrans : Plan national de mobilisation contre les addictions 2018-2022 [Alcohol, tobacco, drugs, screens: National plan for mobilisation against addictions 2018-2022]. Mission interministérielle de lutte contre les drogues et les conduites addictives, Paris. Available: https://www.drogues.gouv.fr/la-mildeca/le-plan-gouvernemental/mobilisation-2018-2022 [accessed 19/06/2019].

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

OCRTIS (2019a). Prix et disponibilité des stupéfiants en France : tendances 2018. Note DEASRI. (04/2019 du 9 avril 2019).

OCRTIS (2019b). Bilan relatif à la cocaine. Note DEASRI (07/2018 du 29/05/2019).

OFDT (2019). Drogues, chiffres clés (8e édition) [Drugs, Key Data 2019]. OFDT, Paris. Available: https://www.ofdt.fr/publications/collections/periodiques/drogues-chiffres-cles/ [accessed 07/08/2019].

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.

UNODC (2018). World drug report 2018. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, New York. Available: https://www.unodc.org/wdr2019 [accessed 08/08/2018].

UNODC (2019). World drug report 2019. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, New York. Available: https://www.unodc.org/wdr2019 [accessed 08/08/2019].

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). These data indicate, among other things, the quantities of illegal drugs seized in France, the prices and 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, give 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 within the SINTES scheme contribute to the knowledge on the composition of the substances (see methodology below).

T5.2. 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.

National Criminal Record [*Casier judiciaire national*]
Ministry of Justice, Sub-Directorate for Statistics and Studies (SDSE)

Data from the National Criminal Record makes it possible to describe the punishable offences, the court order procedures, the diversity of responses provided by the courts (convictions imposed, but also alternatives to prosecution, fixed penalty notices, dismissal, etc.), the nature and quantum of sentences and the socio-demographic profile of people who have been convicted since 1984 (when the record was automated). The Criminal Record is based on a detailed classification, grouping around thirty offences into seven classes that are different from the police categories (regarding drug law offences (DLO)): use, possessing-procuring, trafficking, transport, supply and sale, helping others use and other DLO. Since 2017, the system for using the National Criminal Record and recording data has been undergoing a revision in order to improve the quality of conviction statistics. This revision concerns the determination of the main offence (a convicted person may be convicted of more than one offence), which is what the statistics are based on. The Ministry of Justice has been suggesting their data be revised since 1995 on this new basis.

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.

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