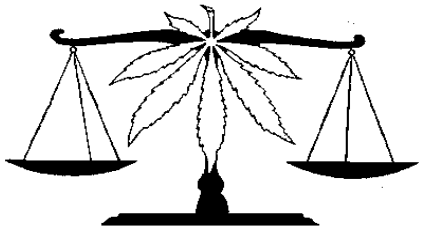
REGULAR USERS

Self-reported drug consumption patterns and attitudes towards drugs among 1333 regular cannabis users.

Matthew J. Atha BSc MSc & Sean Blanchard

INDEPENDENT DRUG



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M. J. Atha & S. Blanchard

Abstract

A sample of 1333 regular cannabis users, recruited from a pop festival, snowball samples and direct mailing, completed anonymous questionnaires about their use of all drugs.

The majority were daily cannabis users (up to 250g per month, mean 24.8g per month, mean spending £68.60, 6 joints per day). Although most users had tried other drugs, particularly hallucinogens and amphetamine, such use was typically experimental or occasional. Very few individuals were regular users of cocaine, heroin or crack Three quarters had tried LSD, just over half had tried ecstasy.

Use of most drugs was highest in the 20-30 age group. Men were heavier users of most drugs than women. This difference was greater in older age groups. Users under 20 would have first tried cannabis around 3 years earlier than users over 30. Use of all drugs except alcohol was consistently lower among students than employed or unwaged respondents. Those users who drove reported a level of accidents no higher than the general population, however those with the highest accident rates were more likely to be heavier poly-drug users.

Users convicted for cannabis offences had lower than expected incomes allowing for age, and would currently use more drugs significantly more often than those with clean records. If the proportion convicted is typical, an estimate of regular users would be around 2.75 million, consuming over 800 metric tonnes of cannabis products in a market worth £3.5 billion per year.

Cannabis prices are stable throughout the UK, with little regional difference, or differences between inner city or rural areas. The average 'street' price (for 1/8oz deals) was £4 to £4.30 per gram, varying according to variety, with 'skunk' an average £6 per gram. Moroccan cannabis resin is the most common variety. Home grown material may account for up to 20% of total UK consumption.

Respondents gave highly positive subjective ratings to cannabis, LSD, mushrooms and ecstasy, and highly negative ratings to solvents, crack cocaine and heroin. Higher ratings were associated with increased levels of use. A majority of those who reported health problems from cannabis also reported benefits. LSD was credited with the highest number of both 'best' and 'worst' drug experiences.

Key words

UK, regular use, cannabis, questionnaire, attitudes of drug users, self-reported effects, frequency of use, consumption, patterns of drug use, costs of use (legal drugs, LSD, psilocybin, amphetamine, cocaine, heroin, crack, ecstasy), demographic variables (age, sex, employment status etc.), cannabis market, prices, routes of administration, paraphernalia, plant cultivation, drug subcultures, purity, drug offences, driving.

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Future IDMU publications

In preparation:

Surveys of Cannabis users 1982-1984. (edited version of Quantitative Assessment of Illicit Substance Use - M.J.Atha 1987)

Regular Users II: UK Drugs Market Analysis, purchasing and prices - 1995-1997 data - consumption data repeated, monitoring changes in use and prevalence of other drugs, additional purchasing information, street prices of other drugs, drug advice & treatment.

Projects planned

Needle Exchange Survey - anonymous questionnaires, targeted at intravenous drug users, use of heroin, cocaine, amphetamine etc, assessing consumption, purchasing behaviour, criminality, financing drug habits, treatment and rehabilitation.

Coffee shops survey - Consumption survey targeted at cannabis users in the Netherlands, comparison with use patterns in UK, similar to current survey.

Cannabis growers survey - Survey targeted at growers of cannabis, distributed through hydroponic shops and publications

Defendants' survey - Distributed through participating solicitors to clients facing drugs charges.

The Independent Drug Monitoring Unit exists to undertake and publish independent research into current trends in drug usage, to provide impartial, up to date and accurate information on drug use to all sides of the drugs debate, and independent expert evidence for the criminal justice system. For further information, please write to:

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Introduction

There are a large number of surveys conducted in the UK which seek to estimate the prevalence of illicit drug use among the general population, and among specific groups such as schoolchildren. Very few studies have investigated how often those people take drugs, the amounts used, how many of those who experiment become regular consumers, or the users' attitudes to drugs. This is such a study.

This survey was conducted in the summer and autumn of 1994, at a time when concern about the increase in drug usage, particularly development of the dance/ ecstasy culture, and calls for legalisation of drugs, particularly cannabis, were increasing, as they have been ever since. Both sides of this debate use misinformation, exaggeration of potential dangers and/or benefits of use, and assumptions with a questionable factual basis to advance their arguments. The authors of this study do not seek to promote any particular approach, but rather to enable policy makers to formulate drug policy based on the best available information.

Several recent studies suggest that around 50% of 16-18 year olds have experimented with drugs, although any assessment of the extent of use is at best limited to recent use. Although general population studies, such as the British Crime Survey, attempt to assess prevalence of drug use, there may be reluctance to admit illegal behaviour to any face-to-face interviewer, or Government-sponsored questionnaire, despite assurances as to confidentiality, particularly where a name or address has been provided.

There is common confusion between the use of cannabis and of the other illegal drugs. It has been widely suggested, and equally widely refuted, that one leads to the others. There is also a wide range of opinion as to what levels of use, if any, are 'normal'. In most studies of drug use, 'regular users' are defined as those who take any drug once a week or more. The majority of respondents to this survey were regular users. This study investigated whether regular cannabis users are likely to take other drugs, and if so which drugs, and whether they are likely to continue taking them.

Anonymous questionnaires were used in order to avoid any potential tendency of respondents to conceal or exaggerate the level of their drug use. Alcohol users commonly underestimate their consumption when asked directly, compared to the actual amount consumed when recorded in a diary. While such a tendency may also appear among cannabis users, as a typical purchase pattern of cannabis would be a regular weight every few days or weeks, self-assessment of cannabis use should be easier than remembering numerous 'pints in the pub'.

The main aims of this study were:

(a) To show the patterns in which different drugs are used, and to make an assessment of the consumption of these drugs by assessing the average monthly costs of use.

(b) To describe the patterns of cannabis use among regular users, including how often it is used, how much is consumed, the methods used, and the costs of such consumption.

(c) To investigate the market in different types of cannabis, and to estimate the potential size and value of different market sectors from survey results and other indicators.

(d) To investigate the attitudes to and experiences of different drugs among cannabis users, and to what extent attitudes to or experiences with drugs are related to their use.

(e) To assess the driving records of cannabis users, to determine whether or not they are more likely to cause road traffic accidents than the general population.

(f) To assess the impact of drug policy on users, the proportion of regular users who have been arrested, and what effect, if any, this may have on their attitudes to drugs and levels of drug use.

(g) To investigate any link between use of different drugs and criminal behaviour.

(h) To investigate the extent to which age, sex and other demographic variables may influence drug use, and to assess the extent to which different parts of the country or different types of neighbourhood are associated with different levels of drug use or drug prices.

This is not a prevalence survey, and the results would not indicate the prevalence of drug use in the general population, or among those attending the event in question.

The study was designed to assess quantitatively the levels of drug consumption, particularly of cannabis, to assess the nature of the cannabis market, and the relationship between drug use and a range of demographic variables, and with other aspects of drug-using behaviour. This study also included questions on respondents' driving records, criminal convictions,, cultivation of cannabis and attitudes to a range of drugs, including different varieties of cannabis, the reasons for using cannabis, health problems and/or benefits, and the best and worst drug experiences of users.

Methodology

The survey was targeted at people who had “used cannabis or other drugs at least once” and distributed so as obtain the largest possible sample of regular drug users.

Respondents were asked to complete an anonymous questionnaire on both sides of a single sheet of A4 paper (see appendix). The design was kept straightforward and informal, asking respondents to give numeric or very short written responses, to mark multi-choice items, and to use a key (letters A-G) to describe frequency of consumption. The questions covered a number of demographic variables, the main identifiers being age, sex, area of residence and occupation. There were minor differences in some of the questions, with other questions omitted, in some of the sub-samples. In some cases the questions on cannabis prices were on a separate sheet, to give an even greater degree of anonymity; in others they were included on the main form. Each questionnaire issued bore a unique serial number for determination of source and response rates, and to allow identification of any batches of additional questionnaires photocopied and distributed by respondents in mini-snowball samples.

The survey repeated the methods of a similar study from 1984[1,2] in order to determine any changes in drug consumption of cannabis users within a comparable sample population.

Checks and balances were built in to the survey design, in particular ‘lie detector’ questions involving a fictitious drug 'Bliss' and a fictitious variety of cannabis 'OT'. Other questions were put in more than one way, such as cannabis use, purchase and monthly cost, as well as the number of joints smoked and rolled per day, and average frequency of use as well as most recent use of cannabis[3,4].

Whether respondents had ever taken particular drugs was not asked directly, but derived from the numbers of people who answered questions on age of first use, frequency, and spending.

Regular Users - Introduction

The year of first use of specific drugs was calculated by reference to age in 1994 and age at first use of each drug. To analyse frequency of drug use, respondents were allocated points for each drug, from zero (non-use) to 4 (daily use). These scores were aggregated to generate frequency indices for all drugs, all legal drugs, all illegal drugs, and all illegal drugs except cannabis. Market variables included estimating the market share, prices, and subjective ratings of different drugs, different cannabis varieties, and different methods of use. Respondents were also asked to 'rate' the various drugs, and the different varieties of cannabis. Other questions involved driving, best and/or worst drug experiences, contact with the law, and health problems and/or benefits.

The main study was conducted in summer 1994 at a major pop festival. A total of 2225 anonymous questionnaires were distributed from a "Hemp Information" marquee in a prime location in the middle of the festival site. The location was chosen to attract users of drugs in a non-threatening environment. The presentation and half of the questions were targeted at cannabis, which is the most commonly used illicit drug in the UK. To further improve compliance, the endorsement of organisations sympathetic to drug users was obtained, and prominently displayed on the questionnaire. Pens, writing surfaces, and seating areas were available to complete the questionnaires on the spot. Many respondents took forms away and subsequently returned them to the stall, or by post to a box number.

The larger festival sample was supplemented by smaller samples obtained from (a) postal returns from festivalgoers (b) snowball samples in London, Oxfordshire, Merseyside and Scotland, and (c) direct mailing to people connected with a pro-cannabis lobby group, and subscribers to a pro-cannabis magazine.

There were 1333 responses altogether, 1024 from the festival directly, 67 postal returns (total festival response rate 50% from 2200 forms distributed), 82 from snowball samples (response rate not calculable due to photocopied forms), and 160 returns from direct mail (13% response rate).

The sampling method, while not representative of all illicit drug users, nonetheless achieves a high proportion of regular and daily cannabis users, in order to monitor frequency and amount of consumption. Similar methods might be used to target regular users of other drugs. As the heavier consumers of any commodity account for a disproportionately large percentage of all sales of that commodity (the Lorenz distribution) it is possible to produce estimates of the trends and prices in the cannabis market. Patterns and levels of other drug use among some regular cannabis users can be described in detail.

Data from the questionnaires was coded into a Macintosh Computer using Microsoft Excel. Data analysis was performed via Excel and Statview/Graphics statistical package. Some variables were recoded, to amalgamate frequency of use data and source codes into broader categories, or to exclude rogue data points well outside a reasonable range.

Percentages given in the text have usually been rounded to 0.5%.

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There were 1333 responses to the survey: 68% of respondents were male, 32% female. Ages ranged from 15 to 68, with 21 the most common. The mean age was 25 years and two months, with no significant age difference between the sexes. They were overwhelmingly white; 88% gave their ethnic origin as 'White UK' and 10% as 'Other European'.

68% of respondents were employed, with an average income overall of £11, 592. Income increased with age by an average of £396 per year. 17% were unemployed. 6 people gave their occupations as drug dealer; their reported income was very close to the mean.

A quarter of our respondents were school or university students (the question did not distinguish between them). Students reported significantly lower levels of drug consumption than other drug users.

Nearly half of respondents were from the south of England, 3% were from abroad. The largest proportion, 39%, lived in towns, and 24% in inner cities. Around 5% had accommodations which could not be described as 'private accommodation', including travellers, homeless and hostel dwellers.

Compared with Home Office statistics for drugs convictions and cautions in 1994[5] this sample under-represents the under 20's by between one third and a half, and over-represents 20-30 year olds by between a quarter and a half, which was highly statistically significant. Our sample significantly under-represents ethnic minorities compared with the UK population, and with conviction statistics. However, it may be that those convicted are not a representative sample of all drug users, just as they are not of the general population. Some comparisons made here with the British Crime Survey (BCS) and Home Office statistics may be imprecise for reasons apart from the limitations of our sample. They only cover England and Wales, and the BCS did not reach the homeless, travellers, or those living in institutions such as student halls of residence[6]. Two recent studies of night-club goers wich adopted a similar targeted strategy to our study, achieving a near 100% sample of illicit drug users, are perhaps more appropriate comparisons [7],[8].

Some differences appeared in data gathered by the different sampling methods. Snowball samples included two separate groups of university students, reflected in the younger age and lower cannabis use than other samples. None of these had used barbiturates, tranquillisers or solvents, and they had high alcohol use. The direct mail respondents were significantly older than other groups, and had lower levels of use of legal drugs. The group returning festival questionnaires by post had higher levels of aggregate drug frequency. Although differences were not significant for individual drugs, when aggregated the differences between samples in overall frequency of drug use achieved statistical significance. The general similarity in responses indicates that the festival samples were not unrepresentative of regular cannabis users.

Table 1.1

Sex		
	n	**%**
Male	865	68.2
Female	405	31.8
No reply	71	

Table 1. 2 Ages in Summer/Autumn 1994 chart

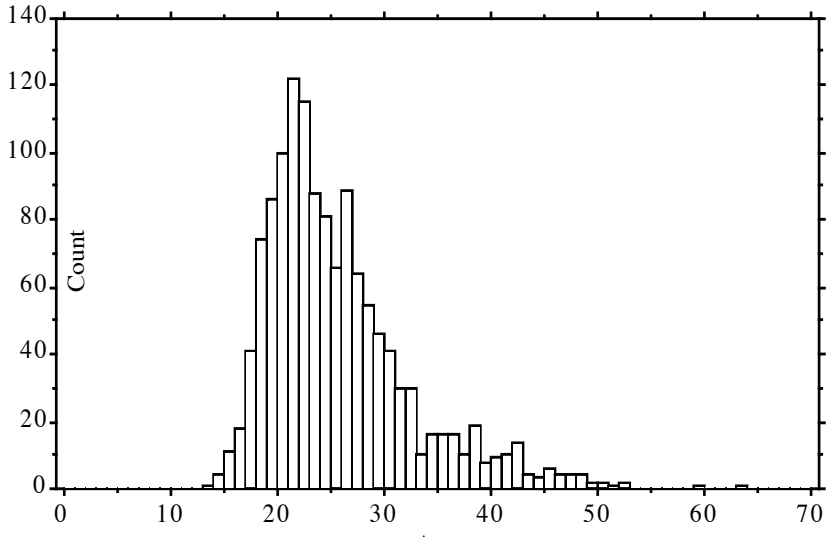

Table 1.3

Age groups - comparison with conviction/caution statistics					
Age group	**Number of convictions**	**% of arrests**	**Number of respondents**	**% of respondents**	**Survey / Conviction ratio**
<17	5299	6.83	34	2.57	0.38
17-20	23424	30.18	201	15.18	0.50
21-24	19204	24.75	506	38.22	1.54
25-29	14746	19.00	320	24.17	1.27
30+	14932	19.24	263	19.86	1.03
Total	77605	100.00	1324	100	1.00

Table 1.4 Income distribution of all respondents

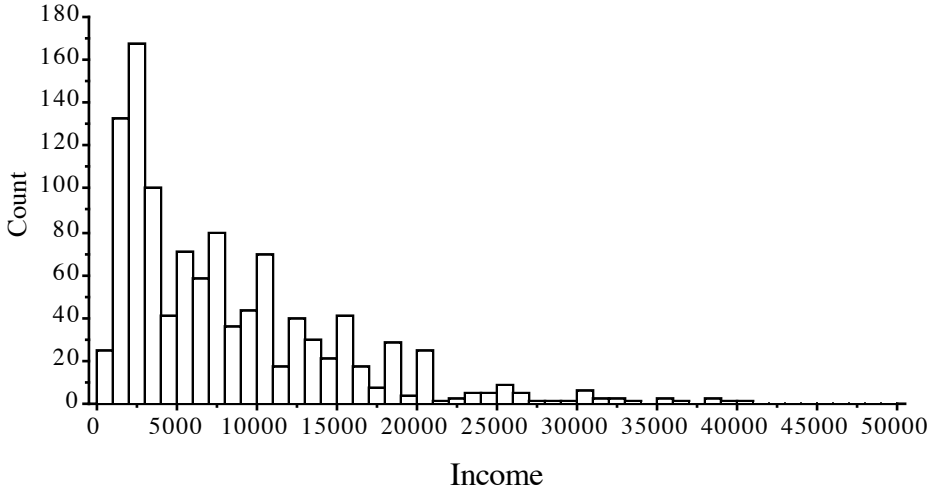

Table 1.5

Employment			
Occupational Group	***n***	**%**	**Av. Income**
Unemployed	231	17.32%	2710.54
Students	337	25.26%	3198.99
Retail/Catering	58	4.35%	7004.33
Artistic/Creative	85	6.37%	11976.41
Scientific/Technical	72	5.4%	12781.33
Computer	38	2.85%	14360.00
Health/Social Services	82	6.15%	11178.12
Administration/Office	84	6.3%	10387.12
Other Skilled Manual	106	7.95%	9568.15
Other Unskilled Manual	46	3.45%	7801.07
Professional/Managerial	57	4.27%	20331.48
Self-employed	51	3.82%	11591.24
Teacher/Education	27	2.02%	13626.67
Drug Dealer	6	0.45%	11666.00
Total Employed	904	67.8%	11591.84
Missing Values	54	4.05%	5539.75

Table 1.6

Ethnic Origin		
	n	**%**
White UK	1028	88.1
European	115	10.0
Afro-Caribbean	9	0.8
Asian	9	0.8
Other	30	0.3
Base	1191	Response Rate 97.6%
Missing	29	
No Question	113	

Table 1.7

Religion				
Religion	**Exclusive**	**With Others**	**Total**	**%**
Catholic	49	3	52	4.1
Church of England	97	6	103	8.1
Other Christian	55	7	62	4.9
Rastafarian	7	6	13	1.0
Muslim	3	2	5	0.4
Hindu	1	6	7	0.5
Buddhist	19	21	40	3.1
Jewish	9	3	12	0.9
Atheist	120	9	129	10.1
Agnostic	121	20	141	11.0
Humanist	85	18	103	8.1
Trans. Meditation	2	1	3	0.2
Pagan	82	25	107	8.4
None	378	12	390	30.5
Other	182	12	194	15.2
Base	1277	Due to multiple selections, percentages will not add up to 100.		
Missing	56			

Table 1.8

Region of Residence		
Region	***n***	**%**
London	208	16.3
South East	238	18.6
South West	186	14.5
East Anglia	74	5.8
Midlands	166	13.0
Wales	62	4.8
Yorks/Humbs	74	5.8
North West	137	10.7
North East	40	3.1
Scotland	56	4.4
Ireland	3	0.2
Europe	20	1.6
Rest of World	16	1.3
Base	1280	Response Rate
Missing	61	95.5%

Table 1.9

Type of Neighbourhood		
Area	***n***	**%**
Inner City	305	24.0
Suburban	245	19.3
Town	490	38.6
Rural	230	18.1
Base	1270	Response Rate
Missing	63	95.3%

Table 1.10

Accommodation		
Type	***n***	**%**
Council	106	8.2
Owner Occupier	226	17.5
Private Rented	520	40.2
Housing Assoc.	45	3.5
Live with Parents	286	22.1
Bedsit	29	2.2
Squat	5	0.4
Traveller	21	1.6
Hostel	5	0.4
Bed & Breakfast	3	0.2
Other	49	3.8
Base	1295	Response Rate
Missing	48	97.1%

Only one respondent classed himself as homeless, although several of the "other" responses were from individuals with no fixed abode. A proportion of the "other" responses were students in halls of residence.

Regular Users - Section 1 - Demographics

Table 1.11

Drug Use by Sampling Method					
Variable	**Pop Festival**	**Festival Postal Returns**	**Snow-ball samples**	**Direct Mailings**	***p***
Age	24.4	27.2	25.0	29.5	<.0001
Income	8198	7476	7788	8231	n.s.
Years Driving	6.8	9.1	6.0	9.4	<.0001
Monthly Cannabis Use(g)	27.2	29.39	26.1	26.24	n.s.
Monthly Cannabis Purchase(g)	63.8	33.25	28.08	33.25	n.s.
Spliffs smoked/day	5.91	7.93	5.94	5.51	<.05
Spliffs rolled/day	5.15	6.12	4.77	4.71	n.s.
Pipes smoked per day	2.18	3.14	2.65	3.1	n.s.
Monthly Spending (£)†					
Tea/Coffee††	5.87	7.05	5.69	6.64	n.s.
Tobacco	22.13	24.98	23.65	26.26	n.s.
Alcohol	31.48	30.77	51.52	35.27	p<.005
All Legal drugs	57.68	61.31	79.12	63.61	p<.05
Cannabis #1 (£)¥¥	84.34	83.23	46.00	71.56	n.s.
Cannabis #2 (£)†¥¥	62.87	72.65	47.62	63.83	n.s.
LSD	2.38	1.72	1.13	1.35	n.s.
Mushrooms	0.44	0.12	0.12	0.19	n.s.
Ecstasy (MDMA)	7.28	6.02	5.94	6.41	n.s.
Other Psychedelics	0.30	0.83	0	0.28	n.s.
Amphetamine	5.35	6.50	4.32	7.25	n.s.
Cocaine*†††	3.75	3.61	1.04	11.56	n.s.
Crack	2.79	0.15	0	2.34	n.s.
Heroin	5.81	2.12	0.24	3.03	n.s.
Barbiturate	0.02	0.30	0	0.14	p<.05
Tranquillisers	0.11	0	0	0.12	n.s.
Solvents	0.10	0.11	0	0.47	n.s. p.06
All illicit (exc. cannabis)†††	28.33	21.48	12.80	33.16	n.s.
All Drugs†††	148.88	155.44	139.55	160.6	n.s.
Aggregate Freq. Index¥					
All Legal drugs	8.97	8.91	8.91	6.97	p<.0001
Cannabis	3.25	3.43	3.3	3.41	n.s.
All illicit drugs (exc. cannabis)	5.24	6.79	5.39	6.46	p<.001
All Drugs	17.34	19.09	17.61	16.77	n.s.
Cigarettes smoked per day	9.51	8.0	8.2	9.23	n.s.
Cups tea/coffee per day	5.06	6.03	4.08	5.93	p<.0005
Units Alcohol per week	19.05	13.74	21.92	18.65	n.s.

* Significant at <.05

† Blank responses treated as zero spending.

†† Blank responses ignored - Question not asked on 113 questionnaires.

††† Spending: 1 respondent spending >£20, 000 excluded.

** Cocaine: Frequency significant (<.05) with postal returns showing highest and festival sample lowest average frequency of cocaine use.

¥ Aggregate frequency scores for each drug listed:
0 - non user or blank, 1 - experimental use, 2 - occasional use, 3 -regular use, 4 -daily use.

¥¥ Cannabis Spending: Two questions, #1 with monthly cannabis use and purchase; #2 with monthly spending on all other drugs.

Section 2 - Use of All Drugs

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Fifteen drugs were listed on the questionnaire; tea/coffee (combined), tobacco, alcohol, cannabis, LSD, 'magic' mushrooms, ecstasy, amphetamine, cocaine, crack, heroin, barbiturates, tranquillisers, solvents, 'other psychedelics' and the fictional 'Bliss' as a control. Some respondents specified their other psychedelics - those they had tried included mescaline, DMT, Ketamine, Bromo-STP, and several types of hallucinogenic mushroom other than European psilocybin.

Respondents were asked the age they first used each drug, rather than whether they ever had, as a way of tracking the historical sequences of their drug taking.

For all drugs there was a choice of seven usage levels suggested, from 'used once' to 'more than daily', plus 'never used, and don't intend to' 'never used, but might try it', 'never heard of it', and 'no longer use it'. Only one option was logged for each response.

For most tables of variations in frequency of use, the 'daily' and 'more than daily' responses from Table 2.1 were merged as 'daily'. The 'regular but not weekly' and the 'weekly but not daily' were combined as 'regular use', and the 'used once' and 'used under 10 times' as 'experimental use'. This makes comparisons with other studies on specific drugs more coherent.

Since this study was directed at people who had "used cannabis or other illegal drugs at least once", it is not surprising that cannabis was by far the most commonly tried illegal drug, used at some time by 99.6% of all respondents, and 95.3% within the previous week, which makes them 'regular drug users' in the terminology of most studies.

LSD was the second most popular illegal drug ever used, tried at least once by 76%, with mushrooms tried by 69.5 % and amphetamines third at 68%. Half had tried ecstasy and 42% cocaine. 14.5% had tried heroin, and 9% crack. These figures are all much higher than in the general population. Of the 1992 British Crime Surveys' reported 14% who had ever used cannabis, 6% had also ever tried any other illegal drugs - 43% of cannabis users.

Legal Drugs

Daily use of tea/coffee and tobacco plus regular use of alcohol were the most common patterns, daily users would spend on average £5 per month on tea & coffee, £32 on tobacco, and £66 on alcohol (regular users £38). Mean consumption was 5.1 cups per day of tea and coffee, 9 cigarettes per day, and 19 units of alcohol per week.

A proportion of respondents may have been prescribed tranquillisers or depressants, others may have obtained them illicitly, which will distort the frequency of use and amounts spent. These were viewed negatively by most respondents, with few regular users.

Not surprisingly, since barbiturates are no longer widely available, lifetime use was much more prevalent among older respondents, although awareness was low in general.

Around one in five respondents had experimented with solvent abuse, but very few had continued beyond experimentation.

Cannabis

All but 10 respondents had used cannabis at least once, and of those 6 were willing to try it. 198 people, around 15%, had never used any illegal drug except cannabis. The overall mean monthly cannabis use of the respondents was 24.8g per month, around 7/8 of an ounce. Consumption of cannabis by daily users averaged 34.8g per month, with mean purchase of 64.3g per month. Average spending was £68.90. The maximum accepted personal consumption was 200-250g, or 7-9oz per month (10 respondents). Although one user claimed to consume 4kg this was discounted as invalid, in view of the inconsistent responses to other questions. Most of the data on cannabis is discussed elsewhere in this report (see sections 4 & 5).

The levels of cannabis use were on average slightly lower than those found by the authors in a similar 1984 population, and lower than in the study by McBride[9]. Part of the apparent decrease results from asking how much is used, rather than bought, in an average month; the mean amount purchased increased by nearly 50% from 29.3g to 43.6g per month.

Heroin

Only nine people reported daily heroin use out of a total sample of 1333 users of controlled drugs. Their average reported monthly spending on heroin was £369.44, although five individuals spent over £500 per month. The average would equate to a £10 bag per day, and the heaviest of these users would be using up to half a gram per day (Table 2.2). 192 people had ever tried it, around 14% of the whole sample. It is not likely that the survey, at a rural pop festival where supplies of the drug would be uncertain and/or expensive, would have provided a representative sample of heroin users. In the Release drugs and dance survey 18% of respondents at dance events had ever used heroin, and Brannigan et al found 13% in similar circumstances. In our 1984 survey 23% had used heroin, with 0.5% (3 respondents) reporting daily heroin use.

Cocaine and Crack

This study suggests that the majority of cocaine users are experimental, i.e. had used the drug less than 10 times (59%), or occasional (38%), using the drug less than weekly, often for special occasions. Fourteen respondents (3% of cocaine users) considered themselves regular or daily users, spending an average of just over £60 per month. Five reported spending in excess of £200, and two in excess of £1000 per month on the drug, equivalent to one to two ounces of the drug per month. One person claimed to spend £21,000 on the drug each month, although in view of his other responses, this was not considered to be for personal use.

A small minority had used crack (119 respondents - 18% of the number of cocaine users, or 7% of the total sample of drug users), all except one of whom were experimental or occasional users. The majority (67%) of crack users had used the drug less than 10 times. Although most forms were distributed at a pop festival, which heavy users of crack may not frequent, 8 of the reported crack users came from a subsample of 12 respondents recruited from a drugs advice agency.

Amphetamine

Most of those who had used amphetamine were occasional (63%) or experimental (30%) users of the drug. The 14 daily users (2%) spent on average £86.43 per month (equivalent to 10g-30g at gram/ounce prices) with the heaviest of these spending £300 to £500 per month

on the drug, equivalent to 85g-500g at ounce/kilo prices (3g to 17g per day).

In the present authors' 1984 survey, the heaviest spending was over £100 per month, when average purity was closer to 20% and at a similar price before inflation[10]. More 1984 respondents had injected amphetamine than heroin. There was no question on injecting in this survey. These surveys would under-represent heavier users due to the relatively small numbers involved.

Klee & Morris[11] found that 17% of injecting amphetamine users surveyed reported spending over £150 per week on the drug. This would be equivalent to 10-30 grams. Of amphetamine injectors, 2% spent over £300 per week, most probably 3 to 4 ounces (84 to 112g), representing 12-16 grams per day of street quality material. In 1985, Caplin & Woodward[12] found that 11% of primary amphetamine users spent over £200 per week on the drug, with 3% spending over £250. Oral consumption of up to 8 grams per day is reported by ISDD[13]. Those figures are broadly consistent with the heaviest users in this survey. Reported dosages from the literature must be qualified by the purity of the amphetamine. Typically street quality 'speed' can be under 5% amphetamine powder. Intravenous use of such low purity material would entail severe health risks from the contaminants[14],[15].

Ecstasy

The survey found 14% of the drug users questioned used ecstasy on a more or less weekly basis, with 3% doing so more often. Occasional or experimental use was the norm. Just over 50% of respondents had ever used the drug. Regular users spent an average £88 per month on ecstasy, equivalent to 5-11 tablets per month.

The highest levels of use over a single day were reported in the USA by Beck et al[16] where respondents referred to friends who used 900mg in one sitting, plus a college student who claimed to have used 1.25g (equivalent to 10-15 tablets) over a 24 hour period. A further long-term user would binge on a total of 1.5g (13-18 tablets) an evening or weekend. The effective limit on bingeing would appear to be 2-3 days, after which a long recuperation would be required. In the UK, ISDD[17] report weekend dosages of up to 20 tablets, and some cases of daily use over 3 to 4 weeks.

LSD

Roughly three quarters of the sample had ever tried LSD; one in eight would consider themselves to be regular, but not weekly users. Only 2.2%, 29 people, used LSD weekly or more often. Very few individuals in this survey would use hallucinogens on a daily basis, although some may sustain daily use over a limited period. The questioning of individuals during a pop festival where LSD was available (despite the attentions of site security), may well have somewhat over-represented the number of daily users.

In our 1984 survey, out of 609 respondents, some 374 had used LSD (61%), 163 on less than ten occasions, and most (203) on an occasional basis. Only 8 (<1%) then used the drug weekly or more often, with two daily users. This compares with a 1971 US study of drug use among arrestees, which suggested that among the 269 subjects who had ever used psychedelic drugs (not specified) 35 (13%) used these drugs daily, and a further 21% weekly or more often[18]. Arrestees may be unrepresentative of LSD users - consuming the drug in a more chaotic, and hence visible, manner would make the user more liable to arrest than someone using the drug quietly in his/her own home or at a pop festival - and the unspecific definition of psychedelic drugs in that study may well refer to cannabis in addition to the true hallucinogens. In the Release drugs and dance survey, 78% of respondents at dance events had ever used LSD. Brannigan et al, for the London Dance Safety Campaign, found 41%.

'Magic' Mushrooms

Most users consume mushrooms occasionally, monthly or sometimes weekly, although both this survey and the 1984 survey found individual users who may consume mushrooms several times per week, particularly when in season. Estimating mushroom consumption is limited by the fact that users do not normally buy them, but pick them from the wild. This makes the monthly spending data virtually irrelevant.

Grinspoon[19] suggests that the effects of psilocybin become noticeable at a dose of 4-6mg, with the usual dose being 10-20mg, or 5 to 10 grams of dried mushroom. Cooper[20] states that dried Psilocybe Semilanceata contains 0.1 to 0.4 % psilocybin, and up to 0.2% psilocin, and concluded that 30-40g of fresh, or 5g of dry mushrooms would be required to produce an average active dose of 6mg. By these calculations, 5 to 20 grams would be required to produce a high (20mg) dose of psilocybin and psilocin. Although a novice user might consume 30-50 mushrooms to produce a 'trip', many experienced users claim to have consumed several hundred mushrooms at a single sitting. As tolerance develops to the effects over the short-term, those using mushrooms more often than weekly will need substantially higher, and increasing, doses to produce the desired effects.

Progression from cannabis to other drugs

Although a majority of respondents had tried drugs other than cannabis, most had only done so a few times. Among the addictive drugs, only tobacco showed a majority of users who'd ever tried it still consuming daily or more often. Among the 192 respondents who had tried heroin, 53% had used the drug either once or less than ten times, (commonly described as ‘experimental use’), and 11.5% ‘occasionally’. 21% more said they had ceased using it. Under 5% of those who’d ever tried it - 9 people - used heroin daily or more often. For cocaine it was only 5 users, under 1% of those who’d tried it - 54% had experimented under 10 times, 26% occasionally, and 9% had stopped. Crack had 60% ‘experimental’ use, 15% occasional and only one daily user. Amphetamines had 27% experimental, 36.5% occasional and 11.5% ex-users, to 1.5% daily users. The most rejected drug was barbiturates, no longer used by 29% who ever had, and under 10 times ever by 45% more. Solvents, tranquillisers, heroin, and crack all showed that aprox. 21% of those who’d ever tried them said they no longer used them (Table 2.1).

A fictitious drug, 'Bliss', was added to the questions as a control. 20 people claimed to have experienced Bliss, only one regularly. This was probably a stoned joke. 337 had never heard of it, 673 left the question blank. Since the survey was conducted some reports have indicated that a drug or variant known as 'Bliss' has appeared on the UK market, believed to be an analogue or 'brand' of LSD. This indicates the difficulty of devising bogus yet convincing names of fictional drugs for the purpose of survey validation.

Among those who had not tried the various drugs, 'never used - don't intend to' outnumbered 'not used yet (but might)' for all drugs except mushrooms and cannabis. The highest 'would never use' figures were for crack, heroin, and solvents. The most popular drugs not yet tried were 'magic' mushrooms (28% of non-users), ecstasy and LSD (19%), other psychedelics, and cocaine. Fewer non-users would consider using amphetamine (5%), crack (4%), heroin (3%) or solvents (less than 1%).

The low 'never heard of this drug' figures indicate respondents had a wide general level of knowledge of the drug scene. Bliss and barbiturates were the only drugs any significant number were ignorant of. Barbiturates are no longer widely available, so this may be age-related, but may also be distorted by using the formal rather than street names, as also with 'heroin' rather than ‘smack’, 'skag,' etc., and possibly crack, also known as 'rocks'.

Approximately half of all respondents did not answer the questions about use levels of 'other psychedelics', crack, bliss, barbiturates, tranquillisers, solvents or heroin.

When scores for the frequency of use of each drug were correlated, the highest coefficient was between LSD and mushrooms, with high correlations between amphetamines and LSD and ecstasy, and ecstasy and LSD and cocaine. Cannabis correlated to a lesser degree with mushrooms, LSD and ecstasy (Table 2.4).

We found no evidence for progression from regular cannabis use to regular use of any other drug, though there appears to be some for a progression to experimental use, particularly with hallucinogens. Responses on Bliss show that 3% of those who answered might be willing to experiment with this completely unknown, in fact non-existent, substance, and 44% would never do so. Responses for heroin and crack from those who had never used them indicate 92% would never try them, and 0.7% might do so. Well publicised dangers and low social acceptability seem to be better deterrents than ignorance of drugs.

Spending

The highest spending on drugs was by the very small numbers of daily or more frequent heroin users, at nearly £370 per month. However, there were not enough daily users of cocaine or crack to make a comparison. Cannabis spending was second highest among daily users, at £96/month. Among the 'regular but not daily' users, heroin and ecstasy were the drugs costing users most, at £85/month, with cocaine costing £61, alcohol £38, and cannabis £32/month (Table 2.2).

Cannabis accounted for 42% of all the money spent on all drugs per month, the market share. The legal drugs, alcohol and tobacco, accounted for 37% more (Table 2.3).

We found very few significant regional variations in frequencies of use of any drug, and their significance was small (Table 2.5). This differs from the 1992 British Crime Survey, which found the percentage who had ever used cannabis significantly higher among people living in London, but few regional variations in use of other drugs. This may suggest frequency of use to be independent of prevalence in any area.

History of Drug Use

The first illegal use of drugs for a majority was under-age tobacco and/or alcohol use, which both commonly began between ages 12-14. The peak age of initial use was 15-16 for cannabis, 15-18 for the psychedelics and amphetamine, and 18-20 for heroin, cocaine and crack. Only crack and ecstasy had large numbers who first tried them after the age of 25 - possibly because these drugs were not widely available in the UK when they were younger.

The view has been expressed that many of today's cannabis users became involved in the 1960's and early '70s when cannabis use had a particular ideological significance (Mott 1984)[21]. However, although 20% of respondents were aged over 30, the highest number were between 20 and 24. This may be an artefact of the sampling procedure due to the average ages of festival goers, however it roughly matches the British Crime Survey data that drug taking was highest among 16 to 29 year olds. The peak age of initiation to cannabis use is 16, and most who do so will have tried the drug before 20 years of age. The peak years of initiation were 1989-92, though it is probable that those who first used the drug more recently are under represented with the apparent tail off in 1992-4 being a sampling artefact. The peak years of first use for all other drugs except alcohol and tobacco were in the 1990's.

The numbers of people who first used cannabis in any given year between 1973-91, and the numbers convicted or cautioned for cannabis offences in the same years, correlate very closely ($p < 0.0001$, $r = 0.89$)[22]. More people started using in the years when more legal action took place. Both might be linked to availability, both police and aspiring users finding cannabis easier to get hold of in some years. Whatever the cause of these simultaneous trends, the close correlation seems to indicate that naïve users are not deterred by police action against their peers.

Drug use and Employment Status

Students, the most commonly used sub-population in drugs studies, consistently use less of all drugs except alcohol, on average, and spend less on them, than employed or unwaged people. Students users smoke less cannabis, roll less joints, and pay more for what they use per gram. This does not seem to be income - related, as the unwaged reported lower incomes on average, yet took more drugs overall. The unwaged were on average the most frequent users of the legal drugs, amphetamines, and heroin. They were less likely to use ecstasy than workers. Otherwise, we found no significant differences between the employed and unemployed. Among the 69% who were employed, we found no significant differences in patterns of use related to type of employment. Those who refused or failed to state their occupation tended on average to be higher users of all drugs (Table 2.7).

On the basis of these results, findings from studies of student drug use cannot easily be extrapolated to describe all drug users.

Regular Users - Section 2 - Use of All Drugs

Table 2.1

Frequency of use - all drugs					
Frequency of use	**Tea/ Coffee**	**Tobacco**	**Alcohol**	**Cann-abis**	**LSD**
Used Once	11	20	4	13	50
Used less than 10 times	17	34	24	21	254
Used occasionally	40	72	84	66	375
Use regularly < weekly	40	61	237	156	169
Use Weekly < daily	72	106	628	274	17
Use Daily	424	419	169	398	6
Use several times/ day	511	424	62	335	6
Former Users	23	88	53	15	134
Would try it	2		1	6	62
Would never use	10	24	1	4	81
Never heard of drug					1
Missing Values	70*	85	70	45	178
Total Users	1138	1224	1261	1278	1011
% of total sample	93.3	91.8	94.6	95.9	75.8

Frequency of use	**Mush-rooms**	**Ecstasy**	**Other Psych.**	**Amphet-amine**	**Cocaine**	**Crack**
Used Once	104	95	46	63	113	36
Used less than 10 times	290	189	89	178	192	35
Used occasionally	335	166	54	331	151	18
Use regularly < weekly	111	130	20	178	44	4
Use Weekly < daily	4	37	1	41	9	
Use Daily		3	2	8	1	
Use several times/day	3	2	3	6	4	1
Former Users	80	52	35	105	53	25
Would try it	112	125	155	20	103	43
Would never use	75	208	218	140	249	543
Never heard of drug	1	1	22	1	1	2
Missing Values	218	325	688	264	413	626
Total Users	927	674	250	908	567	119
% of total sample	69.5	50.6	18.8	68.1	42.4	8.9

Frequency of use	**Heroin**	**'Bliss'**	**Barbit-urates**	**Tranquil-lisers**	**Solvents**
Used Once	54	3	28	30	47
Used less than 10 times	48	3	54	74	59
Used occasionally	22	2	35	51	24
Use regularly < weekly	12		7	10	6
Use Weekly < daily	7		3	7	2
Use Daily	2		1	4	3
Use several times/day	7	1	1	4	1
Former Users	40	11	52	50	100
Would try it	39	20	53	36	8
Would never use	497	283	455	448	477
Never heard of drug	7	337	28	4	6
Missing Values	598	673	616	605	600
Total Users	192	20	181	240	242
% of total sample	14.4	1.5	13.6	18.0	18.2

Table 2.2

Monthly Drug Spending by Frequency of Use					
Tea/Coffee	***n***	**avg. (£)**	**Tobacco**	***n***	**avg. (£)**
Non/ ex users/ No response	219	**0.78**	Non/ ex users/ No response	198	**3.03**
Experimental	28	**2.48**	Experimental	54	**6.22**
Occasional	80	**1.98**	Occasional	133	**9.01**
Regular	72	**1.82**	Regular	106	**9.84**
Daily	935	**4.99**	Daily	843	**32.44**
	p<.0001			p<.0001	
Alcohol	***n***	**avg. (£)**	**Cannabis**	***n***	**avg. (£)**
Non/ex users/ No response	126	**5.63**	Non/ex users/ No response	71	**12.39**
Experimental	28	**14.07**	Experimental	34	**19.51**
Occasional	321	**12.17**	Occasional	222	**14.76**
Regular	628	**37.96**	Regular	274	**32.10**
Daily	231	**66.43**	Daily	733	**96.56**
	p<.0001			p<.005	
LSD	***n***	**avg. (£)**	**Mushrooms**	***n***	**avg. (£)**
Non/ex users/ No response	457	**0.40**	Non/ex users/ No response	487	**0.22**
Experimental	304	**0.93**	Experimental	394	**1.59**
Occasional	544	**3.98**	Occasional	446	**0.56**
Regular	17	**8.82**	Regular	4	**-**
Daily	12	**8.46**	Daily	3	**-**
	p<.0001			n.s.	
Ecstasy	***n***	**avg. (£)**	**Other Psychedelic**	***n***	**avg. (£)**
Non/ex users/ No response	712	**0.37**	Non/ex users/ No response	1119	**0.06**
Experimental	284	**3.06**	Experimental	135	**0.70**
Occasional	296	**17.93**	Occasional	74	**3.20**
Regular	37	**85.27**	Regular	1	**0**
Daily	5	**34.00**	Daily	5	**0**
	p<.0001			p<.0001	

Table 2.2 (cont.)

Monthly Drug Spending by Frequency of Use

Amphetamine	***n***	avg. (£)
Non/ex users/ No response	531	1.62
Experimental	241	1.68
Occasional	507	7.67
Regular	41	27.59
Daily	14	86.43
	p<.0001	

Crack	***n***	avg. (£)
Non/ex users/ No response	1240	2.19
Experimental	71	2.06
Occasional	22	17.73
Regular	0	-
Daily	1	0
	n.s.	

Barbiturates	***n***	avg. (£)
Non/ex users/ No response	1205	0.04
Experimental	82	0.12
Occasional	42	0.88
Regular	3	3.33
Daily	2	-
	p<.0001	

Solvents	***n***	avg. (£)
Non/ex users/ No response	1192	0.06
Experimental	106	0.14
Occasional	30	3.07
Regular	2	2.50
Daily	4	3.75
	p<.0001	

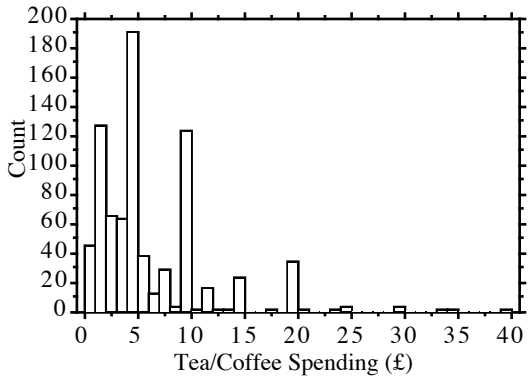
Cocaine	***n***	avg. (£)
Non/ex users/ No response	820 (819)	27.66* (2.05)
Experimental	305	1.93
Occasional	195	16.44
Regular	9	60.56
Daily	5	-
	n.s.	

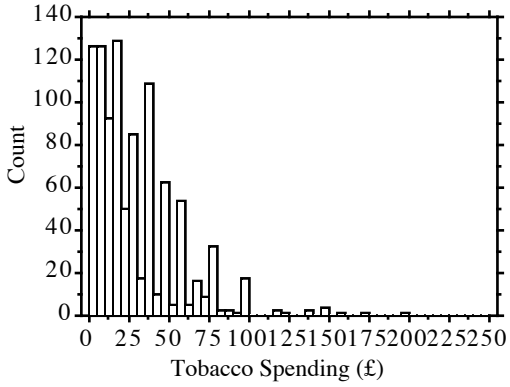
Heroin	***n***	avg. (£)
Non/ex users/ No response	1182	1.56
Experimental	102	4.66
Occasional	34	10.59
Regular	7	84.43
Daily	9	369.44
	p<.0001	

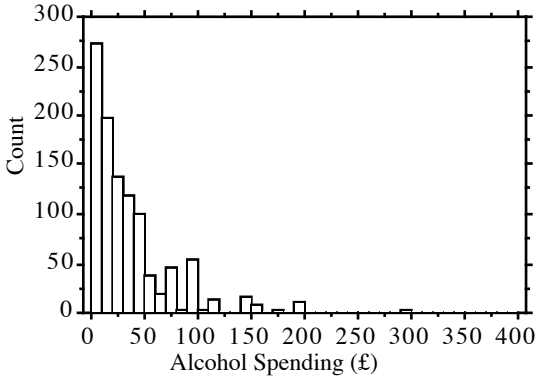
Tranquillisers	***n***	avg. (£)
Non/ex users/ No response	1154	0.01
Experimental	104	0.24
Occasional	61	1.25
Regular	7	2.89
Daily	8	0.44
	p<.0001	

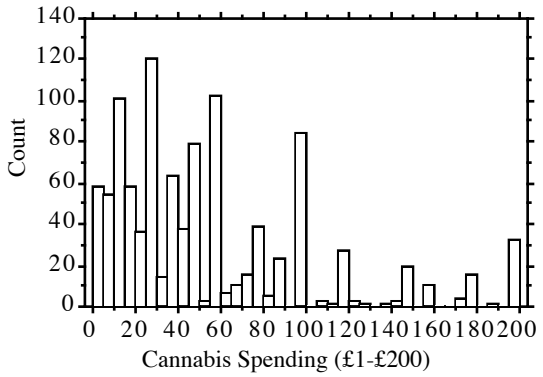
* Includes non-using dealer spending £21,000 per month on cocaine

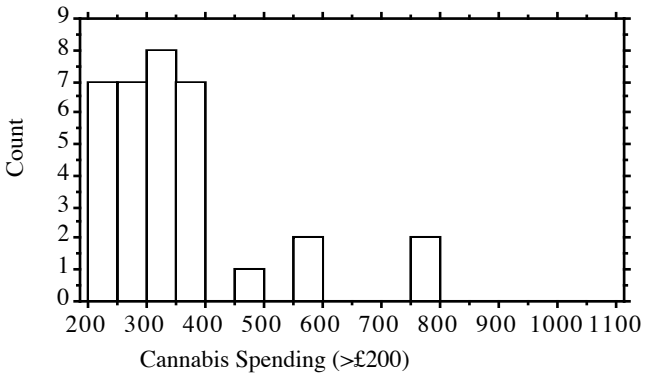
Table 2.3 Monthly Spending Histograms

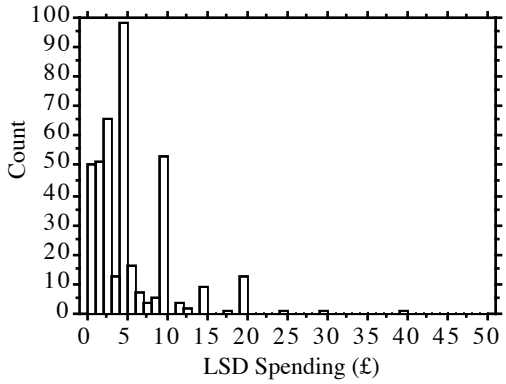












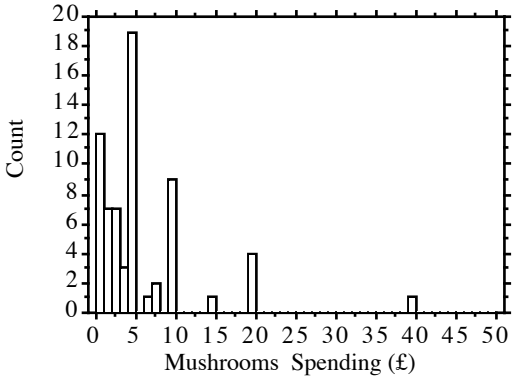
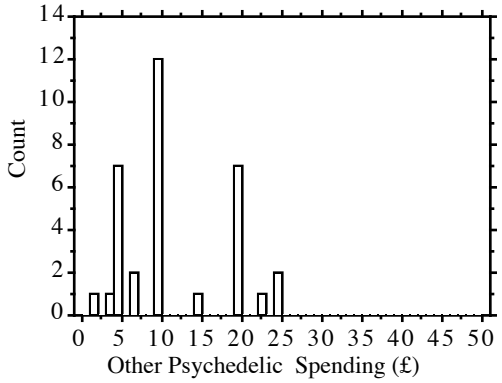
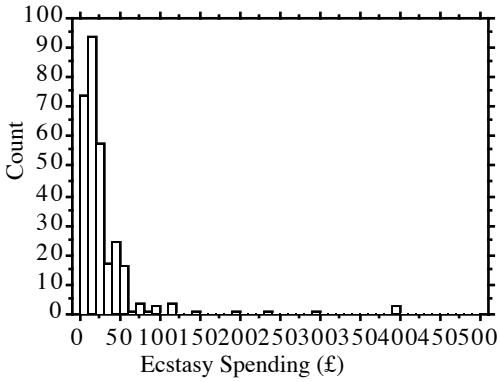
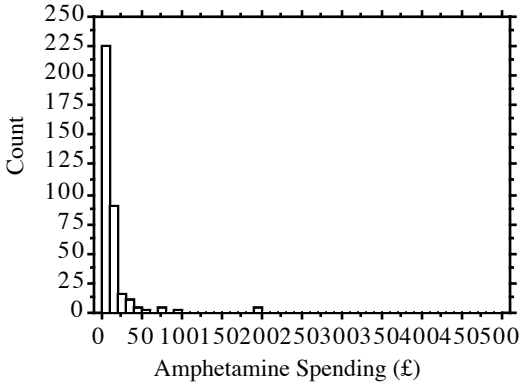
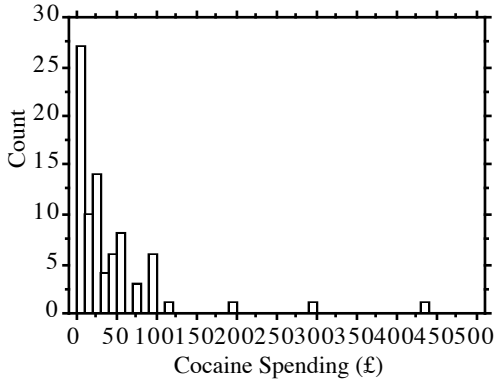


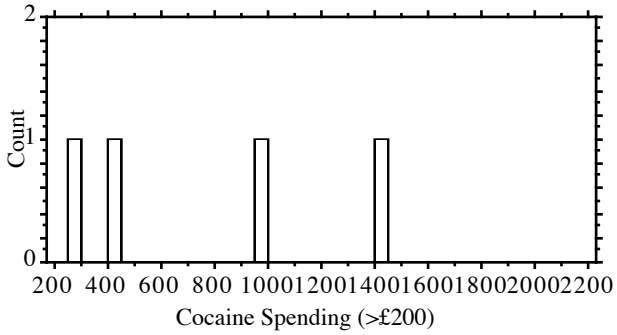
Table 2.3 (cont.) Monthly Spending Histograms











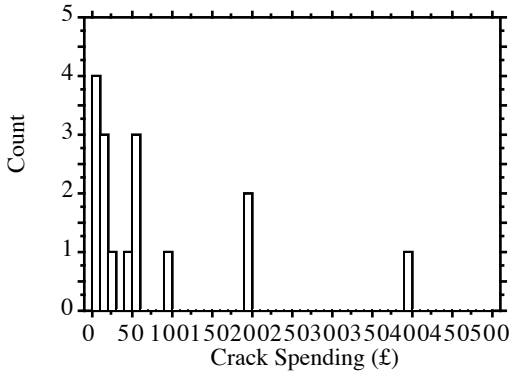
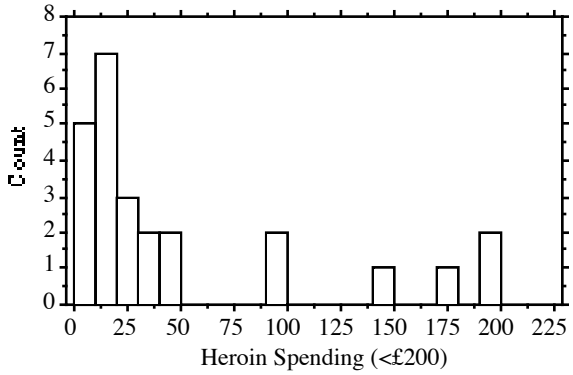
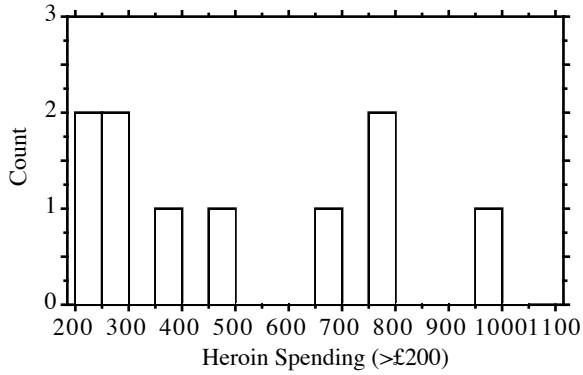
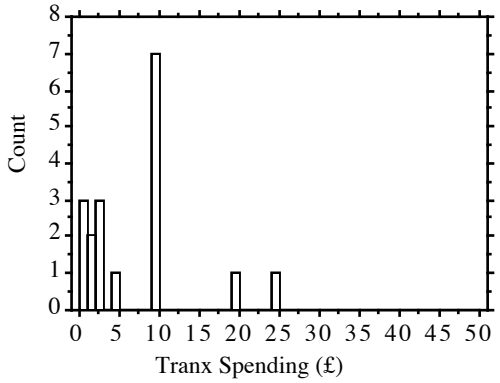
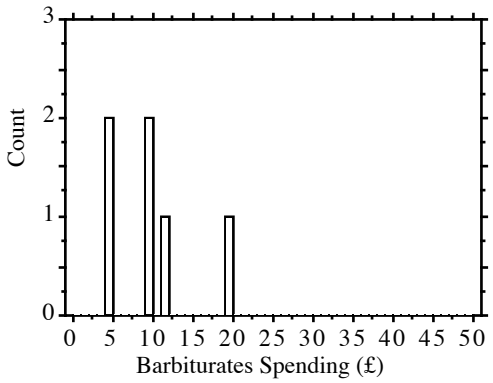


Table 2.3 (cont.) Monthly Spending Histograms









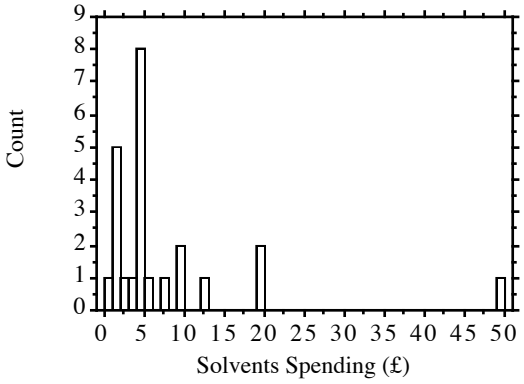


Table 2.4

Market Shares of different drugs (% of total monthly spending on all drugs)	
Drug	**% of total spending by all users**
Tea/Coffee	2.58
Tobacco	15.23
Alcohol	22.06
Cannabis	41.67
LSD	1.44
Mushrooms	0.25
Ecstasy	4.71
Other Psychedelic	0.19
Amphetamine	3.70
Cocaine	3.04
Crack	1.64
Heroin	3.30
'Bliss'	0.00
Barbiturates	0.02
Tranquillisers	0.07
Solvents	0.09
Grand Total	£196,804.45

Table 2.5

Correlation Matrix - Frequencies of Drug Use															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Tea/ Coffee	1														
2. Tobacco	.28	1													
3. Alcohol	.22	.26	1												
4. Cannabis	.21	.38	.17	1											
5. LSD	.07	.25	.17	.36	1										
6. Mush–rooms	.09	.20	.14	.36	.56	1									
7. Ecstasy	.06	.17	.13	.29	.40	.34	1								
8. Other Psych.	.02	.04	.07	.06	.22	.25	.21	1							
9. Amphet.	.09	.26	.11	.30	.46	.39	.47	.17	1						
10. Cocaine	-.02	.15	.07	.25	.32	.34	.40	.22	.35	1					
11. Crack	-.05	.06	-.03	.11	.19	.18	.22	.23	.15	.34	1				
12. Heroin	.01	.12	-.003	.13	.15	.20	.16	.17	.17	.35	.48	1			
13. Barb–iturates	.02	.08	.04	.08	.17	.17	.17	.26	.19	.25	.21	.41	1		
14. Tranx	.04	.07	.04	.08	.11	.13	.16	.25	.24	.20	.19	.31	.45	1	
15 Solvents	.03	.11	.06	.10	.13	.14	.09	.10	.16	.11	.09	.17	.20	.19	1

Table 2.6

Regional Variations in Frequencies of Drug Use							
Region		**Tea/Coffee**		**Tobacco**		**Alcohol**	
	n	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Mean**	**S.D.**
London	207	3.24	1.42	3.14	1.45	2.64	1.05
South East	237	3.11	1.53	3.06	1.47	2.67	1.09
South West	185	3.41	1.25	3.01	1.41	2.58	1.06
East Anglia	74	3.15	1.50	2.97	1.56	2.70	1.03
Midlands	166	3.32	1.32	3.05	1.42	2.66	1.02
Wales	61	2.95	1.52	3.08	1.36	2.62	0.97
Yorks/Humbs	73	3.19	1.52	2.95	1.59	2.73	1.15
North West	137	2.85	1.68	2.88	1.62	2.53	1.07
North East	40	3.22	1.54	3.28	1.34	2.70	0.99
Scotland	56	2.09	1.93	2.80	1.62	2.52	1.14
Not Stated/ Overseas	98	2.78	1.68	2.73	1.69	2.32	1.43
p		**<.0001**		**n.s.**		**n.s.**	

Region		**Cannabis**		**LSD**		**Mushrooms**	
	n	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Mean**	**S.D.**
London	207	3.32	1.07	1.28	0.86	1.03	0.89
South East	237	3.08	1.14	1.14	0.96	0.98	0.84
South West	185	3.06	1.11	0.95	0.94	0.85	0.80
East Anglia	74	3.18	1.01	0.88	0.95	0.82	0.82
Midlands	166	3.16	1.10	0.98	0.92	0.91	0.83
Wales	61	3.16	1.14	1.33	0.85	1.25	0.83
Yorks/Humbs	73	3.32	1.09	1.36	0.93	1.25	0.89
North West	137	3.36	0.97	1.22	0.95	1.04	0.89
North East	40	3.30	1.04	1.20	1.14	1.12	0.85
Scotland	56	3.27	1.26	1.12	0.81	0.98	0.84
Not Stated/ Overseas	98	2.85	1.43	0.96	0.87	0.87	0.86
p		**<.05**		**<.0005**		**<.01**	

Continues

Table 2.6 (cont.) Regional variations in frequency of drug use

Region	*n*	MDMA		Other Psychedelic		Amphetamine	
		Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
London	207	0.98	0.96	0.28	0.67	1.19	0.97
South East	237	0.80	0.97	0.28	0.69	1.18	1.02
South West	185	0.70	0.87	0.17	0.48	1.06	0.96
East Anglia	74	0.62	0.92	0.14	0.48	0.91	1.04
Midlands	166	0.58	0.83	0.20	0.50	1.12	1.01
Wales	61	0.48	0.74	0.21	0.55	1.15	1.05
Yorks/Humbs	73	0.84	0.88	0.15	0.46	1.04	0.90
North West	137	0.95	0.97	0.29	0.65	1.11	1.05
North East	40	0.62	0.93	0.20	0.46	1.02	0.92
Scotland	56	0.73	0.88	0.16	0.42	0.96	0.87
Not Stated/ Overseas	98	0.59	0.82	0.27	0.58	0.66	0.93
p		**<.0001**		**n.s.**		**<.005**	

Region	*n*	Cocaine		Crack		Heroin	
		Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
London	207	0.72	0.82	0.11	0.38	0.18	0.53
South East	237	0.62	0.83	0.05	0.22	0.09	0.34
South West	185	0.42	0.69	0.07	0.33	0.14	0.54
East Anglia	74	0.38	0.72	0.08	0.32	0.22	0.63
Midlands	166	0.36	0.65	0.05	0.25	0.17	0.60
Wales	61	0.46	0.72	0.08	0.33	0.26	0.70
Yorks/Humbs	73	0.44	0.69	0.05	0.28	0.15	0.43
North West	137	0.69	0.85	0.20	0.57	0.25	0.69
North East	40	0.57	0.90	0.08	0.35	0.15	0.53
Scotland	56	0.70	0.93	0.14	0.44	0.23	0.69
Not Stated/ Overseas	98	0.63	0.85	0.009	0.32	0.17	0.56
p		**<.0001**		**<.05**		**n.s.**	

Continues

Table 2.6 (cont.) Regional variations in frequency of drug use

Region	*n*	Barbiturates		Tranquillisers		Solvents	
		Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
London	207	0.13	0.37	0.14	0.40	0.14	0.38
South East	237	0.14	0.46	0.19	0.53	0.15	0.57
South West	185	0.12	0.51	0.22	0.66	0.12	0.40
East Anglia	74	0.11	0.39	0.16	0.57	0.11	0.35
Midlands	166	0.07	0.29	0.19	0.60	0.14	0.47
Wales	61	0.15	0.57	0.26	0.70	0.23	0.64
Yorks/Humbs	73	0.14	0.45	0.14	0.42	0.11	0.36
North West	137	0.24	0.56	0.36	0.74	0.15	0.45
North East	40	0.15	0.53	0.28	0.75	0.12	0.33
Scotland	56	0.14	0.44	0.23	0.83	0.09	0.29
Not Stated/ Overseas	98	0.16	0.55	0.20	0.63	0.17	0.54
p		**n.s.**		**n.s.**		**n.s.**	

Region	*n*	Aggregate Frequency Legal Drugs		Agg Frequency Illegal drugs exc. Cann.		Aggregate Frequency All Drugs	
		Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
London	207	9.01	2.87	6.20	4.12	18.54	6.30
South East	237	8.84	2.93	5.65	4.47	17.57	6.36
South West	185	8.99	2.41	4.84	4.11	16.89	5.86
East Anglia	74	8.82	2.71	4.42	4.80	16.42	6.51
Midlands	166	9.03	2.72	4.77	4.07	16.96	5.77
Wales	61	8.66	2.78	5.85	4.23	17.67	6.52
Yorks/Humbs	73	8.86	2.81	5.67	3.80	17.85	6.19
North West	137	8.25	3.03	6.50	5.02	18.12	6.80
North East	40	9.20	2.88	5.53	4.32	18.02	5.89
Scotland	56	7.41	3.10	5.52	4.05	16.20	6.41
Not Stated/ Overseas	98	7.83	3.93	4.80	4.61	15.47	7.91
p		**<.0005**		**<.005**		**<.01**	

Table 2.7

Drug Use by Employment Status				
Variable	**Unwaged**	**Students**	**Working**	***p***
Monthly Cannabis Use(g)	46.47	19.13	24.87	.06
Monthly Cannabis Purchase(g)	96.65	51.14	47.51	n.s.
Monthly Cannabis Spending #1 (£)	68.29	90.34	82.48	n.s.
Monthly Cannabis Spending #2 (£)	72.49	86.68	71.78	n.s.
Spliffs smoked/day	7.45	4.76	6.00	<.0001
Spliffs rolled/day	5.95	4.15	5.27	<.001
Pipes smoked per day	2.71	1.74	2.56	n.s.
Monthly Spending (£)†				
Tea/Coffee	5.58	4.82	6.61	<.001
Tobacco	27.1	24.55	32.83	<.001
Alcohol	34.38	33.77	46.12	<.001
All Legal drugs	47.76	50.73	69.08	<.0001
LSD	4.16	7.51	4.96	n.s.
Mushrooms	1.01	1.15	1.53	n.s.
Ecstasy (MDMA)	24.28	19.87	27.72	n.s.
Other Psychedelics	5.95	3.5	2.92	n.s.
Amphetamines	16.7	16.4	17.21	n.s.
Cocaine**	61.34	55	24.59	n.s.
Crack	61.67	5.38	50.73	n.s.
Heroin	121	25.33	62.50	n.s.
Barbiturate	3.36*	0	0.37	<.05
Tranquillisers	2.63	0.19	1.19	n.s.
Solvents	3.91	0.82	1.26	n.s.
All illicit drugs (exc. cannabis)	42.8	16.9	34.9	n.s.
All Drugs	140.6	103.8*	163.2	<.005
Aggregate Frequency Index¥				
All Legal drugs	8.51	8.79	8.83	.0001
Cannabis	3.33	3.08	3.36	n.s.
All illicit drugs (exc. cannabis)	6.47	4.16*	5.76	<.0001
All Drugs	18.18	15.97	17.84	<.0001
Cigarettes smoked per day	9.59	8.78	9.54	.0001
Cups tea/coffee per day	5.91	4.01*	5.56	n.s.
Units Alcohol per week	15.93	17.71	20.69*	<.001

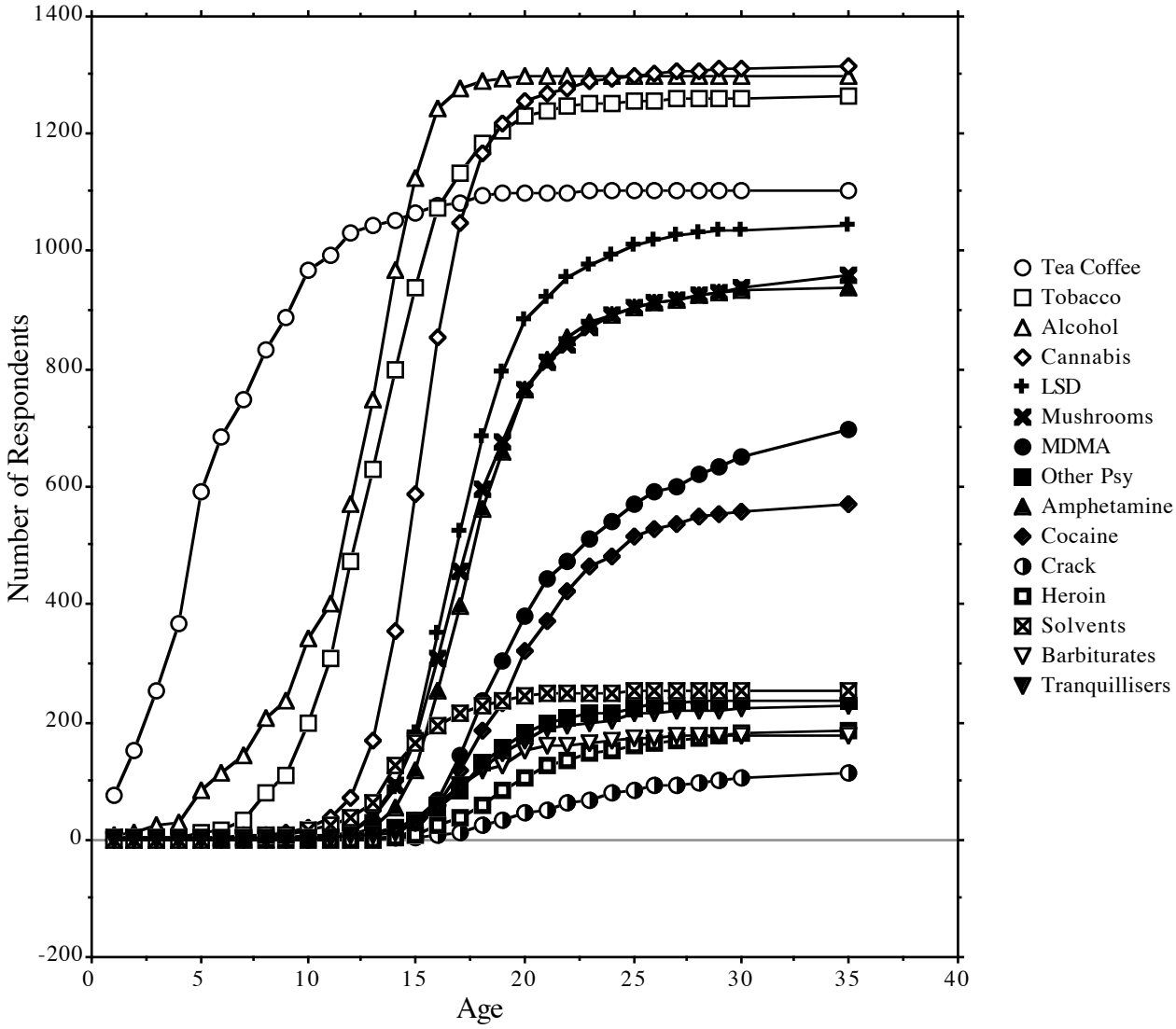
* Significant at <.05

† Spending on individual drugs refers to the amounts reported as spent by users of that drug. Blank responses were ignored. Columns cannot therefore be added together to produce totals.

** < £20, 000 (1 respondent excluded)

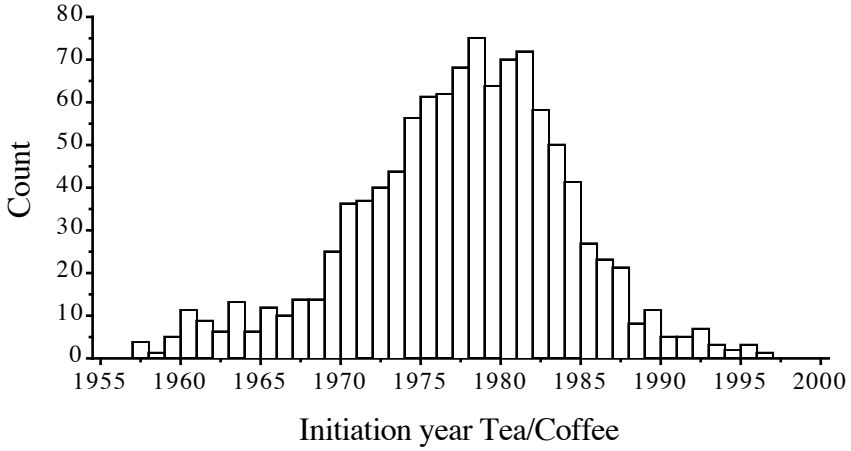
¥ Aggregate frequency scores for each drug listed:
0- non user or blank, 1 - experimental use, 2- occasional use,
3 - regular use, 4 - daily use.

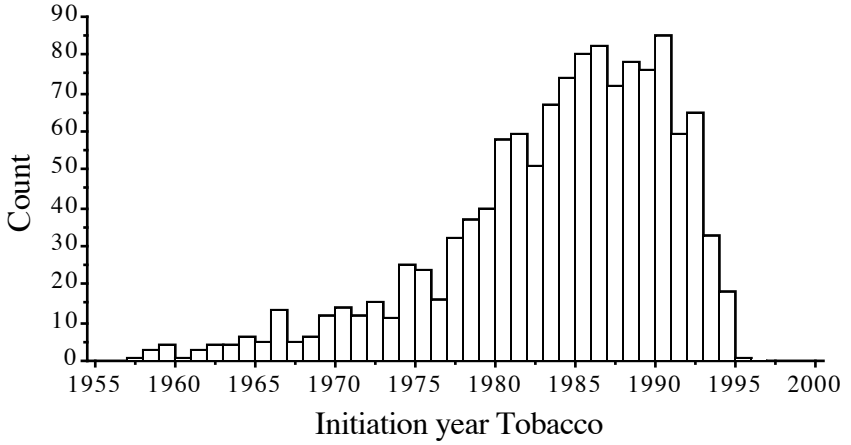
Table 2.8 Drug Acquisition Curves - prevalence by age of first use



Note: 'Tea/Coffee' data missing from subgroup of 195 questionnaires

Table 2.9 Year of First Drug Use





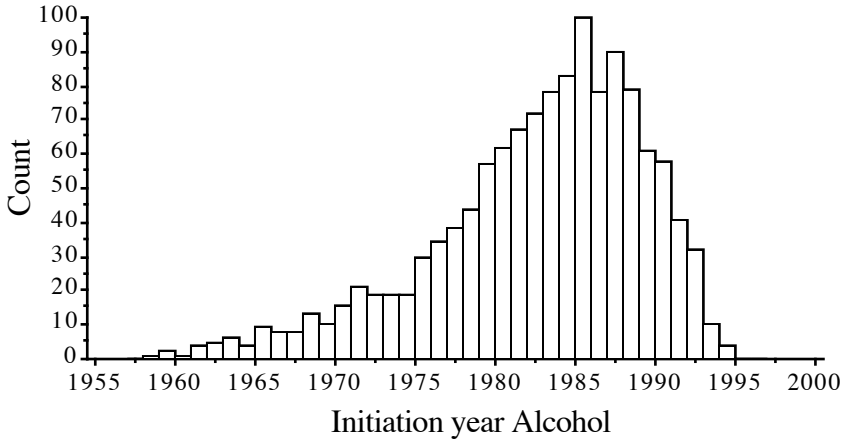
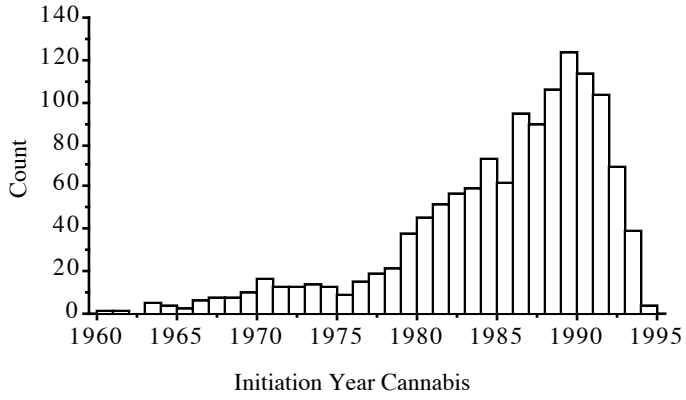
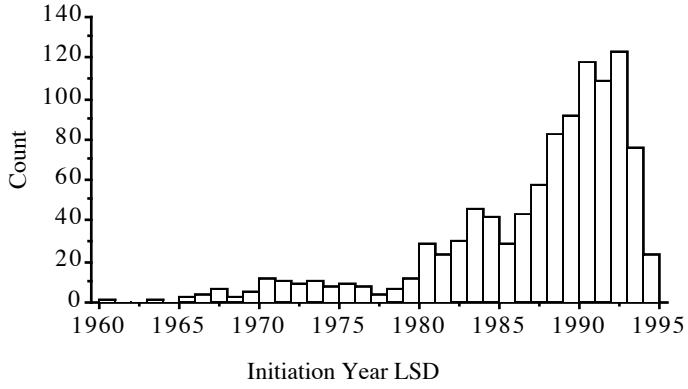
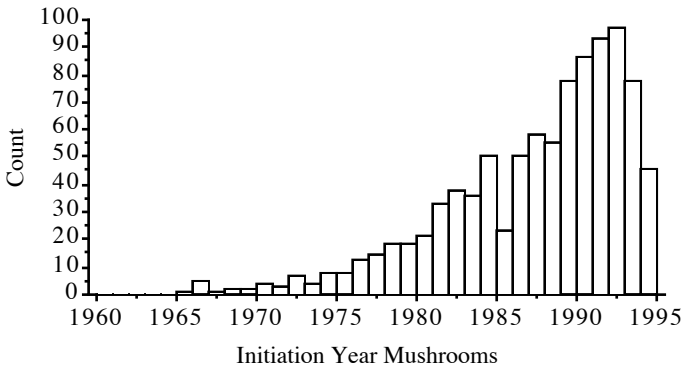


Table 2.9 (cont.) Year of first use







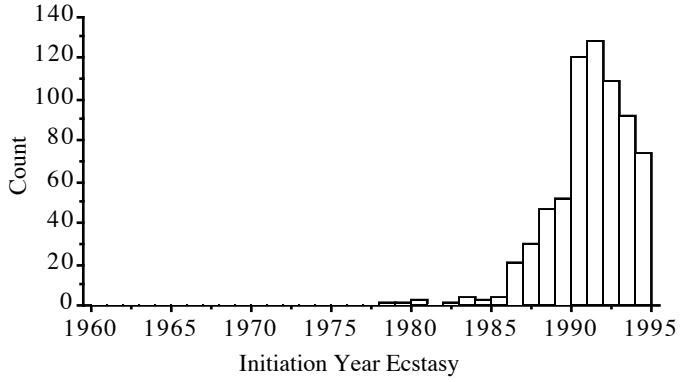
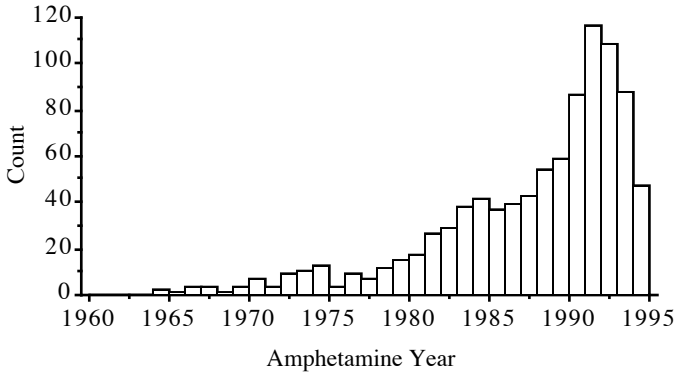
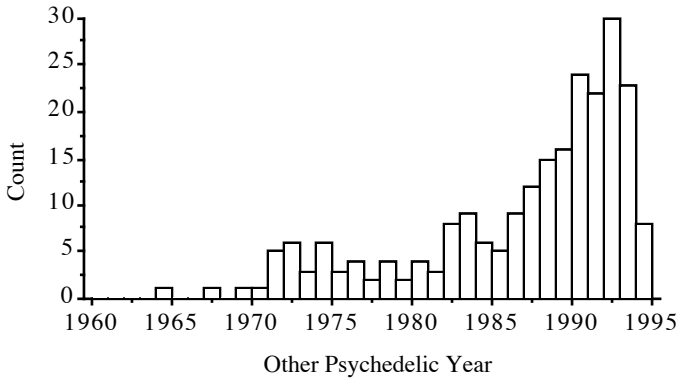
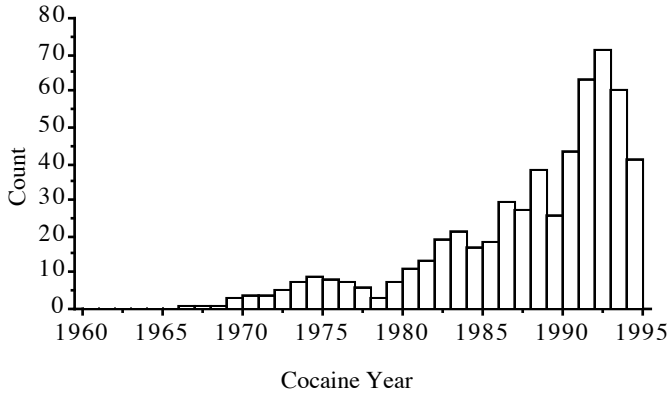


Table 2.9 (cont.) Year of first use







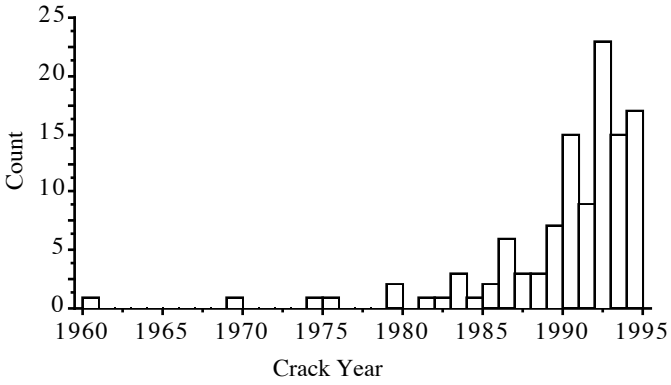
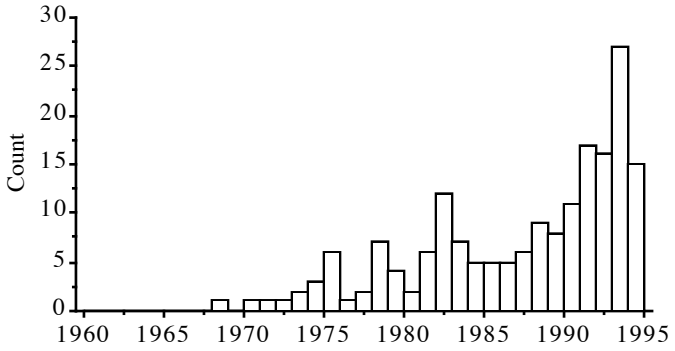
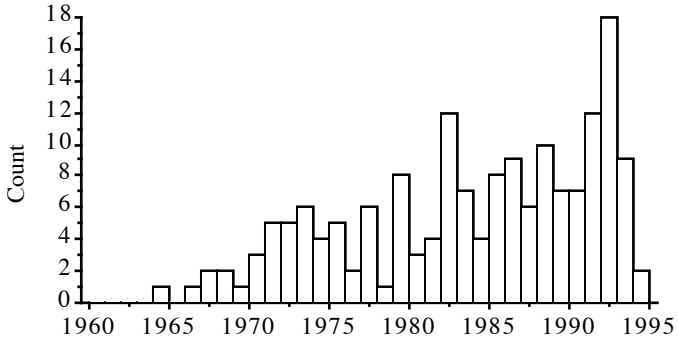


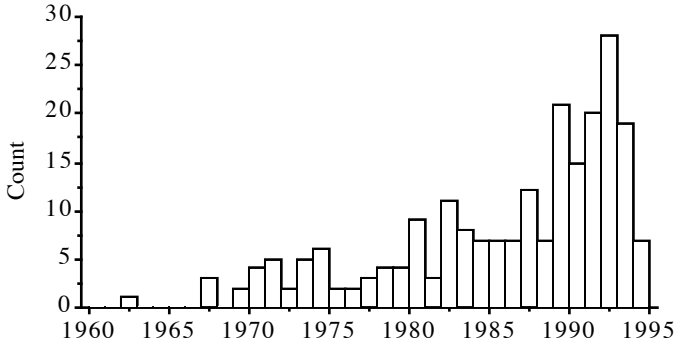
Table 2.9 (cont.) Year of first use



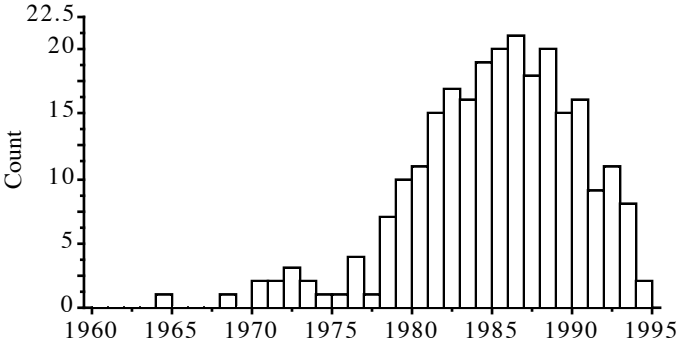
Heroin year



Barbiturates Year



Tranx year



Solvents Year

Section 3 - Users' Opinions of Drugs

3.1 Subjective ratings of all drugs 35
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Respondents were asked to subjectively 'rate' all drugs on a scale of 0-10, whether they had ever used them or not. They typically provided very strong positive ratings for cannabis, and strong positives for mushrooms, LSD and ecstasy. The strongest negative ratings were for the fictitious drug 'Bliss', solvents, and crack (Tables 3.1-3.5).

There was a significant relationship between the frequency of use of all drugs and the subjective ratings of those drugs. Those who had never used any particular drug tended to give it strong negative ratings. The greater the frequency of use the higher the rating. The exceptions were heroin and cocaine, where the very small number of daily users provided lower ratings than regular but less than daily users, possibly a reaction to dependence on the drugs (Table 3.4).

Users were also asked to briefly describe their own best and worst experiences of drugs. Many mentioned combinations of drugs, and all explanations were in their own words, which we have summarised and given quotes from (Tables 3.6-3.7). Quotes are independent of the numbers of summarised responses given - many gave no reasons for naming particular drugs. Their reasons for choosing these experiences were often to do with specific occasions or settings, so exact comparisons with the ratings or other studies of positive/negative feelings about drugs cannot easily be made.

The most common best drug experiences were with LSD, cannabis, ecstasy and mushrooms, in that order, alone or in combinations. The worst were with LSD, alcohol, mushrooms and cannabis, in that order. A large number gave LSD, or mushrooms, as the cause of both best and worst experiences. The general rating and the ratings by users, strongly positive in both cases, indicate that opinion is not polarised over these drugs, rather that users are willing to accept the risk of a bad trip in the expectation of a pleasant one.

These attitudes are comparable to those in the Release drugs and dance survey[23] - drugs which the respondents had taken were most likely to be thought reasonable candidates for legalising possession, with the shift in attitude greatest for cannabis and LSD. Their respondents' favourite drugs to take generally were cannabis (64%), ecstasy, amphetamines, LSD, and mushrooms.

Table 3.1

Subjective rating of different drugs (0 - highly negative; 5 - neutral; 10 - highly positive)			
Drug	**Mean rating**	**S.D.**	***n***
Tea/Coffee	**5.87**	2.86	1070
Tobacco	**3.85**	2.95	1161
Alcohol	**5.85**	2.62	1182
Cannabis	**8.78**	1.68	1208
LSD	**6.90**	2.73	1007
Mushrooms	**7.29**	2.59	947
Ecstasy	**6.36**	3.25	803
Other Psychedelic	**5.19**	3.28	439
Amphetamine	**5.28**	2.92	890
Cocaine	**5.47**	3.48	697
Crack	**2.09**	3.29	458
Heroin	**2.52**	3.44	490
'Bliss'	**1.65**	2.73	257
Barbiturates	**2.09**	2.63	424
Tranquillisers	**2.46**	2.81	470
Solvents	**1.50**	2.5	487

Table 3.2 Subjective Ratings of each drug

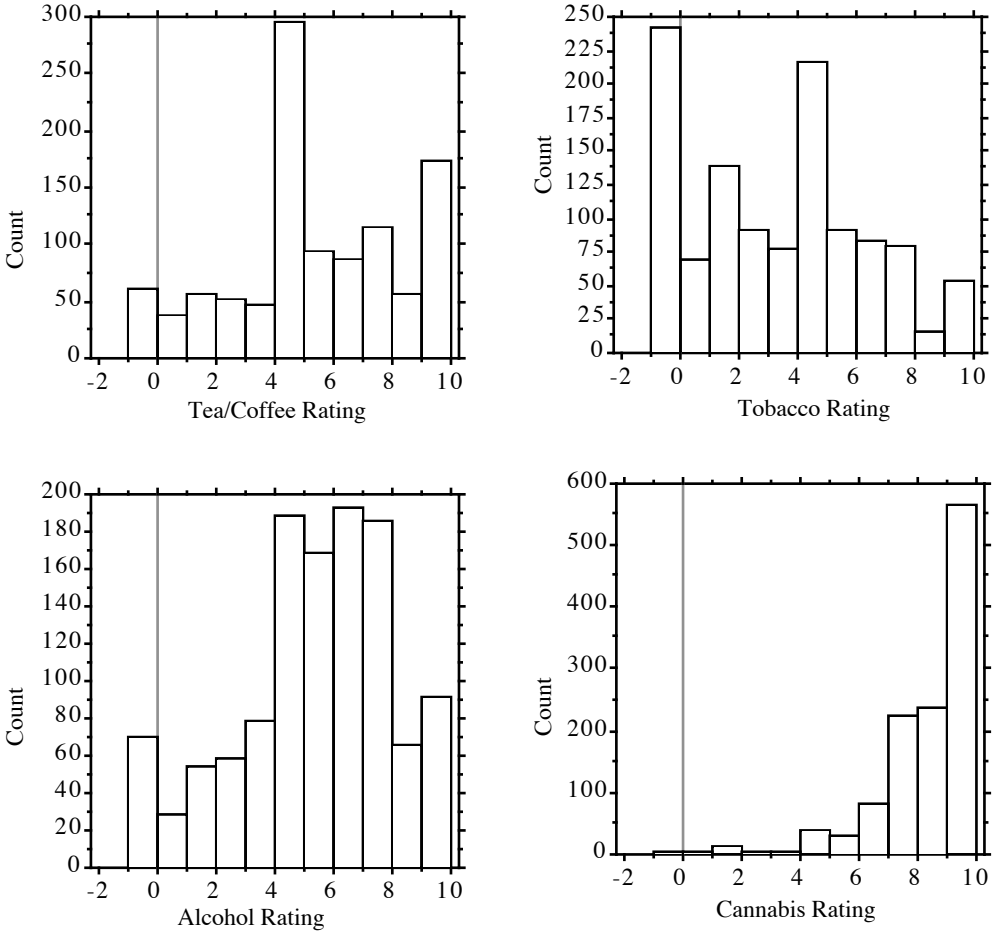

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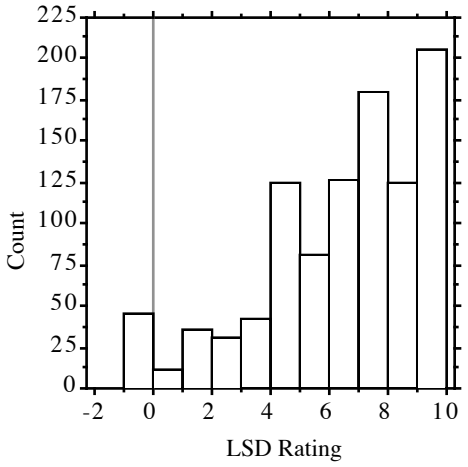
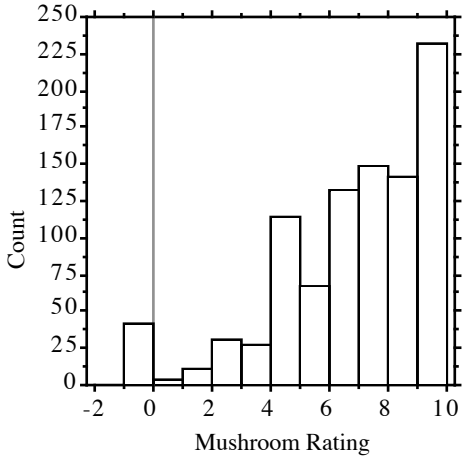
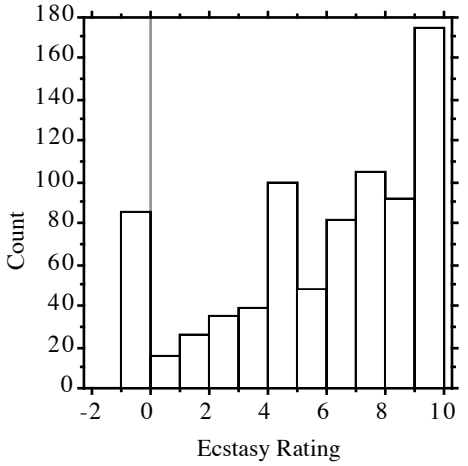
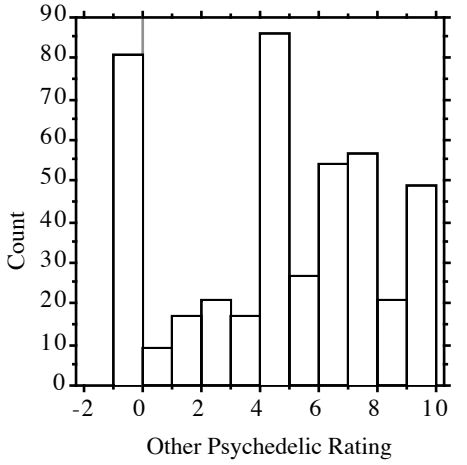
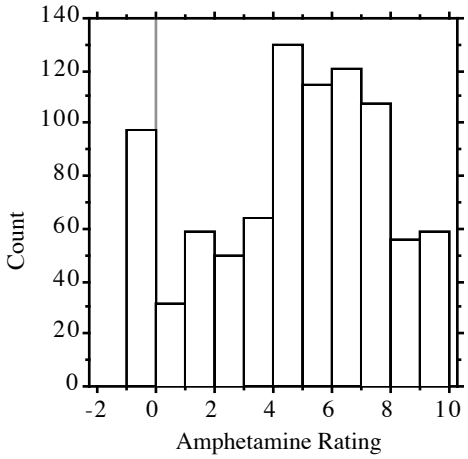
Table 3.2 (cont.) Subjective Ratings of each drug











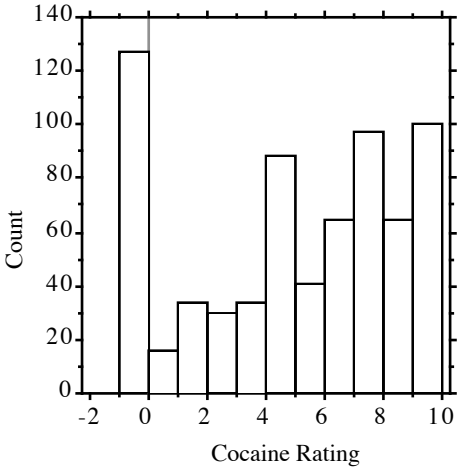


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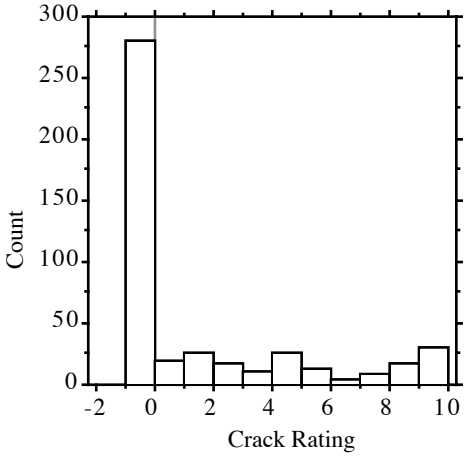
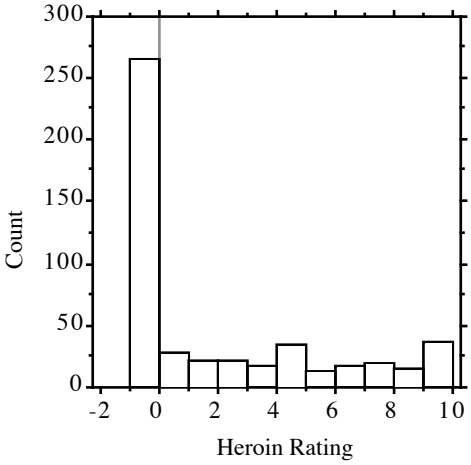
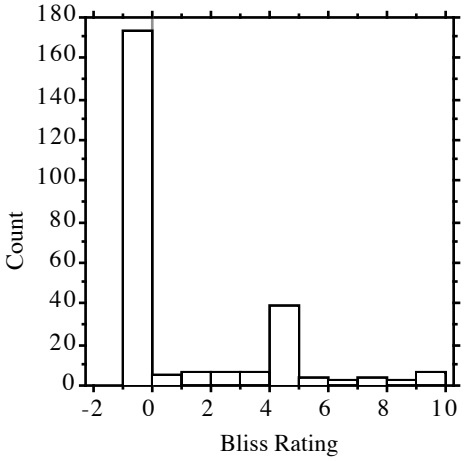
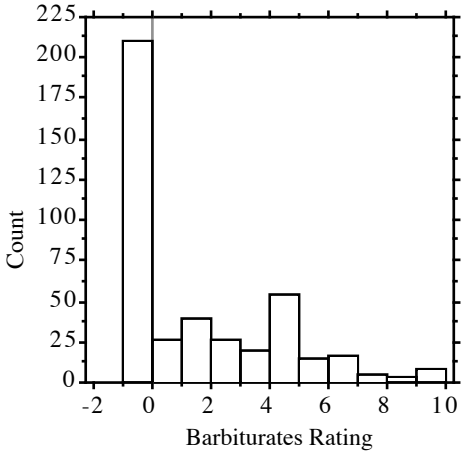
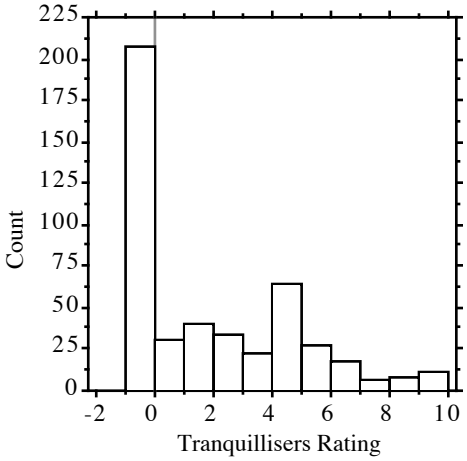
Table 3.2 (cont.) Subjective Ratings of each drug











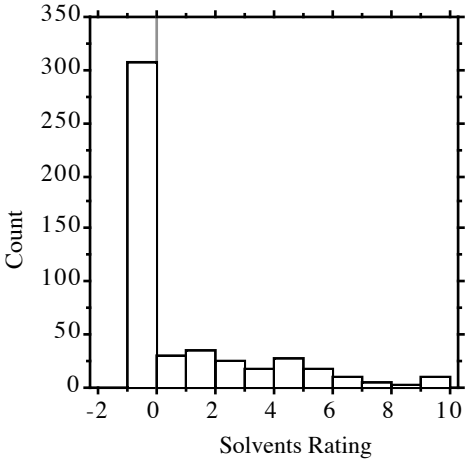


Table 3.3

Range of subjective ratings of all drugs (% of respondents)					
Drug	**% Strongly Negative**	**% Negative**	**% Neutral**	**% Positive**	**% Strongly positive**
Tea/Coffee	9.1	14.5	27.7	27.4	21.4
Tobacco	26.9	26.5	18.6	22.0	6.0
Alcohol	8.3	16.2	15.9	36.3	13.3
Cannabis	0.8	1.6	3.2	28.0	66.5
LSD	5.8	10.6	12.4	38.5	32.7
Mushrooms	4.7	7.2	12.0	37.1	39.1
Ecstasy	11.6	12.5	12.5	29.3	33.3
Other Psych.	20.5	12.5	19.6	31.7	15.7
Amphetamine	14.4	19.4	14.6	38.7	12.9
Cocaine	20.5	14.1	12.6	29.1	23.7
Crack	65.7	11.8	5.9	5.9	10.7
Heroin	60.0	12.3	7.1	10.0	10.6
'Bliss'	69.7	7.4	15.2	3.9	3.9
Barbiturates	55.7	20.5	13.0	8.3	2.6
Tranquillisers	50.4	20.6	13.6	11.3	4.0
Solvents	69.4	15.4	5.5	6.8	2.9

Table 3.4

Ratio of Positive/ Negative ratings of all drugs				
Drug	**Average Rating (0-10)**	**% Positive rating**	**% negative rating**	**Positive / Negative ratio**
Tea/Coffee	5.87	48.8	23.6	2.1 : 1
Tobacco	3.85	28.0	53.4	1 : 1.9
Alcohol	5.85	49.6	24.5	2.0 : 1
Cannabis	8.78	94.5	2.4	39.4 : 1
LSD	6.90	71.2	16.4	4.3 : 1
Mushrooms	7.29	76.2	11.9	6.4 : 1
Ecstasy	6.36	62.6	24.1	2.6 : 1
Other Psych.	5.19	47.4	33.0	1.4 : 1
Amphetamine	5.28	51.6	33.8	1.5 : 1
Cocaine	5.47	52.8	34.6	1.5 : 1
Crack	2.09	16.6	77.5	1 : 4.7
Heroin	2.52	20.6	72.3	1 : 3.5
'Bliss'	1.65	7.8	77.1	1 : 9.9
Barbiturates	2.09	10.9	76.2	1 : 7.0
Tranquillisers	2.46	15.3	71.0	1 : 4.6
Solvents	1.50	9.7	84.8	1 : 8.7

Table 3.5

Drug Ratings by Frequency of Use				
Tea/Coffee				
Frequency	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Std Error**
Non-user/Other	53	3.38	3.35	0.46
Experimental	21	5.48	3.20	0.70
Occasional	71	4.59	2.72	0.32
Regular	69	4.99	2.77	0.33
Daily	856	6.21	2.71	0.09

Tobacco				
Frequency	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Std Error**
Non-user/Other	118	1.79	2.51	0.23
Experimental	44	2.43	2.80	0.42
Occasional	120	3.35	2.75	0.25
Regular	101	3.60	2.65	0.26
Daily	778	4.35	2.91	0.10

Alcohol				
Frequency	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D**	**Std Error**
Non-user/Other	70	2.43	3.13	0.37
Experimental	22	4.73	3.04	0.65
Occasional	293	4.88	2.58	0.15
Regular	581	6.34	2.09	0.09
Daily	216	7.10	2.30	0.16

Cannabis				
Frequency	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Std Error**
Non-user/Other	41	7.39	2.90	0.45
Experimental	25	7.76	2.63	0.53
Occasional	203	7.94	2.21	0.15
Regular	259	8.54	1.49	0.09
Daily	680	9.24	1.18	0.05

LSD				
Frequency	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Std Error**
Non-user/Other	216	5.16	3.08	0.21
Experimental	275	6.63	2.68	0.16
Occasional	493	7.76	2.18	0.10
Regular	15	8.33	2.06	0.53
Daily	8	7.38	2.39	0.84

Continues

Table 3.5 (cont.) Drug ratings by frequency of use

Mushrooms				
Frequency	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Std Error**
Non-user/Other	190	5.75	3.12	0.23
Experimental	351	7.09	2.53	0.13
Occasional	401	8.16	1.93	0.10
Regular	3	9.67	0.58	0.33
Daily	2	9.00	0	0

Ecstasy				
Frequency	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Std Error**
Non-user/Other	250	4.00	3.27	0.21
Experimental	249	6.11	2.83	0.18
Occasional	268	8.40	1.89	0.12
Regular	34	9.38	1.10	0.19
Daily	2	9.50	0.71	0.50

Other Psychedelic				
Frequency	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Std Error**
Non-user/Other	263	4.33	3.28	0.2
Experimental	117	6.14	2.81	0.26
Occasional	57	7.14	2.79	0.37
Regular	1	missing	-	-
Daily	2	7.00	4.24	3.00

Amphetamine				
Frequency	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Std Error**
Non-user/Other	204	3.49	2.88	0.20
Experimental	199	4.69	2.84	0.20
Occasional	441	6.14	2.51	0.12
Regular	36	7.50	2.17	0.36
Daily	10	7.80	2.97	0.94

Cocaine				
Frequency	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Std Error**
Non-user/Other	271	3.70	3.58	0.22
Experimental	261	6.19	2.99	0.19
Occasional	155	7.13	2.68	0.21
Regular	7	9.29	0.95	0.36
Daily	3	7.33	3.06	1.76

Continues

Table 3.5 (cont.) Drug ratings by frequency of use

Crack				
Frequency	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Std Error**
Non-user/Other	376	1.53	2.89	0.15
Experimental	64	4.12	3.69	0.46
Occasional	18	6.61	3.57	0.84
Regular	0	-	-	-
Daily	1	missing	-	-

Heroin				
Frequency	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Std Error**
Non-user/Other	358	1.57	2.86	0.15
Experimental	89	4.35	3.51	0.37
Occasional	31	6.55	2.88	0.52
Regular	4	8.75	1.26	0.63
Daily	8	5.62	4.96	1.75

Barbiturates				
Frequency	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Std Error**
Non-user/Other	325	1.58	2.31	0.13
Experimental	64	2.98	2.58	0.32
Occasional	31	4.74	2.92	0.52
Regular	2	8.50	2.12	1.50
Daily	2	8.50	2.12	1.50

Tranquillisers				
Frequency	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Std Error**
Non-user/Other	327	1.65	2.39	0.13
Experimental	82	3.45	2.64	0.29
Occasional	46	4.65	2.41	0.35
Regular	7	8.14	2.12	0.80
Daily	8	7.75	2.12	0.75

Solvents				
Frequency	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	**Std Error**
Non-user/Other	375	1.22	2.39	0.12
Experimental	82	1.78	2.24	0.25
Occasional	25	3.88	2.96	0.59
Regular	1	7.00	-	-
Daily	4	5.75	2.87	1.44

Table 3.6

Best Drug Experience No. of reports by drug involved			
Drug	**Total reports of drug**	**Total reports of effect**	**Experience/Effect reported**
LSD	**318**	44	Good environment/setting/Festivals
+ In combination	55	40	Self awareness/insight/raised consciousness
		33	Out of this world/weirdness/hallucination
		19	Good trip/cool/excellent etc.
		16 ea.	Good stuff/quality, first time
		15	Visuals/colours
		14	Euphoria/Bliss/Well-being
		10 ea.	Religious/spiritual experience, music/gig
		8	Energy/rave/dancing
		6	Hilarity/giggles/laughter
		5 ea.	Unity/togetherness, Happiness
		4	Ego Loss/Let Go
		3 ea.	Escapism, intense, cleans mind/rejuvenation, heightened perception, love
		2 ea.	Everyday (shopping/cinema), oneness, astral projection, relaxed/mellow, sex, fun
		1 ea.	Empathy, presence of guide, fantasy "At one with the universe" "Totally changed my life" "Try some and find out" "A personal voyage of discovery that I will never forget" "The greatest experience of my life" "Enjoy the psychedelic side of life"
Cannabis	**287**	49	Good stuff/quality
+ In combination	57	30	Right environment/Setting/Festivals
		25	Relaxed/mellow/calm
		19	Friends/Sociable
		18	Music/gig
		15	Long term/every day
		13	Stoned
		12 ea.	Euphoria/bliss/good feeling, eaten/ hash cake
		11	First time
		10 ea.	Giggling/laughter, self-awareness/insight/personal development, sex
		9	Own/Home grown
		8	Safe/controlled use
		7	High/buzz
		6	Happiness
		4 ea.	Hallucination, heightened senses, party, escapism
		2 ea.	Visuals/colours, creativity, love, fun, medical/pain relief
		1 ea.	Weirdness, dreams, someone else paid for it

Continues

Table 3.6 (cont.)

Best Drug Experience - No. of reports by drug involved			
Drug	**Total reports of drug**	**Total reports of effect**	**Experience/Effect reported**
MDMA (Ecstasy, E)	**189**	32	Dance/rave/club
+ In combination	47	24	Happiness/Joy/Ecstasy/Bliss
		20	Good trip/excellent etc.
		17	Love/Loving feelings
		11 ea.	First time, good stuff/quality
		10	Sex
		9	Peace/unity/togetherness
		8	Good feeling
		6	Optimism/confidence
		5 ea.	Energy, religious/spiritual illumination
		3	Buzz/High
		2 ea.	Freedom, relaxed/mellow, heightened perception, fun
		1 ea.	Exercise, strong emotions, another world, expressed self, experience "All night pampering by beautiful younger men"
Mushrooms	**109**	14	Religious experience/spiritual enlightenment
+ In combination	17	13	Right environment/setting
		12	Natural
		11	Joy/happiness/bliss
		10	Good trip/enjoyed/fun/nice
		6	Magical/supernatural
		5	Empathy/ESP
		4	Hilarity/Giggles
		3 ea.	Visuals/colours, fresh/ by themselves, personal development, sex
		2 ea.	Heightened awareness, Relaxed/Mellow, Mexican Mushrooms, at one with universe
		1 ea.	Freedom, confidence, creative/artistic, first time
Amphetamine	**49**	8	Party/Rave
+ In combination	22	6	Energy
		4 ea.	Stayed awake, good feeling
		2 ea.	Happy, sex, rush, loved everyone, good environment/setting
		1 ea.	Good stuff/quality, thoughtfulness, fun, friends, confidence
Cocaine	**45**	7 ea.	Confidence, buzz/Fun
+ In combination	13	3	Party
		2	First time
		1 ea.	Good stuff/quality, out of body experience, nicked from a stolen car, sex, stayed awake, reduces inhibitions "Cocaine cannabis & champagne for breakfast + sex"
Alcohol	**20**	4	Too much
+ In combination	13	4	Party
		2	Sex
		1	Lose inhibitions

Continues

Table 3.6 (cont.)

Best Drug Experience - No. of reports by drug involved			
Drug	**Total reports of drug**	**Total reports of effect**	**Experience/Effect reported**
Heroin + In combination	**9** 4	3 1 ea.	Sex First time, buzz, long-term use "Crack & Heroin, quick buzz & complete dream world"
Opium + In combination	**5** 2	2 1	See clearly "Opened Doors of Perception"
Morphine	**1**	1	"Beats hell out of pain"
Peyote/Mescaline	**8**	1 ea.	Mild hallucination, right environment, rave
Ketamine In combination	**4** 5	3	Thought was E
DMT	**4**	1 ea.	"Changed the way I thought" "Opened eyes" "Can't explain"
N_2O	**2**	1	Mystical experience
Amyl Nitrate	**1**	1	Laughter/hilarity
Tobacco	**1**	1	Relaxed after work
Other Psychedelic	**2**	1	"Full moon ritual in Ecuadorian rain forest"
Glue	**1**	1	"Excellent buzz (shame it'll kill you)"
Gas & Air	**1**	1	"Birthing my son"
All/Non-specific Combinations	**42**		
"Life"	**8**		
None	**8**		

Table 3.7

Worst Drug Experience No. of reports by drug involved			
Drug	**Total reports of drug**	**Total reports of effect**	**Experience/Effect reported**
LSD	350	69	Bad trip
		53	Wrong setting
		61	Panic/Paranoia
		28	Too much
		20	Frightening/Nightmare
		19	Freaked out
		16	Lost control
		14 ea.	Confusion/Head fucked, adulterants
		11	Hallucination
		9	Unprepared/too young
		7 ea.	Sickness/vomiting, Police hassles
		6	Obsessive introspection
		5 ea.	Victim of crime, depression, sense of dying, spiked drink
		3 ea.	Sense of cold, accident, blackout, dangerous behaviour, physical pain, collapse/unable to move, sense of isolation, temporary blindness, “not enough”
		2 ea.	Strangeness, flashbacks, sense of falling, too tired, friend went mad
		1 ea.	Nervous breakdown, overheating, epileptic fit, delusions, fighting, strychnine poisoning “Friend turned into beast” “Friends were werewolves” “Walked into barbed wire” “Too young for such confusion” “Too young to deal with ego being destroyed” "Lots of bugs and insects for 30 seconds" "Drives you mad long term"
Alcohol	165	43	Vomiting/sickness
		28	Too much
		15	Hangover,
		12	Acute poisoning
		12	Anti-social behaviour
		6	Fighting/violence
		5	Loss of consciousness
		4	Loss of memory, thought would die
		2 ea.	Indigestion, depression
		1 ea.	Liver damage, accident, dehydration/heat-stroke, alcoholic
Mushrooms	111	23	Bad trip
		18	Too many
		11	Bad setting
		11	Panic/loss control
		8	Confusion/Mushy head
		6	Sense/fear of death
		5	Paranoia/fear
		4 ea.	Feeling alone, police hassles, not prepared
		3 ea.	Feeling cold, strange experience/trance, stomach upset
		2 ea.	Instability, temporary paralysis, no effect, hallucinations
		1 ea.	Regression (to 6 yrs old), headache, fly agaric, hangover, breathing difficulties, wrong mushrooms, memory problems, thought I was on fire, depression

Continues

Table 3.7 (cont.)

Worst Drug Experience No. of reports by drug involved			
Cannabis	83	23 18 ea. 16 7 4 2 ea. 1 ea.	Too much (mainly when eaten or in combination) Sickness, paranoia Run out Tripping/hallucinations Ripped off Dizziness, memory problems, apathy, adulterated, cough, busted Weirdness, family conflict (with parents), diarrhoea, lost control, fighting, bad dreams, "Reliance due to personal problems"
Amphetamine	69	13 12 9 ea. 6 6 2 ea. 1 ea.	Comedown/Depression Too much Physical sickness, paranoia Adulterants Sleeplessness Overconfidence, dehydration, hallucinations, addiction Collapse, weight loss, headache, mouth ulcers, "Too nice"
MDMA (Ecstasy, "E")	68	15 9 6 4 ea. 3 2 ea. 1 ea.	Adulterants/Bad E Depression/comedown Panic/paranoia, too much Vomiting, breathing difficulties Wrong setting Bad trip, confusion ("brain rot") Dehydration, over-stimulation, collapse, headache, fear of dying, epileptic fit, shakes, stomach cramps "Stayed awake through hangover" "Spiked when I had a bad back, damaged self"

Table 3.7 (cont.)

Worst Drug Experience No. of reports by drug involved			
Heroin/Opiates	23	8 3 ea. 1 ea.	Addicted Vomiting, felt bad, overdose Withdrawal, spiked spliff, dirty fix "Screws you up" "Too nice" "Mongs your head"
Solvents	16	3 2 1 ea.	Fear/paranoia Nearly died Addicted, vomiting, itchy mouth & throat, "head fuck"
Cocaine Powder	10	2 ea. 1 ea.	Paranoia, Sleeplessness; Lost control, headaches
Crack	15	4 3 1 ea.	Addicted Tense/ Fear Lost control, death of friend, headaches
Ketamine	10	5 3 2	Adulterated MDMA, Horrible Sick
Amyl Nitrate	6	3 ea. 1	Loss of control, bad headache Felt insane
Barbiturates	8	1 ea.	Diconal, Nembutal Tuinal, headaches, dim minded, "lost a couple of months brain dead", depression, "slurred brain", lost control
Tranquillisers	5	2 1 ea.	Lost control Feel worse, overdose
Cough syrup	4	1	Tripped out 24 hours
Caffeine	2		
Opium	4	1 ea.	Bad effect on memory, paranoia, couldn't wake up
PCP	1		
GBH	1		
Penicillin	1	1	Allergy
Gold top mushrooms	1	1	Indonesia - thought I was going to be eaten by cannibal
Horse Chestnut leaves	1	1	Totally boring
Aspirin	1	1	Allergy
Clopixol	1	1	Torture
Camphor	1	1	Confused convulsions

Section 4 - Cannabis Use

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Patterns of cannabis use were the main subject of this survey, occupying half the questionnaire. Every study known names cannabis as the most commonly used illegal drug among those who have ever used any, and among current drug users. In general population studies those who have ever used the drug are at best divided into a range of categories from 'Ever used' to 'Regular user'. There is very little consistency in the way these categories are defined, but regular usually means more than once weekly.

We asked multiple questions about levels of cannabis use, as controls. As well as the range of eight average use levels in the questions about all drugs, there were questions about spending and subjective rating. Separate questions were also asked about most recent use and purchase of cannabis, average monthly use, purchase and spending, and how many joints or pipes were filled and smoked per day. Different figures for the amounts used and money spent came in response to differently phrased questions, but they were generally consistent and very closely correlated ($r = 0.98$). There was a much lower correlation between purchase and use. This may indicate that the question posed in 1984, on how much was bought in the previous month, may have been flawed. In a number of cases the amounts bought and used do not closely match; factors causing this included the use of home grown, families where only one person does the buying, and social and/or commercial supply.

It was correctly assumed that nearly all respondents would have used cannabis; 95% had done so within the previous week, so would be classed as 'regular users' by most studies (Table 4.1). 15% had never tried any other illegal drug. Just over 2% had used it under 10 times; just over 1% had stopped using. Because of the festival surroundings this is likely to include some who use cannabis less frequently, who considered this a special occasion. 42% gave 'Now' as their most recent use, i.e. while they were filling in the survey form.

Overall, the average cannabis consumption of the respondents was 24.8g per month, around seven eighths of an ounce. They claimed to buy 64.3g per month, just over two and a quarter ounces. Two differently phrased questions were put about amounts spent, and the overall average results correlated closely at £68.60 per month. Differences may have been due to different numbers of missing values, as several respondents failed to complete the second side of the questionnaire.

For these tables we merged the 'daily' and 'more than daily' responses from Table 2.1 above, as 'daily'. The 'regular but not weekly' and the 'weekly but not daily' were combined as 'regular', and the 'used once' and 'used under 10 times' as 'experimental'. 'Non users' included those who had given up, who had not yet used the drug, and those who had left the question blank.

The greatest use, purchase and spending on cannabis was by daily users (Table 4.5). Their consumption averaged 34.8g per month, Average spending was £94.20. The maximum accepted personal consumption was 200-250g, or 7-9oz per month (10 respondents).

Unwaged respondents reported spending the least per gram of cannabis used, and buying the most compared with workers or students. This may represent social or commercial supplying, smoking other peoples, or homegrown use. Students used the least and spent the most per gram on it (Table 4.6).

Methods of Use

The most common method of using cannabis is mixed with tobacco into 'joints' or 'spliffs'. Although some people use 'spliffs' to mean only neat herbal cannabis cigarettes, here the terms are interchangeable. Some forensic scientists and civil servants use the obsolete slang 'reefers', which we have succumbed to where discussing comparable data.

Respondents reported 72.5% of use to be in joints (Tables 4.7-4.8)[24]. Users claimed on average to roll 5 a day and smoke 6. The most frequent users rolled an average 8 and smoked 10 joints per day. The difference could be accounted for by the sharing of joints, which is very common. The number they rolled may be the more reliable indicator of consumption. Herbal cannabis is frequently smoked 'neat' without added tobacco, which accounts for about 5% of reported consumption. Either variety can be smoked in pipes (19%), or eaten by itself or in other food (4%). Around 1 to 2% of respondents consumed 50% or more of their cannabis in food or drink, and around 25% eat or drink their cannabis on occasions. Other methods include heating between hot knives, on the end of a pin, or inside a bottle or bucket. The use of joints is higher than in our 1984 survey, use of pipes is lower, and use of hot knives is much lower.

Published[25] and unpublished[26] Home Office data suggests that the average amount of herbal cannabis in what they refer to as a reefer is approximately 200mg, and approximately 140mg for cannabis resin. These and other reports have shown a very wide range of amounts of cannabis in a joint, from a few milligrams to over one gram, with a significant minority containing over 300mg[27] . Most of these reports only analysed joints rolled with tobacco. The Chepstow Forensic Science laboratory found that of 107 unsmoked reefers analysed, five contained cannabis only, four of these containing between 451mg and 483mg of herbal cannabis[28].

By dividing the reported monthly cannabis use by the total number of pipes and joints smoked, it is possible to make a crude estimate of the average amounts of cannabis in joints (Table 4.9). The mean amount was 162mg, with 10.6% of the estimates being over 300mg, 3.3% over 500mg, and 1.7% over 750mg. When the results were weighted to take account of non-daily users, the average estimated content rose to 196mg. These distributions are broadly consistent with the forensic laboratory data.

Home Grown

Home cultivation of cannabis is very common, 60% of respondents had grown at least some of their own cannabis at some time. Half of those had grown less than 5 plants on the most recent occasion, and the average grown was 19 plants, with daily users (who grew) averaging 23 plants, whereas experimental users (who grew) averaged 5.5 plants. Most of this home growing would be to attain self-sufficiency, rather than intended for profit, where harvests would be larger and more consistent.

A large majority (75%) of growers did so indoors, 77% using sunlight either exclusively or in combination with lights. High-intensity discharge lights, such as metal halide or high pressure sodium, had been used by one grower in six (17%). One in three growers (35%) had

used “pedigree” seeds such as 'Skunk' or 'Northern Lights' either exclusively or in combination. Those who grew more were more likely to have tried combinations of seed sources and growing methods.

The more cannabis they bought and used in general, the more likely respondents were to have grown their own, and the more plants they had grown. Those who had grown 10 or more plants were significantly heavier users (average 37g/month) than non-growers (20g). Those who had never grown any also reported buying less and spending less on cannabis than growers. However, they spent more per gram (Tables 4.10-4.13).

Other consumption studies

The authors' previous cannabis consumption surveys (1982 and 1984) of 240 and 607 regular cannabis users respectively found that the “average” (mean) cannabis usage was just over one ounce per month (29.3 & 29.9g)[29]. Both surveys showed very similar patterns, with a large number of relatively moderate users (median usage was 14g/month), but a smaller number of heavy and very heavy users (mean use for ‘more than daily’ users was 65.8g), with a maximum usage of 150g, or just over 6 ounces, per month. Users of imported herbal cannabis had a higher mean consumption (57.1g/month) than users of resin. The results of the current survey suggest a slight decrease in average consumption since 1984, although there are a larger number of very heavy users.

Fairbairn's 1973 study of reefer contents[30] quoted regular use by three groups of experimental subjects of (a) 2g to 6g of cannabis per day (mean 3.8g), (b) 0.1g to 1g per day (mean 0.3g), and (c) 0.3g to 8.3g per day (mean 2.8g), with some users smoking 10-20 reefers per day. The heaviest user in his study consumed 252g per month, consistent with the heaviest reported users from these surveys.

Caplin & Woodward[31], for the BBC’s Drugwatch TV special, conducted a survey of drug users in 1984. The ‘cannabis only’ users spent an average £12 per week, representing 3.8g to 5.9g per week at 1984 prices[32]. The heaviest 8%, spending up to £30 per week, used 9.6g to 15.8g per week at 1984 prices. However, these did not include the ‘cannabis plus other drugs’ users, who spent up to £200 per week in total, a significant proportion of which may have been on cannabis by heavy users who occasionally used other drugs (i.e. the common pattern in our surveys). The Drugwatch study was targeted towards problem users of (mainly) class A drugs. The overall response rate is not stated, (3000 questionnaires were distributed) although the ‘cannabis only’ group constituted only 3% of the total sample.

McBride's recent study of cannabis use in 100 attenders at a drug and alcohol clinic in South Wales found average use of 10.5g per week with the heaviest user reporting 70g per week at a cost of £250. McBride calculated, on the basis of responses to questions about the number of joints per eighth or sixteenth ounce, that users would consume 350mg of cannabis resin, or 620g herbal cannabis, in a joint. Those who did not use tobacco would consume about 27% more cannabis or resin per joint or pipe than those who used a mix, although there was no difference in the overall cannabis usage between these two groups[33].

The consumption levels found in the UK. market, restricted by the high unit cost of cannabis, are considerably lower than in countries where use of cannabis is traditional. Where plentiful supplies are cultivated locally, the amount consumed can exceed 2oz (56g) per day[34] [35]. The singer Bob Marley was reported to smoke over an ounce per day[36] Looking at the dosage of THC to which smokers were exposed, Rubin[37], Bowman & Pihl[38], and Beaubrun[39] found THC dosages of 60 to 420 mg/day, equivalent to smoking 2 to 14 grams per day with 3% THC. Stephanis et al [40] found that hashish users in Greece used an average of 7.48g per day, equivalent to the heaviest UK users.

Table 4.1

Most Recent Use of Cannabis			
	n	**%**	**Cumulative %**
Now	533	42.2	42.2
Today	554	43.8	86.0
This Week	117	9.3	95.3
This Month	27	2.1	97.4
Past Year	22	1.7	99.1
Longer	6	0.5	99.6
Never	5	0.4	100
Total	1264	100	
No response	69	**Response Rate**	94.8%

Table 4.2 Monthly Cannabis Use

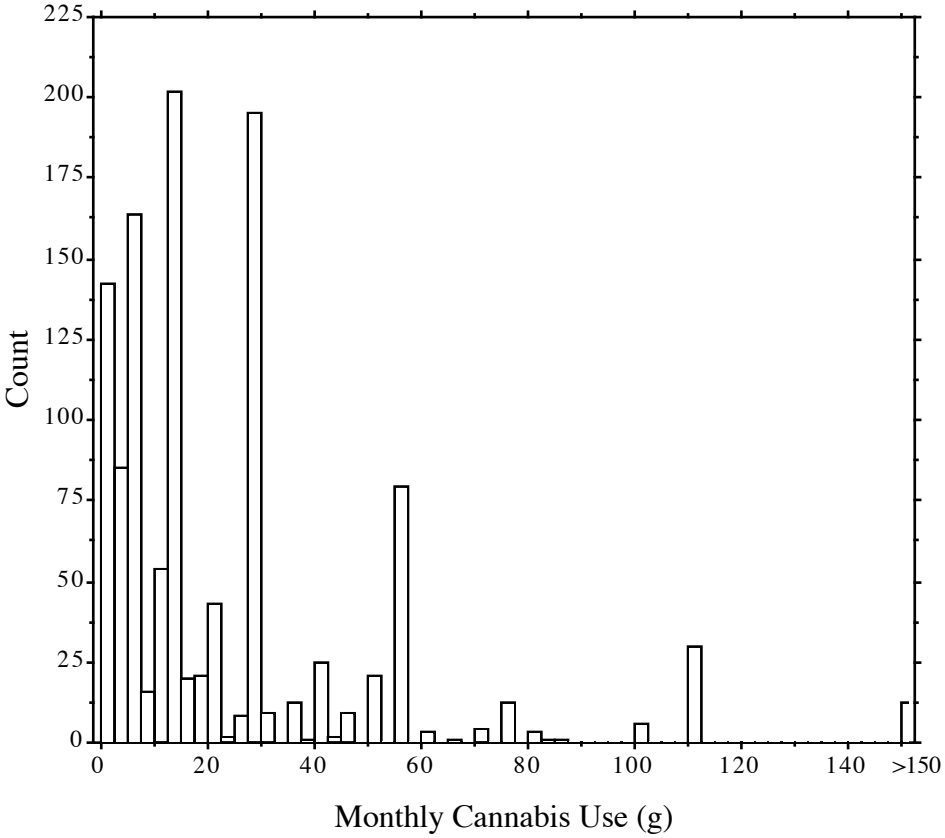


Table 4.3

Most Recent Purchase of Cannabis			
	n	**%**	**Cumulative %**
Today	153	12.2	12.2
Yesterday	258	20.5	32.7
Past Week	540	42.9	75.6
Past Month	184	14.6	90.2
Past Year	71	5.6	95.8
Longer	27	2.1	97.9
Never	26	2.1	100
Total	1259	100	
No response	74	**Response Rate**	94.4%

Table 4.4 Monthly Cannabis Purchase

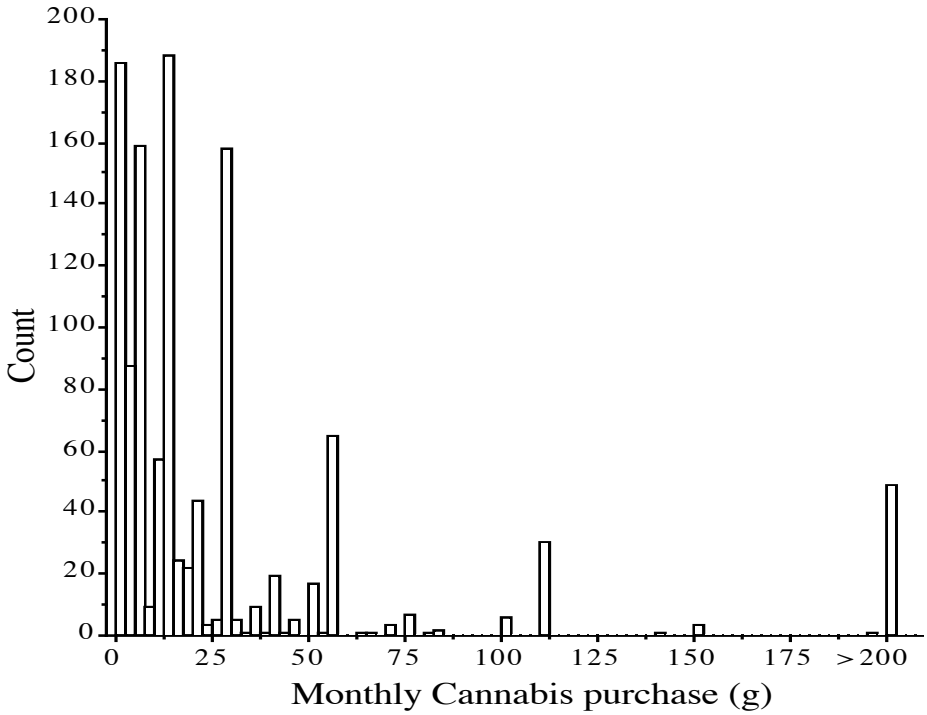


Table 4.5

Monthly Cannabis Use, Purchase and Spending by Frequency of Cannabis Use				
Monthly Cannabis Use (g)				
Frequency of Cannabis use	**Count:**	**Mean: (g)**	**Std. Dev.**	**Std. Error:**
Experimental	24	**13.2**	15.9	3.3
Occasional	182	**9.8**	22.8	1.7
Regular	249	**11.3**	12.3	0.8
Daily	673	**34.8**	50.1	1.9
Other	21	**14.2**	17.3	3.8
Overall* p<.0001	1183	**24.8**	41.2	1.2
Monthly Spending on Cannabis (1)				
Frequency of Cannabis use	**Count:**	**Mean: (£)**	**Std. Dev.**	**Std. Error:**
Experimental	24	**31.3**	46.5	9.5
Occasional	185	**20.2**	29.8	2.2
Regular	246	**32.9**	27.6	4.8
Daily	656	**94.2**	109.3	4.3
Other	18	**46.9**	52.4	12.4
Overall* p<.0001	1161	**68.3**	98.9	2.9
Monthly Purchase of Cannabis (g)				
Frequency of Cannabis use	**Count:**	**Mean (g)**	**Std. Dev.**	**Std. Error:**
Experimental	25	**13.6**	19.6	3.9
Occasional	178	**10.4**	41.1	3.1
Regular	250	**22.8**	95.6	6.1
Daily	667	**60.1**	154.9	6.0
Other	20	**64.3**	221.1	49.4
Overall* p<.0001	1171	**43.6**	134.1	3.9

These data were recoded to exclude all monthly purchases over £1000 or 1kg.

Two indices of monthly spending were taken, (1) among questions about all drug use and (2) during questions relating to cannabis only (on the second side of the form, which several respondents failed to complete).

Monthly Spending on Cannabis (2)				
Frequency of Cannabis use	**Count:**	**Mean (£)**	**Std. Dev.**	**Std. Error:**
Experimental	22	**30.2**	44.6	9.5
Occasional	171	**19.2**	28.1	2.2
Regular	246	**35.8**	47.7	3.0
Daily	657	**90.1**	97.9	3.8
Other	18	**35.3**	32.4	7.6
Overall p<.0001	1122	**68.9**	84.9	2.5

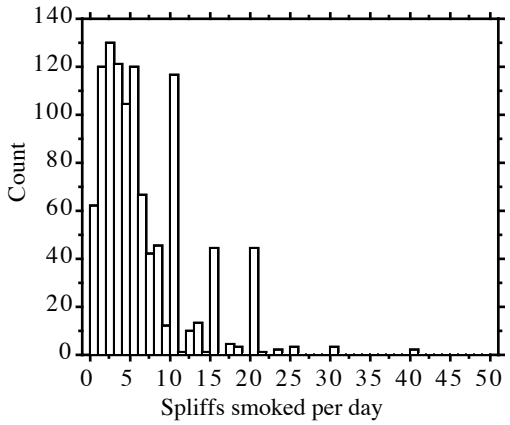
Table 4.6

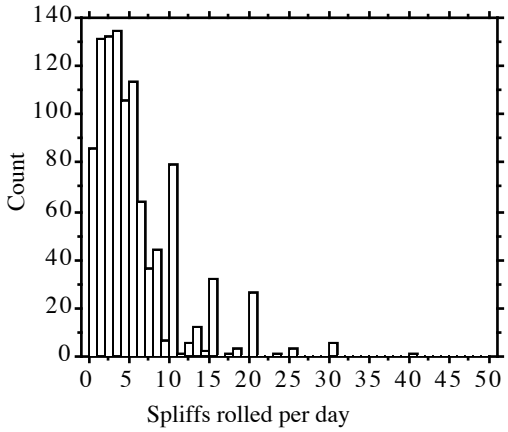
Cannabis Spending & Use by Employment Status				
Variable	**Unwaged**	**Students**	**Working**	***p***
Monthly Cannabis Use(g)	46.47	19.13	24.87	.06
Monthly Cannabis Purchase(g)	96.65	51.14	47.51	n.s.
Monthly Cannabis Spending #1 (£)	68.29	90.34	82.48	n.s.
Monthly Cannabis Spending #2 (£)	72.49	86.68	71.78	n.s.
Spliffs smoked/day	7.45	4.76	6	<.0001
Spliffs rolled/day	5.95	4.15	5.27	<.001
Pipes smoked per day	2.71	1.74	2.56	n.s.

Table 4. 7

Methods of Cannabis Use		
Method	**1994**	**1984**
Reefers - with tobacco	72.5%	66.1
Water Pipe	8.9%	8.9
Other Pipe	6.9%	9.6
Reefers - neat cannabis	5.1%	4.9
Eaten - with other food	2.4%	2.5
Eaten - on its own	1.4%	1.6
Hot knives	1.3%	5.2
Other smoking	1.3%	1.0
Other methods	0.3%	n/a

Table 4.8 Spliffs or pipes smoked and filled per day





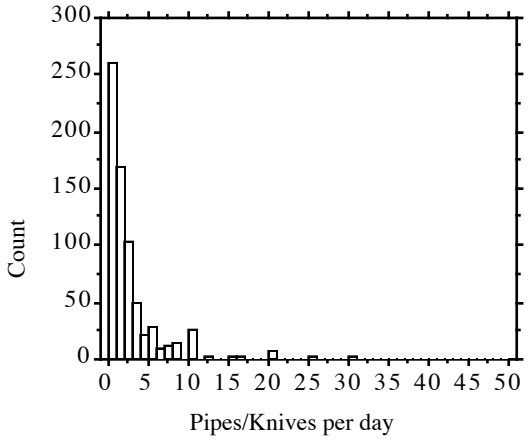
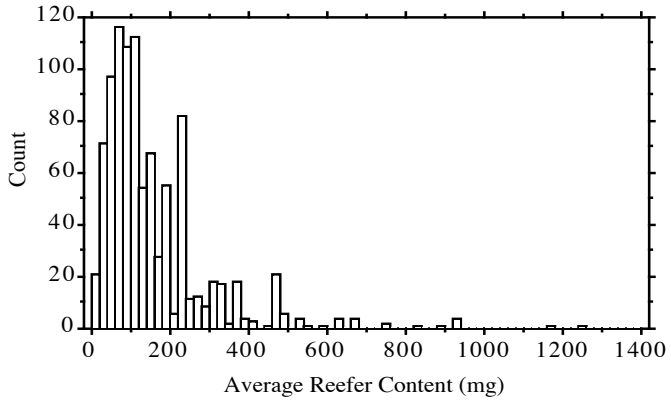


Table 4.9

Daily consumption of Spliffs and Pipes by Frequency of Cannabis Use				
Spliffs smoked per day				
Frequency of Cannabis use	**Count:**	**Mean:**	**Std. Dev.**	**Std. Error:**
Experimental	19	**3.3**	4.7	1.1
Occasional	136	**2.8**	4.7	0.4
Regular	220	**3.2**	2.8	0.2
Daily	651	**7.7**	5.5	0.2
Other	49	**5.2**	5.4	0.8
Overall p<.0001	1075	**5.98**	5.4	0.2
Spliffs rolled per day				
Frequency of Cannabis use	**Count:**	**Mean:**	**Std. Dev.:**	**Std. Error:**
Experimental	18	**3.2**	4.3	1.0
Occasional	123	**2.4**	3.3	0.3
Regular	210	**2.7**	3.0	0.2
Daily	635	**6.5**	5.2	0.2
Other	42	**5.1**	6.1	0.9
Overall p<.0001	1028	**5.14**	5.0	0.2
Pipes/Knives smoked per day				
Frequency of Cannabis use	**Count:**	**Mean:**	**Std. Dev.:**	**Std. Error:**
Experimental	11	**1.7**	3.0	0.9
Occasional	86	**0.9**	3.4	0.4
Regular	140	**1.5**	3.6	0.3
Daily	441	**3.0**	4.3	0.2
Other	35	**2.5**	3.8	0.6
Overall p<.0001	713	**2.37**	4.1	0.2

Table 4.10 Amount of Cannabis in Joints

(a) Distribution of estimated reefer content (unweighted data)



(b) Distribution of estimated reefer contents (mg) taking account of frequency of use

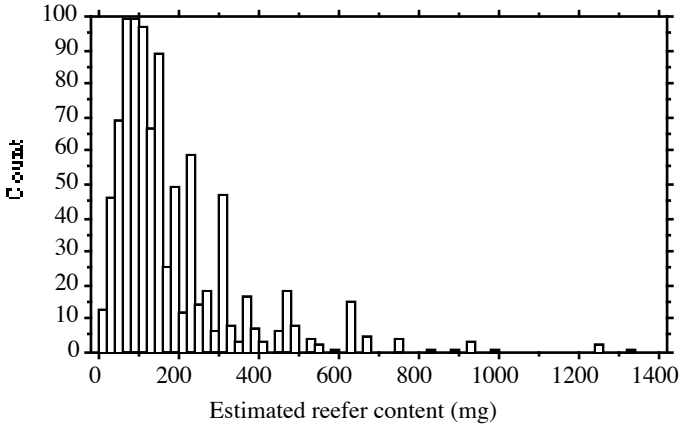


Table 4.11

Cultivation of Cannabis Plants			
1. Have you ever grown cannabis plants?	***n***	***%***	
Yes	739	60.1	
No	491	39.9	
Base	1230	**Response Rate (% of all respondents)**	92.3
2. What sort(s) of seeds or stock did you last grow from?			
Type(s) of seeds	**Total (exclusive)**	**Total (inc. combinations)**	**% of growers**
Hemp	80	109	16.2
Imported Bush	257	337	49.9
Pedigree Seeds	157	239	35.3
Cuttings	72	124	117.9
Base	670	**Response Rate (% of growers)**	90.7
3. What growing method(s)?			
Method	**Total (exclusive)**	**Total (inc. combinations)**	**% of growers**
Outdoor	99	165	23.4
Greenhouse	66	98	13.9
Indoor	410	501	71.2
Hydroponics	25	54	7.7
Base	704	**Response Rate (% of growers)**	95.3
4. What type(s) of lighting?			
Lighting	**Total (exclusive)**	**Total (inc. combinations)**	**% of growers**
Natural Light	474	514	76.6
Gro-lux	65	98	14.6
Metal Halide	21	62	92
HP Sodium	41	81	12.1
Total High Intensity		112	16.7
Base	671	**Response Rate (% of growers)**	90.8

Table 4.12

Number of plants grown on last occasion		
Number of Plants	*n*	%
1-5	356	50.0
6-10	150	21.1
11-15	57	8.0
16-20	43	6.0
21-30	22	3.1
31-50	29	4.1
51-100	22	3.1
101-300	12	1.7
>301	4	0.6
Mean No. Plants	19.2	
Base	695	

Table 4.13

Number of plants grown by frequency of cannabis use				
Frequency	***n***	**Mean No. plants**	**St. Dev**	**Std Error**
Experimental	13	9.0	13.0	3.6
Occasional	70	5.5	9.4	1.1
Regular	114	15.4	36.6	3.4
Daily	483	22.9	108.1	4.9
Other	15	7.1	12.2	3.1
Total	**712**	**19.2**	**90.6**	**3.4**

Table 4.14

Cannabis use Indices by number of plants grown		
Monthly Cannabis Use (g)		
No. of plants grown	**Mean**	**Std Dev**
Non Growers	19.9	50.7
10 plants or less	25.4	25.4
Over 10 plants	37.0	42.2
1 Factor ANOVA	***p* < .0001**	
Monthly Cannabis Purchase (g)		
No. of plants grown	**Mean**	**Std Dev**
Non Growers	28.6	110.7
10 plants or less	52.1	140.8
Over 10 plants	64.9	168.9
1 Factor ANOVA	***p* = .0015**	
Monthly Cannabis Spending (£)		
No. of plants grown	**Mean**	**Std Dev**
Non Growers	48.6	59.4
10 plants or less	74.9	92.3
Over 10 plants	87.6	115.9
1 Factor ANOVA	***p* < .0001**	
No of Spliffs Smoked per day		
No. of plants grown	**Mean**	**Std Dev**
Non Growers	4.6	4.3
10 plants or less	6.7	5.6
Over 10 plants	7.8	6.6
1 Factor ANOVA	***p* < .0001**	
No of Spliffs Rolled per day		
No. of plants grown	**Mean**	**Std Dev**
Non Growers	3.9	4.0
10 plants or less	5.7	5.4
Over 10 plants	6.8	5.7
1 Factor ANOVA	***p* < .0001**	
No of Pipes/knives Smoked per day		
No. of plants grown	**Mean**	**Std Dev**
Non Growers	1.6	3.0
10 plants or less	2.4	3.9
Over 10 plants	4.2	5.7
1 Factor ANOVA	***p* < .0001**	

Section 5 - The Cannabis Market

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The variety of products and prices within the UK cannabis market is not usually revealed by official statistics. Police and HM Customs sometimes give cash values for amounts seized, but these figures are often disputable, and the means by which they are calculated are opaque. Variations in availability and prices by quantity bought, and by region, are obscured by variations in different police forces' reporting methods, which are not made public.

Home Office statistics distinguish between 'Cannabis Resin' and 'Herbal Cannabis', but not usually between varieties within those broad categories. There is considerable variety in potency and composition. Cannabis users do distinguish between brands where a choice is available, although they seem less well-informed about their choices than in the past. We asked what percentage of their usage was of each variety (the market share), which they preferred (rated from 0-10), and what they would usually pay for them in various quantities. As well as the more common varieties we asked about a fictitious variety, 'OT' and about 'other/unknown' hashish and herbal cannabis for the benefit of those who either don't know what they are buying or don't care.

Cannabis for personal use is almost universally sold in 'imperial' measurements of fractions of an ounce. Common 'deals' are 1/16oz (1.75g), 1/8oz (3.5g), 1/4oz (7g), 1/2oz (14g) and 1oz (28g), with the unit price decreasing with larger amounts bought. Moroccan resin typically appears in the UK in 1/4 kilo (approx. 250g/9oz) 'bars', and the units of measurement used are usually metric above this quantity. Asian 'black' resin would commonly appear in kilo blocks. Imported herbal cannabis would normally arrive in the UK in the form of dried fruiting tops compressed into blocks.

The most common 1/8th price is £15, and the most common ounce price £90, although ‘eighths’ can sell for anywhere between £10 and £20 (typically £13 to £15), and ounces typically from £75 to £100. Significant numbers of respondents reported lower than average prices for resin, and higher prices for herbal cannabis, particularly the hybrid varieties such as 'Skunk'. (Tables 5.4 & 5.5). The proportions of regular use claimed for some rare varieties have probably been over-reported and the more common varieties under-reported.

Cannabis Resin (Hashish)

Legally known as 'Cannabis Resin', hashish or hash accounts for roughly two thirds of UK consumption. By far the largest proportion comes from North Africa, known as Moroccan hashish. The other common source is the Indian sub-continent, producing the softer, darker 'black' resins from Afghanistan, Pakistan (e.g. 'Red Seal'), India, and Nepal. Lebanese hashish was popular in the UK until the mid 1980s, although it is rarely seen now.

Hash from Morocco and the Lebanon is usually produced by sifting mature cannabis plant tops through fine sieves until a resinous powder remains, which is compressed and heated into blocks sealed with cellophane or cloth. The hash may be any colour from a dark yellow through reddish-brown, to dark brown. The consistency is normally hard and brittle, sometimes layered (light Moroccan) and sometimes slightly malleable (Lebanese).

The method usually used in the Indian sub-continent involves rubbing the resinous tops of the plant with hands or implements, allowing the resins to stick to skin or leather. These are then

scraped off and rolled into lumps, and later compressed into blocks. The colour is usually dark-brown to black on the surface, lighter inside. The consistency is normally soft, and a lump can be moulded into various shapes. Some 'black' -type resins are now imported from Central Africa[41].

The range of potencies (measured as THC content by dry weight) found in seized hashish has varied from under 1% to 26%, but would typically be 3% to 8%. Prices vary from £70 to £120 per ounce, typically £85 to £95, or £12-£15 per 'eighth'.

Asian Resin

The average reported retail price per eighth ounce across the UK for Asian 'black' cannabis resin was £14.83, the average UK ounce price was £90.68, and the average 'nine-bar' price was £648.30. Expressed as prices per gram, these would represent £4.24, £3.24 and £2.59 respectively. Users gave it an average rating of 7 out of 10 and a 9% share of the overall market.

Moroccan Resin

The most common type of cannabis available in the UK, accounting for 35% of the total. Dark Moroccan resin, also known as 'Soap Bar' or 'Black' is dark brown in colour, sometimes greenish, with a shiny exterior. Quality is extremely variable and the average rating is 6.9/10. The average retail price per eighth ounce across the UK was £14.41, the ounce price was £88.34 and the average 'nine-bar' price £629.26. As prices per gram, these would be £4.12, £3.16 and £2.52 respectively. It usually arrives the UK in 250g blocks approximately 3/4 inch thick, wrapped in clear cellophane, like a block of brown soap, often with a makers imprint.

Light Moroccan or 'slate' is normally found in thin slabs around 1/4 to 1/2 inch thick and light brown in colour, which is normally poor to medium quality, and crumbles to a powdery texture on heating. It is becoming less common, taking approximately 19% of the market in 1994. Average rating was 5.7/10 The average retail price per eighth ounce was £14.22, the ounce price was £86.80, and the average 'nine-bar' price was £617.87. Expressed as prices per gram, these would be £4.06, £3.10 and £2.47 respectively.

'Soap Bars' had 16% of the reported market share, almost certainly under-reported, as most respondents would not now differentiate between 'soap' and 'slate', 'Moroccan' would now almost always represent the soap-bar type.

The price differential at retail level between Moroccan and Asian 'black' resin has substantially disappeared; the comparative 1984 prices of Moroccan were 35% cheaper than black at the retail level; in 1994 the differential was only 2.9-4.3%. Prices at 'nine bar' level now reflect a similar differential, with 250g of Moroccan roughly £20-£30 cheaper than the same weight of Asian resin. Prices for 1 ounce or over were not gathered in 1984.[42]

Lebanese Resin

Lebanese resin appears in blocks up to 1 inch thick, wrapped in coarse white cloth commonly bearing a makers trademark. Quality is variable. The colour is gold/blond to dark red-brown and it has a pungent aromatic aroma depending on age and quality. Average rating was 6.6. Average prices were £14.42 per 'eighth', £88.65 per ounce, and £639.02 per 'nine-bar', or £4.12, £3.17 and £2.56 per gram respectively. Now rare (5% of consumption would appear to be an overestimate), but the runaway market leader in the 1984 survey.

The eighties prices for Lebanese were only 60-70% of those of 'black', this price differential has now been eroded, so perhaps users now pay a premium for novelty or nostalgia value.

Herbal Cannabis ('bush', 'weed')

Referred to in UK law as 'Cannabis', herbal cannabis accounts for roughly one third of UK consumption. Also known as 'Bush, Grass, Weed, Ganja, Herb, Draw, Marijuana, Sensi' etc. Normally what is sold is the flowering plant tops, with or without seeds. The presence of seeds indicates a lower quality product. Material which contains only leaves is generally considered of poor quality. Premium prices are normally paid only for indoor-grown intact or manicured flowering buds with only the smaller surrounding leaves remaining.

Herbal cannabis can be sub-divided into three distinctive quality ranges, Home Grown (rated 5.6), Imported(7-7.9), and 'Skunk' and other hybrids (rated 8.9). The different ratings of these varieties were reflected in the unit prices.

Potencies of herbal cannabis may range from 0.3% to 22% THC according to age, presence of seeds, method of storage and variety of parent plant. These would typically be 1%-9% of dry weight for compressed imported cannabis with seeds, 5%-15% for prime manicured buds or indoor hybrids, and 0-4% for leaf[43],[44]. Herbal cannabis tends to be consumed more rapidly than hashish. (Table 5.2) This may be partially due to deals of herbal cannabis containing amounts of stem (5-15% dry weight) and seeds (0-30% of dry weight), resulting in less usable material than the equivalent amount of resin.

Home Grown (leaf)

This is the lowest quality (average rating 5.6), normally green leaf material or whole plants, especially those grown outdoors which would commonly bear some seeds. It accounts for 8% of consumption. The mean 1/8oz price of home grown herbal cannabis range was £7.26 (£2.07 per gram), ounce prices £46.85 (£1.67 per gram), and a 9oz (250g) price of £132.15 (53p per gram). In each case the lowest price, and the most commonly reported, was zero, i.e. the cannabis had been given away free. Although 'other/unknown bush' is generally assumed by buyers to be imported, some of it may be high quality homegrown.

Imported Herbal Cannabis

Considered to be of medium to good quality with an average rating 7.2, most imported cannabis comes in compressed blocks of dried flowering and fruiting tops (with seeds), most commonly originating from Africa or the Far East (e.g. Thailand), with smaller amounts from the Caribbean. In total, these imports account for 21% of consumption.

Mean reported prices for one eighth ounce ranged from £15.12 (African) to £16.89 (American/Caribbean), or £4.32 to £4.83 per gram. Mean ounce prices ranged from £92.51 (other/unknown bush) to £99.24 (American/Caribbean), or £3.30 to £3.54 per gram. Mean 250g prices were from £620.42 (African) to £674.33 (other/unknown) or £2.48 to £2.70 per gram. African cannabis can sell for as little as £10 per 'eighth', or £70 per ounce, although £15 per eighth and £90 per ounce are the most common prices. Overall, prices of imported bush are slightly more expensive than cannabis resin, typically in the range £80 to £110 per ounce.

'Skunk' and other hybrids

The proportion of cannabis grown in the UK would appear to have doubled between 1984 and 1994, most of this being attributed to indoor cultivation of better quality cannabis strains. These make up 13% of reported consumption. Such plants are typically bred for short stature, bushiness, early flowering and high flower/leaf ratio. Most of the highest potency buds (17%-22% THC) grown indoors in the UK have used high intensity lights and traditional organic-based compost, rather than a hydroponic growth medium.

The name 'skunk' refers to a particularly pungent, but not unpleasant-smelling hybrid variety which has been very well publicised by the press and police in recent years. Much of what is sold as skunk is simply buds of any indoor variety, and as such the quality is not guaranteed. Premium quality cannabis is found in manicured buds with a minimum of surrounding leaves, and few or no seeds. It is mostly grown by individual users with little leakage onto the open market, although commercial-scale operations have been seized by police. Occasionally it is imported from Europe. The mean reported prices for 'Skunk' were £21.26 per eighth ounce (£6.07 per gram), £128.79 per ounce (£4.60 per gram), and £888.85 per 1/4 kilo (£3.56 per gram). Other hybrids, particularly 'Northern Lights' have their followings, and command similar prices (typically £100-£160 per ounce), and a range of other exotic varieties (e.g. 'White Widow', 'Jack Herer') have become available. There appears to be little evidence to support a common police 'skunk' valuation based on unit prices of £10 per gram or more.

Other/Unknown Cannabis

Around 10% of reported hashish use and 7.5% of herbal cannabis use are 'other' or 'unknown'. Some of the 'other' was rare or exotic varieties not listed on the survey form, and where respondents gave information about these the answers were coded appropriately - e.g. 'charas', a very high quality hashish from the Himalayas, went under 'Asian Black'. These were typically very small proportions of total use. Most of the respondents seem to have meant 'unknown' in that they did not know, or perhaps care, what the ultimate origin of their supplies was. If anything, the results suggest today's cannabis users to be less sophisticated than their predecessors, with little awareness of origin besides broad terms such as 'Rocky', 'Black', 'Bush' and 'Skunk'. The 18% of the market buying 'Other/Unknown' hash and grass support this theory.

Geographical variations in price

There were some differences in cannabis prices related to the type of area (i.e. urban/rural) the respondents lived in, but none of these variations with locality were statistically significant, except for 250g 'soap' bar resin, Thai and African bush. Although 'Home Grown' prices tended to be lower in rural areas, this was not significant due to the very wide variations in prices (Table 5.6).

There was very little regional variation in cannabis prices between areas within the UK, although they were slightly higher in the South West, and lower in Scotland. The range of prices for most varieties was narrowest in Scotland (Table 5.7).

Comparison of the market profile with seizure statistics

Of the 94,847 police and Customs seizures of cannabis products in 1994, 64.4% were of resin, 29.5% of herbal, 6% of plants (total herbal & plants 35.5%) and 0.1% of liquid cannabis ('hash oil'). The respective proportions in this survey (56.7% resin, 41.8% herbal), tended to underestimate resin by around 8% and overestimate herbal by around 6%. The very much higher proportion of oil reported in the survey (1.3%), as well as the unexpectedly high reported levels of Lebanese probably result from selective memory underestimating usage of common varieties and overestimating the rarer types.

Other price surveys

The Drugs Intelligence Laboratory (DIL)[45] and Customs & Excise (HMCE)[46] price lists provide no information on how the data was gathered, although these are understood to derive from police sources. There appears to be little consistency in cannabis prices quoted from different police areas, some quoting genuine 'ounce' prices, others an ounce price based on the equivalent eighth or sixteenth ounce price. In February 1994 DIL quoted UK average prices

of £100 per ounce, varying between £80 to £140 both for herbal cannabis and resin, with 'skunk' prices

quoted from £140 to £160 per ounce. In March 1996 HMCE quoted a UK average resin price of £94 per ounce, varying between £60 and £120, with kilo prices from £1600 to £3500, and a herbal price of £105 per ounce, varying between £50 and £140, with kilo prices from £1500 to £3500, and 'Skunk' prices quoted at an average of £160 per ounce .

The 1994 Release survey of street drugs agencies[47] questioned staff at drugs agencies throughout Great Britain, finding that the price of both cannabis and cannabis resin was fairly constant at £15 per 1/8th ounce, with ounce prices quoted at £100 per ounce, and varying between £70 and £120. Neither the Release nor the police surveys state the number of reports on which prices are based (sample size), or the type or origin of cannabis or cannabis resin involved.

Economics of the market

Cannabis prices are virtually uniform throughout the UK, with little if any variation in price by region or by locality. Although prices are now roughly double those reported in 1984 (e.g. Moroccan resin at £14 per 1/4 oz or 7g), most of the intervening rise in price took place during the period 1985-87, and cannabis prices have remained more or less stable ever since. The 'drought' of Moroccan resin during early 1986 did not appear to have any long-term effect on prices. Although 'skunk' and other varieties have become more common, these types form a small fraction of the market, and such supply tends to be informal, rarely involving any organised criminal syndicates or large-scale production.

Cannabis trading in the UK is apparently a responsive free market , where choke points in the supply chain from overseas grower to consumer have little or no effect on the overall market. There are choke points provided by Customs and police activity, which other agricultural luxuries such as olives or coffee do not experience. From the evidence we have it seems that those pressures must act in the same way as the tariffs and subsidies which are used to make agricultural markets efficient, by stabilising prices and availability. Surpluses are diverted and destroyed by legal action, or redirected by suppliers to other parts of the market inside the UK or elsewhere, or warehoused. Shortages are responded to by flexible supply and distribution networks obtaining the product from multiple sources. Prices are more variable in larger quantities, indicating that the bottom of the supply chain is responsive to consumer pressure. Traders in this sort of market have, in economists' terms, a 'reasonable expectation of normal profit'. Another economic model which might fit some of our evidence is a national monopoly, which would also provide stable prices and availability, but that does not fit with the range of sources and quality, or with the conviction and seizure statistics.

Estimating prevalence from arrest indicators

A total of 582,204 persons had been convicted or cautioned for cannabis offences up to and including 1994. If these persons represent 21.2% of regular users (the proportion of respondents 'busted'), the respondents to this survey would represent some 2.75 million individuals. At average consumption of 24.8g per month per person, this group would consume some 817.3 metric tonnes of cannabis products in 1994, worth £3.5 billion at street level. The true figure could be higher or lower, depending on a number of factors including whether the proportion of respondents, mainly festival attenders, who had been 'busted' was representative. Given the likelihood that festival goers (attenders of outdoor events) may be up to twice as likely to be arrested for drugs as other users[48], and the year on year increase in cannabis arrests, these figures probably underestimate the size and current value of the cannabis market in 1997.

Table 5.1

Cannabis Market Analysis			
Variety	**Number reporting**	**Weighted % of use**	**Adjusted for unknown**
Light Moroccan resin	701	15.9	18.7
Dark Moroccan resin	664	18.8	22.1
Lebanese resin	371	4.7	5.5
Asian 'Black' resin	388	7.3	8.6
Other/unknown resin	414	10.0	-
Oil	197	1.3	
African	348	6.8	8.5
Thai	339	4.9	6.8
Caribbean/S. American	171	2.1	2.4
Other/Unknown herbal	363	7.5	-
Skunk	607	9.1	
Northern Lights	265	2.8	
Haze	124	1.0	
Home Grown	486	7.6	
Total Resin		**56.7**	
Total Herbal		**41.8**	
Total Imported Herbal		**21.3**	
Total Home Produced		**20.5**	

Table 5.2

Cannabis Varieties - Use Patterns		
Variety	**Coefficient of use (C*n*)**	**Weighted Equivalent monthly consumption**
Light Moroccan	0.80	21.91
Dark Moroccan	0.96	26.17
Lebanese	1.11	30.32
Asian Black	0.99	27.04
Other/Unknown Hashish	0.88	24.11
African Bush	1.05	28.76
Thai Bush	1.11	27.58
American/Caribbean Bush	1.27	34.61
Skunk	1.14	30.97
Northern Lights	1.74	47.34
Haze	1.81	49.26
Home Grown	0.75	20.37
Other/Unknown Bush	1.10	29.94

The coefficient compares the raw percentages of reported use of each variety (equivalent to assuming each respondent consumes an equal amount), with the percentage of use weighted by the consumption of each respondent (equivalent to the total use of each variety by all respondents). Values below 1 indicate that users of that variety tend to consume less than average (g/month) compared to the whole survey population, and users with a coefficient over 1 would tend to consume more than average.

Table 5.3

Subjective Ratings of Cannabis Varieties			
Variety	**Base (n)**	**Mean Rating (0-10)**	**St.Dev**
Light Moroccan resin	667	5.73	2.14
Dark Moroccan resin	625	6.92	1.84
Lebanese resin	380	6.64	2.06
Asian 'Black' resin	396	7.01	2.00
Other/unknown resin	358	6.38	2.46
Oil	238	8.12	2.17
African	346	7.15	1.83
Thai	345	7.95	1.77
Caribbean/S. American	179	7.03	2.29
Other/Unknown herbal	317	6.44	2.18
Skunk	593	8.93	1.41
Northern Lights	288	8.94	1.70
Haze	127	8.26	2.57
Home Grown	471	5.64	2.47

Table 5.4

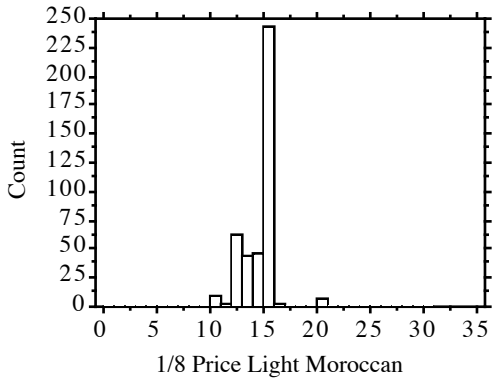
UK Cannabis Prices by Variety of Cannabis (1994/95)

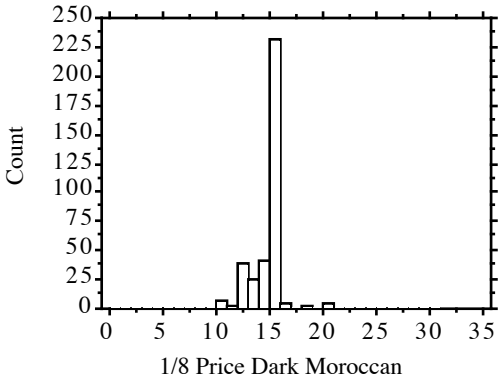
Variety of Cannabis	1/8 oz (3.5g) price				
	Avg Price*	base	St.Dev	Min price	Max price
Light Moroccan	**£14.22**	410	1.4	10	20
Dark Moroccan	**£14.41**	352	1.3	10	20
Lebanese	**£14.42**	216	1.5	8	20
Asian Black	**£14.83**	217	2.2	10	30
Other/Unknown resin	**£14.91**	211	1.8	10	25
Thai Bush	**£15.86**	177	2.6	8	23
African Bush	**£15.12**	155	2.4	10	25
American/Caribbean	**£16.89**	100	3.9	10	30
Skunk	**£21.26**	309	4.7	0	35
Northern Lights	**£22.15**	144	4.9	10	35
Haze	**£21.81**	64	4.9	13	35
Home Grown	**£7.26**	147	6.1	0	25
Other/Unknown Bush	**£15.75**	121	4.2	0	35
Hash Oil (gram)	**£15.00**	88	5.5	5	30
	1 oz (28g) price				
	Avg Price	**base**	**St.Dev**	**Min price**	**Max price**
Light Moroccan	**86.80**	252	8.89	60	110
Dark Moroccan	**88.34**	221	7.8	60	110
Lebanese	**88.65**	136	11.4	60	160
Asian Black	**90.68**	133	14.7	60	160
Other/Unknown resin	**90.53**	109	11.5	60	140
Thai Bush	**98.21**	102	17.1	70	160
African Bush	**92.71**	97	18.5	70	240
American/Caribbean	**99.24**	59	20.5	75	180
Skunk	**128.79**	170	29.3	70	230
Northern Lights	**136.13**	84	32.9	70	230
Haze	**135.81**	43	32.9	85	230
Home Grown	**46.85**	84	37.9	0	180
Other/Unknown Bush	**92.51**	60	13.2	75	140
	9 oz (250g) price				
	Avg Price	**base**	**St.Dev**	**Min price**	**Max price**
Light Moroccan	**617.87**	101	68.3	350	875
Dark Moroccan	**629.26**	80	70.6	200	800
Lebanese	**639.02**	51	96.3	500	1200
Asian Black	**648.30**	47	93.6	500	1200
Other/Unknown resin	**625.79**	38	80.1	350	900
Thai Bush	**671.82**	33	126.0	450	1200
African Bush	**620.42**	24	42.2	540	675
American/Caribbean	**660.38**	13	141.0	540	1100
Skunk	**888.85**	33	270.1	200	1500
Northern Lights	**839.21**	19	246.9	200	1260
Haze	**833.70**	10	164.0	625	1200
Home Grown	**132.15**	15	222.2	0	625
Other/Unknown Bush	**674.33**	15	145.0	500	1000

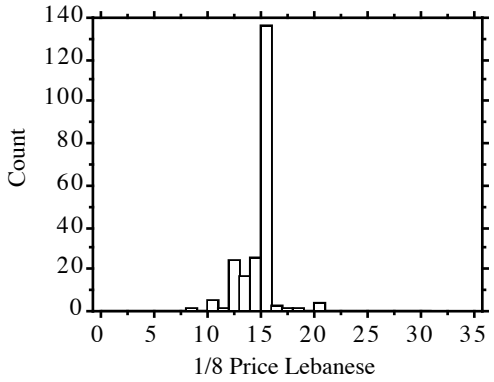
*Arithmetical mean prices, mostly given in multiples of £1. A mean for 1/8 oz price below £15.00 therefore suggests that more respondents gave lower prices than higher. £15 was the most commonly-quoted price for 1/8 oz in most categories. The greater the standard deviation, the greater the variation in price.
The data include a limited number of 1995 valuations.
Price information was included in questionnaires for only 1149 respondents.

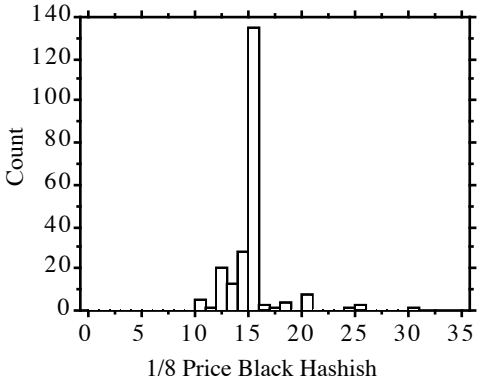
Table 5.5 Range of UK Cannabis Prices by Variety (1994/5)

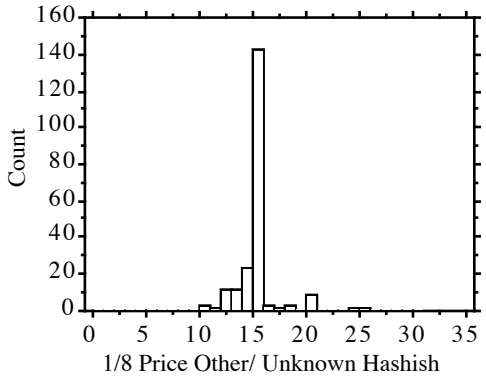
(a) 1/8th ounce (3.5g)

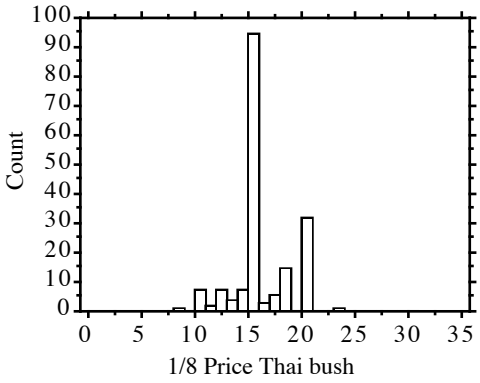


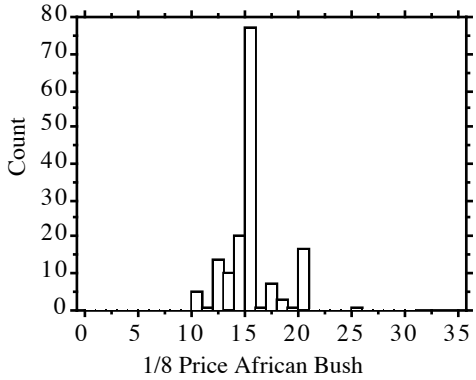












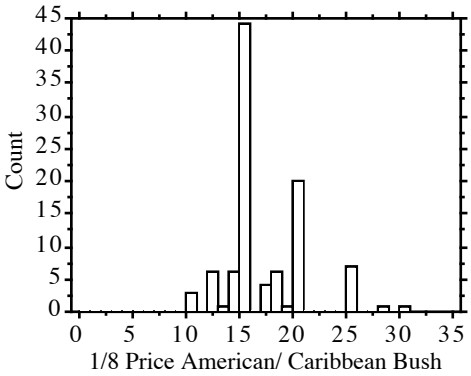
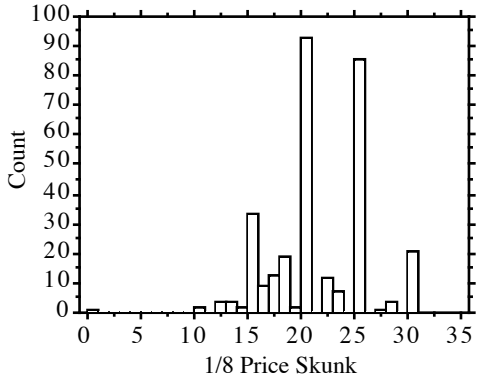
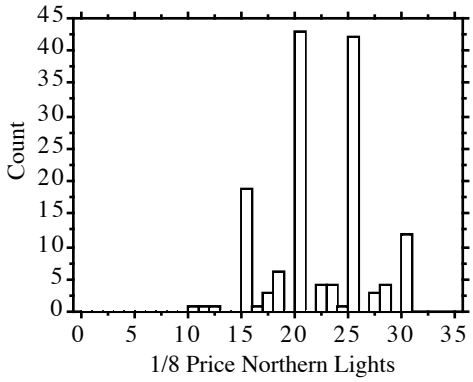
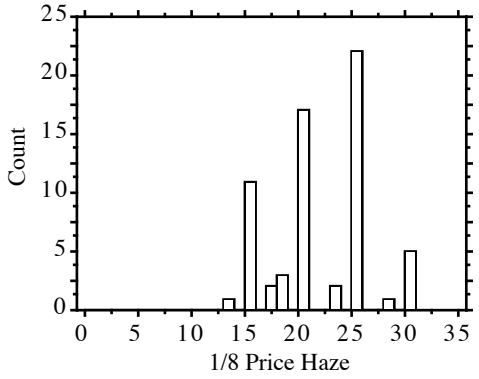
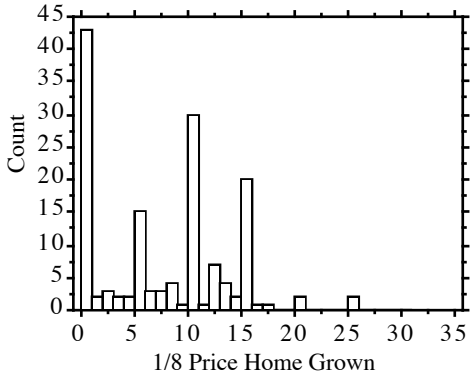


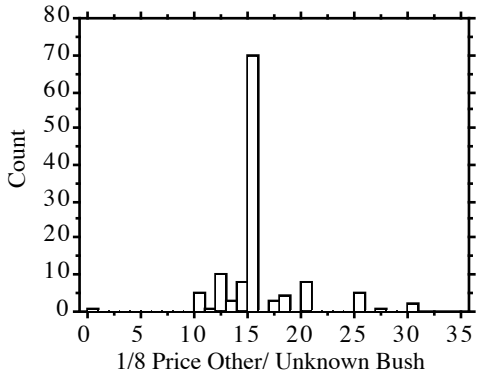
Table 5.5 (cont.)Range of UK Cannabis Prices by Variety











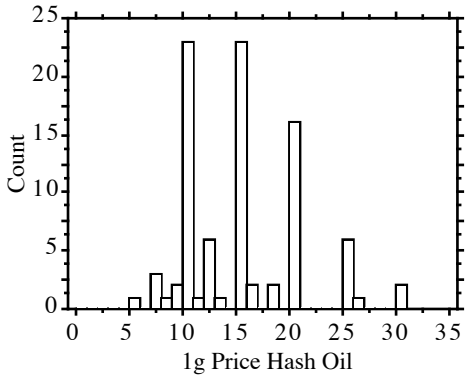
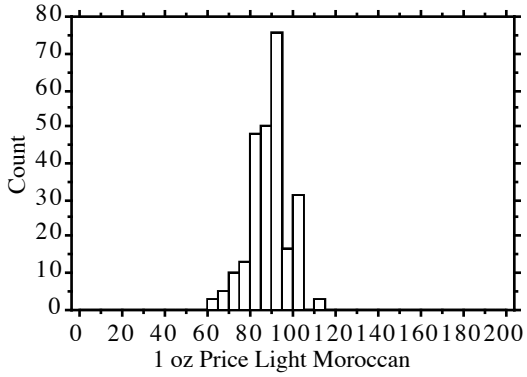
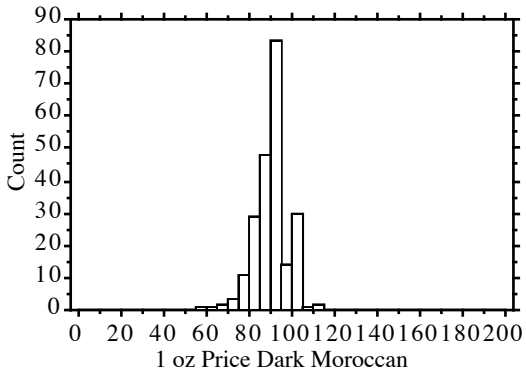
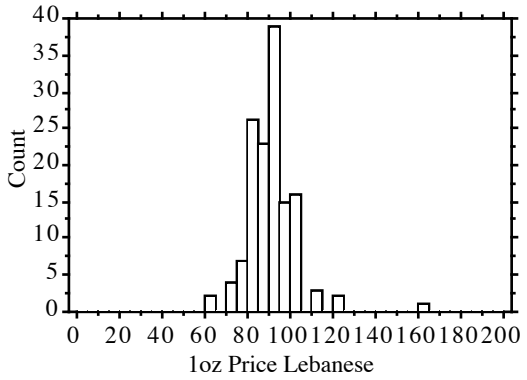


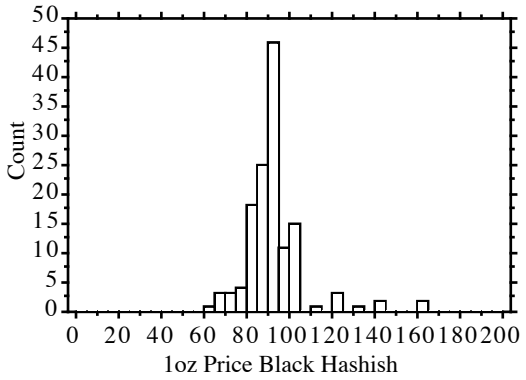
Table 5.5 (cont.)Range of UK Cannabis Prices by Variety

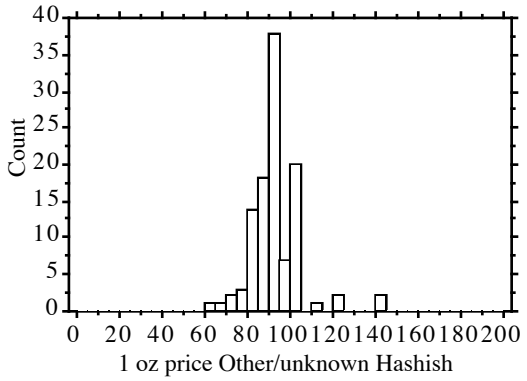
(b) Ounce (28g)

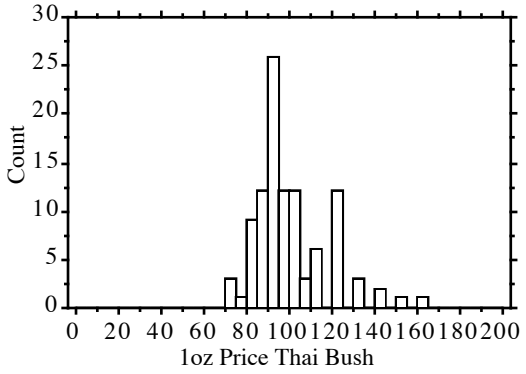


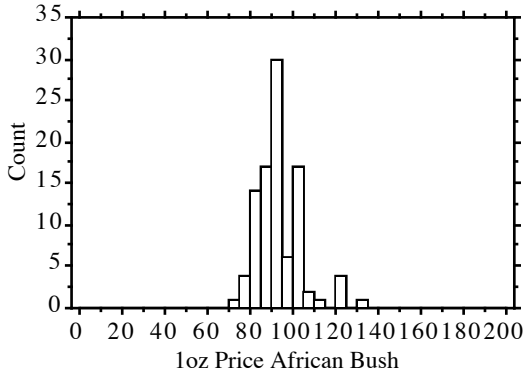












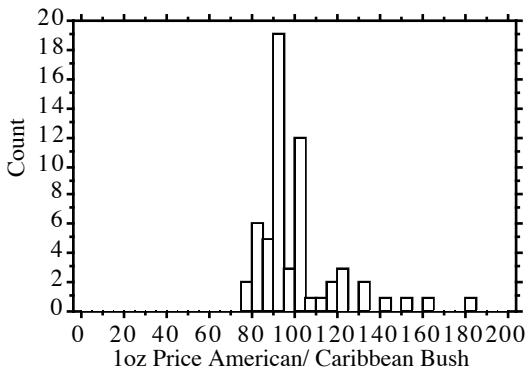
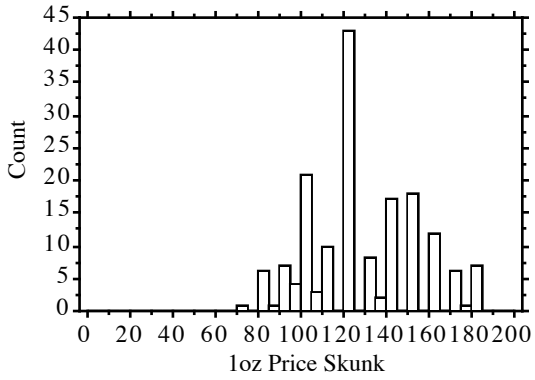
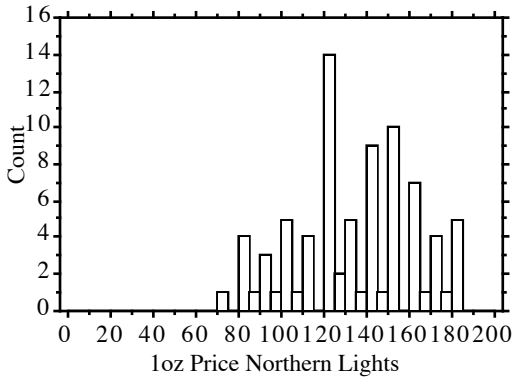
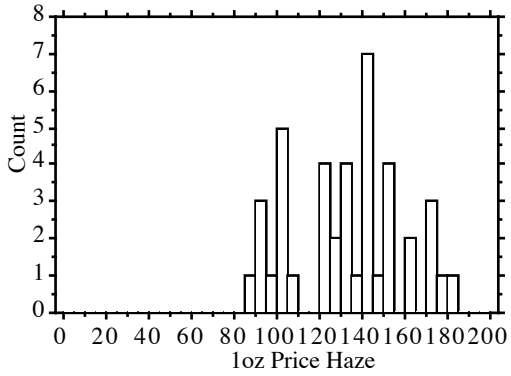
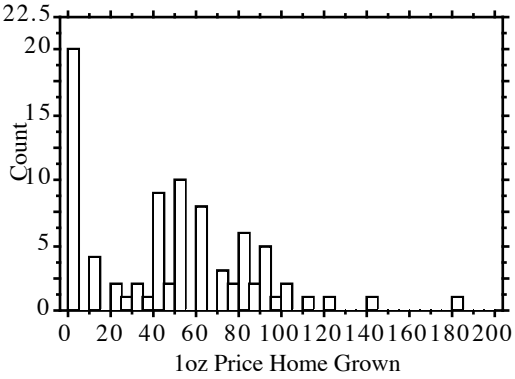


Table 5.5 (cont.)Range of UK Cannabis Prices by Variety









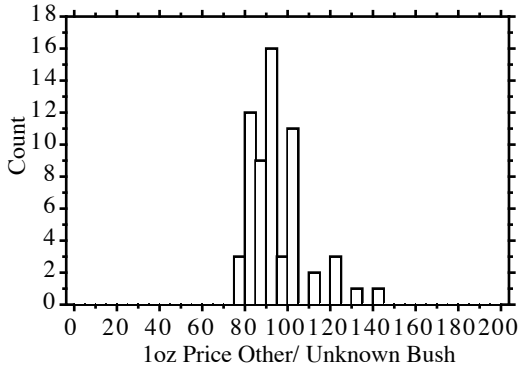
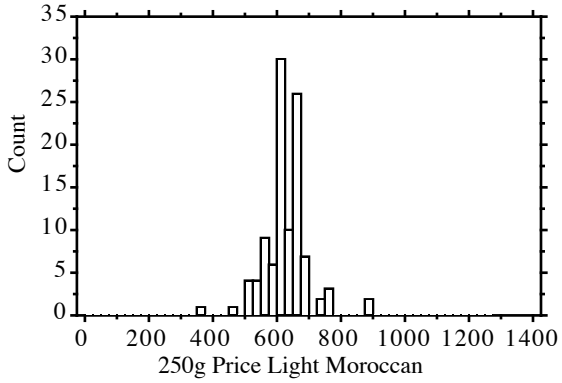
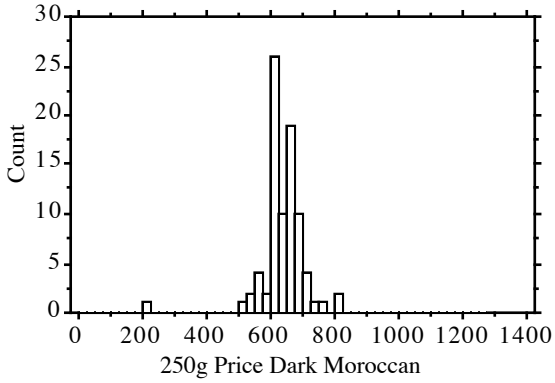
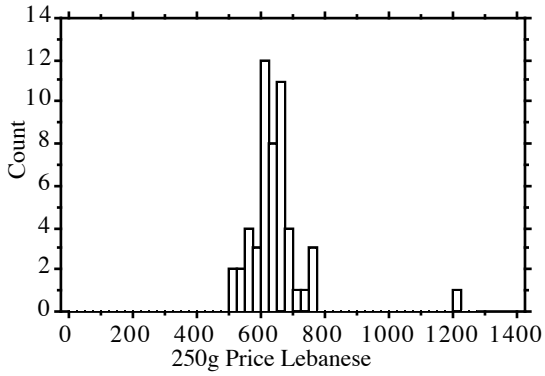


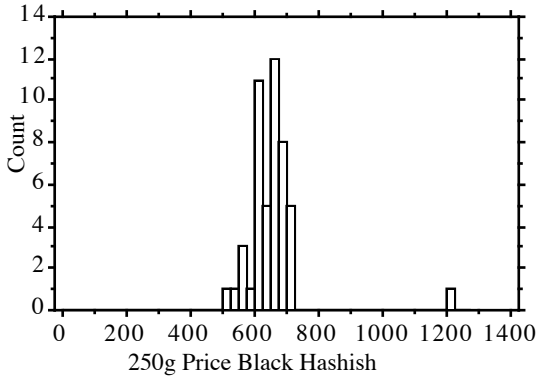
Table 5.5 (cont.)Range of UK Cannabis Prices by Variety

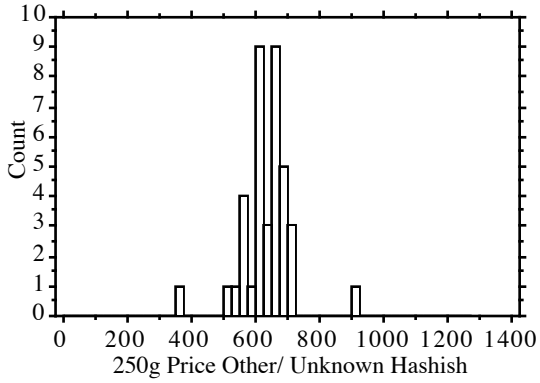
(c) 9 ounce (250g) 'bars'

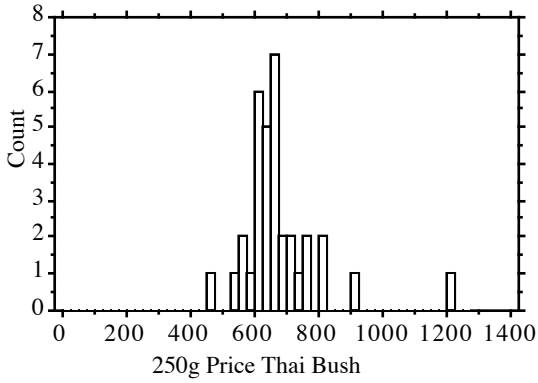


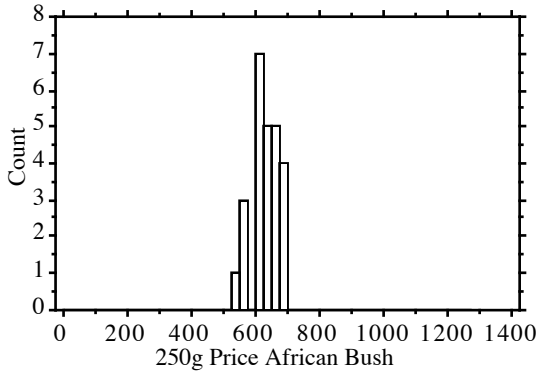












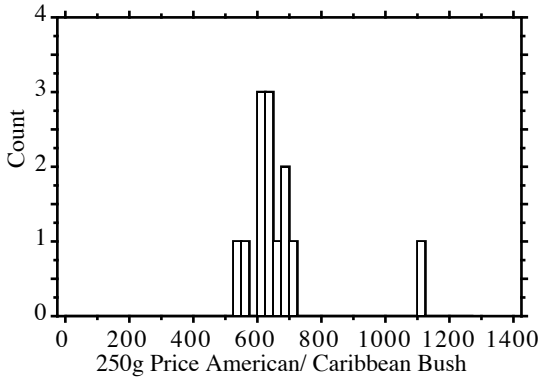
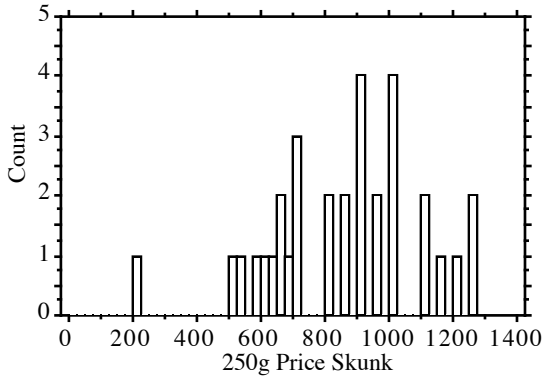
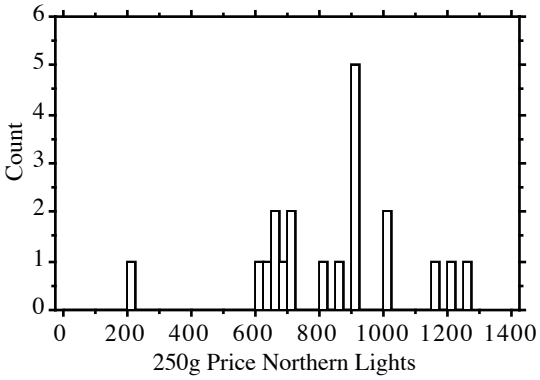
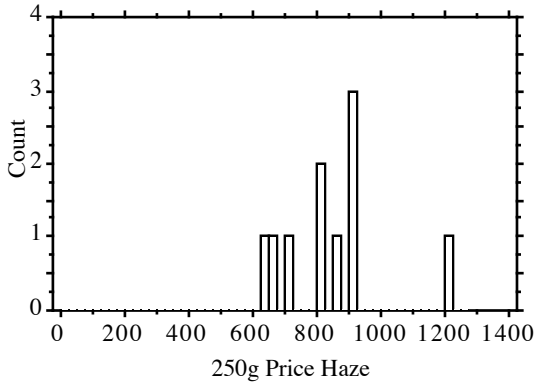
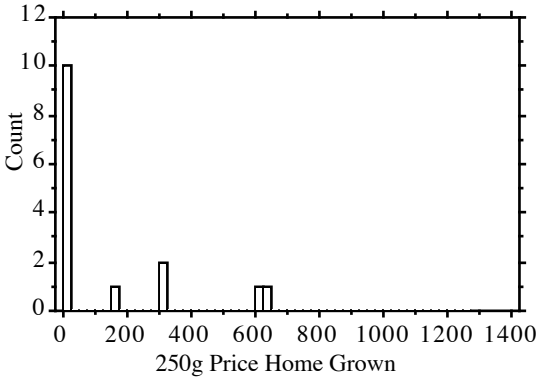


Table 5.5 (cont.) Range of UK Cannabis Prices by Variety









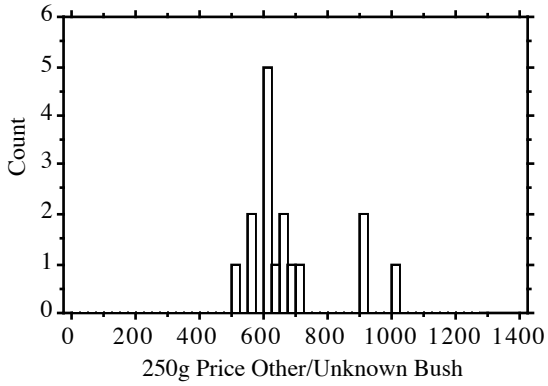


Table 5.6 UK Cannabis Prices by Variety and Locality

Light Moroccan Hashish ('Slate')									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**
Inner City	87	14.33	1.61	51	87.85	9.13	17	619.12	78.33
Suburbs	76	14.31	1.29	47	87.51	7.50	15	590.00	97.12
Towns	161	14.24	1.34	110	86.65	8.68	47	629.04	62.15
Rural	73	13.95	1.59	32	86.25	7.93	17	615.88	37.92
UK Average	410	**14.22**	1.40	252	**86.80**	8.89	101	**617.87**	68.30

Dark Moroccan Hashish ('Soap bar')									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**
Inner City	63	14.70	1.27	37	88.85	7.51	13	606.92	32.95
Suburbs	66	14.36	1.01	43	88.91	6.51	13	603.08	53.64
Towns	148	14.26	1.30	102	88.06	7.30	35	657.46	49.14
Rural	60	14.45	1.62	27	87.41	8.13	15	638.33	48.69
UK Average	352	**14.41**	1.30	221	**88.34**	7.80	80	**629.26**	70.60

Lebanese Hashish									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**
Inner City	43	14.86	1.31	27	88.89	9.54	8	601.88	40.88
Suburbs	41	14.50	1.44	25	90.20	10.56	8	611.25	55.08
Towns	92	14.34	1.58	65	89.42	12.64	26	666.92	122.26
Rural	34	14.12	1.38	15	84.33	9.61	5	632.00	26.83
UK Average	216	**14.42**	1.50	136	**88.65**	11.40	51	**639.02**	96.30

Asian 'Black' Hashish									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**
Inner City	37	15.57	2.66	19	93.95	19.69	4	585.00	50.66
Suburbs	41	14.48	1.23	27	88.81	10.55	7	622.14	74.83
Towns	96	14.66	2.20	62	89.48	11.20	26	651.73	31.75
Rural	34	15.18	2.65	18	96.11	23.17	6	726.67	233.66
UK Average	217	**14.83**	2.2	133	**90.68**	14.7	47	**648.30**	93.6

Other/Unknown Hashish									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**
Inner City	43	14.98	1.30	24	94.06	12.35	6	603.33	48.85
Suburbs	56	15.29	1.94	28	88.79	10.80	10	607.50	141.37
Towns	78	14.90	1.94	42	90.69	11.46	16	650.62	36.96
Rural	25	14.48	1.58	9	88.89	7.82	3	630.00	34.64
UK Average	211	**14.91**	1.8	109	**90.53**	11.5	38	**625.79**	80.1

Table 5.6 (cont.) UK Cannabis Prices by Variety and Locality

Thai Bush									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**
Inner City	30	16.30	2.20	16	99.06	19.08	7	578.57	70.58
Suburbs	37	15.96	2.12	28	101.07	19.41	6	630.83	19.60
Towns	72	15.58	3.04	46	97.22	14.98	17	727.06	146.23
Rural	29	16.19	2.46	8	98.75	17.88	1	590.00	•
UK Average	177	**15.86**	2.6	102	**98.21**	17.1	33	**671.82**	126.0

African Bush									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**
Inner City	29	14.88	2.46	17	93.12	10.1	3	563.33	32.15
Suburbs	27	15.72	2.45	16	93.75	9.57	1	600.00	•
Towns	68	14.90	2.35	45	92.78	25.01	13	627.69	37.67
Rural	27	15.48	2.68	15	93.67	10.77	5	643.00	10.95
UK Average	155	**15.12**	2.4	97	**92.71**	18.5	24	**620.42**	42.2

American/Caribbean Bush									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**
Inner City	19	17.61	4.39	11	112.73	29.01	3	563.33	32.15
Suburbs	25	16.22	3.50	14	94.64	15.25	3	775.00	281.74
Towns	44	16.74	3.57	29	97.76	18.64	4	637.50	32.27
Rural	9	18.33	5.00	2	95.00	7.07	2	672.50	67.18
UK Average	100	**16.89**	3.9	59	**99.24**	20.5	13	**660.38**	141.0

Skunk									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**
Inner City	64	21.61	5.02	35	131.00	30.34	7	834.29	266.51
Suburbs	66	21.03	4.05	30	137.83	32.15	1	1300.00	•
Towns	115	21.43	4.93	72	124.10	26.53	13	882.46	180.78
Rural	55	20.75	4.55	24	127.08	28.17	8	965.00	317.72
UK Average	309	**21.26**	4.7	170	**128.79**	29.3	33	**888.85**	270.1

Northern Lights						
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**
Inner City	34	23.09	4.87	21	144.76	28.96
Suburbs	27	20.80	3.87	13	145.00	43.49
Towns	61	22.65	5.20	38	131.05	30.58
Rural	18	21.44	5.52	9	132.22	35.63
UK Average	144	**22.15**	4.9	84	**136.13**	32.9

Table 5.6 (cont.) UK Cannabis Prices by Variety and Locality

Haze						
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**
Inner City	13	21.50	6.16	10	133.5	30.56
Suburbs	11	21.36	3.50	6	155.83	48.21
Towns	30	22.38	4.76	22	137.05	28.89
Rural	7	22.86	4.88	2	120.00	42.43
UK Average	64	**21.81**	4.9	43	**135.81**	32.9

Home Grown									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**
Inner City	25	8.90	6.49	17	52.35	37.34	3	0	0
Suburbs	24	8.17	7.12	17	53.82	50.45	2	0	0
Towns	60	6.95	6.07	34	48.11	36.36	6	255.37	299.8
Rural	30	6.50	5.22	11	35.00	22.69	1	300.00	•
UK Average	147	**7.26**	6.1	84	**46.85**	37.9	15	**132.15**	222.2

Other/Unknown Bush									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**	***n***	**Mean**	**SD**
Inner City	27	15.22	3.16	11	93.00	10.15	4	550.00	40.82
Suburbs	31	15.90	3.52	14	92.86	11.22	2	620.00	28.28
Towns	42	16.50	5.71	25	94.2	16.56	4	787.50	131.50
Rural	15	14.83	2.56	7	88.21	9.43	3	750.00	217.94
UK Average	121	**15.75**	4.2	60	**92.51**	13.2	15	**674.33**	145.0

Hash Oil			
Region	**1 g Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**SD**
Inner City	16	15.28	5.44
Suburbs	13	13.00	6.43
Towns	41	14.88	4.55
Rural	11	15.82	6.87
UK Average	88	**15.00**	5.5

A standard deviation of "0" indicates that all respondents gave the same price.
Where not included, analysis of 250g data was not possible due to missing cases.

Table 5.7 Regional variations in Cannabis prices by variety

Light Moroccan Hashish ('slate')									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**
London	62	**14.44**	1.36	36	**87.58**	7.35	8	**616.25**	52.63
South East	88	**13.94**	1.36	55	**84.82**	8.26	23	**590.22**	64.85
South West	63	**13.42**	1.47	36	**84.65**	8.66	18	**628.33**	39.74
East Anglia	19	**14.63**	0.88	15	**88.67**	5.81	3	**600.00**	50
Midlands	42	**14.74**	1.14	30	**90.50**	5.31	14	**630.71**	47.43
Wales	22	**14.05**	1.2	13	**84.23**	12.22	7	**601.43**	79.93
Yorks/Humbs	28	**13.98**	1.26	12	**89.00**	3.59	8	**625.62**	67.64
North West	37	**14.50**	1.42	23	**82.72**	10.47	13	**597.69**	58.12
North East	17	**14.88**	0.49	11	**89.55**	11.28	1	**650.00**	•
Scotland	14	**15.00**	0	9	**95.00**	5	2	**687.50**	53.03
Overseas	7	**14.86**	3.93	5	**92.40**	20.16	3	**766.67**	187.64
Not Stated	12	**14.46**	2.09	7	**85.00**	9.13	1	**650.00**	•
UK Average	410	**14.22**	1.4	252	**86.80**	8.89	101	**617.87**	68.3

Dark Moroccan Hashish ('soap bar')									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**
London	46	**14.95**	1.15	31	**89.52**	7.34	8	**603.75**	40.33
South East	76	**13.97**	1.43	49	**85.09**	7.65	17	**608.88**	34.25
South West	51	**13.74**	1.29	23	**86.63**	7.21	14	**651.43**	67.01
East Anglia	20	**14.60**	.87	16	**87.81**	7.95	2	**650.00**	0
Midlands	41	**14.83**	1.42	23	**91.09**	5.21	8	**634.38**	39.59
Wales	23	**14.46**	0.94	13	**89.23**	8.13	9	**677.22**	37.68
Yorks/Humbs	23	**14.46**	0.98	13	**90.08**	4.01	6	**625.00**	50
North West	29	**14.98**	1.41	25	**87.80**	8.64	8	**641.25**	34.62
North East	11	**14.82**	0.6	7	**90.71**	13.05	1	**700.00**	•
Scotland	15	**15.00**	0	10	**95.00**	5.77	3	**500.00**	259.81
Overseas	5	**13.00**	2.45	2	**82.50**	10.61	1	**550.00**	•
Not Stated	14	**14.43**	1.24	10	**86.50**	13.55	3	**646.67**	105.04
UK Average	352	**14.41**	1.3	221	**88.34**	7.8	80	**629.26**	70.6

Lebanese Hashish									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**
London	28	**15.02**	1.63	13	**90.38**	12.49	4	**597.50**	45
South East	42	**14.02**	1.56	29	**84.31**	9.61	14	**607.14**	41.4
South West	33	**13.65**	1.5	13	**81.54**	8.26	6	**645.00**	53.85
East Anglia	12	**14.83**	0.58	7	**85.71**	7.32	2	**650.00**	0
Midlands	32	**14.69**	0.73	24	**91.25**	8.37	8	**633.12**	33.48
Wales	14	**14.14**	1.08	10	**89.20**	9.05	4	**646.25**	94.28
Yorks/Humbs	8	**14.50**	1.07	4	**91.25**	2.5	3	**633.33**	72.17
North West	19	**14.74**	1.55	17	**90.00**	7.91	6	**609.17**	51.71
North East	7	**15.00**	0	5	**89.00**	15.17	1	**750.00**	•
Scotland	9	**14.67**	1.87	7	**95.00**	5	2	**687.50**	53.03
Overseas	5	**15.00**	4.12	2	**117.50**	60.1	1	**1200**	•
Not Stated	7	**14.50**	0.96	5	**91.00**	8.94	0	•	•
UK Average	216	**14.42**	1.5	136	**88.65**	11.4	51	**639.02**	96.3

Table 5.7 (cont.) Regional variations in cannabis prices

Asian 'Black' Hashish									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**
London	21	**15.76**	3.09	16	**89.88**	11.73	5	**578.00**	46.58
South East	45	**14.79**	2.26	30	**91.33**	19.12	14	**664.29**	160.95
South West	33	**14.58**	2.44	16	**94.06**	23.68	4	**648.75**	46.61
East Anglia	12	**16.25**	4.33	8	**93.12**	19.99	2	**650.00**	0
Midlands	30	**14.32**	1.05	20	**89.65**	8.32	7	**661.43**	38.16
Wales	15	**14.43**	0.98	10	**91.00**	7.38	5	**665.00**	28.5
Yorks/Humbs	10	**14.35**	1.08	5	**90.60**	5.64	2	**612.50**	88.39
North West	25	**14.90**	1.94	17	**86.00**	9.62	6	**629.17**	28.88
North East	5	**15.00**	0	3	**90.00**	5.00	1	**650.00**	•
Scotland	10	**15.20**	0.63	5	**95.00**	7.07	1	**680.00**	•
Overseas	3	**14.33**	4.04	0	•	•	0	•	•
Not Stated	8	**14.31**	1.03	5	**88.00**	7.58	1	**650.00**	•
UK Average	217	**14.83**	2.2	133	**90.68**	14.7	47	**648.30**	93.6

Other/Unknown Hashish									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**
London	27	**15.06**	1.36	14	**89.29**	6.75	4	**580.00**	42.43
South East	42	**14.80**	2.34	23	**87.09**	14.2	9	**582.22**	102.93
South West	32	**14.28**	1.88	9	**90.00**	19.53	6	**646.67**	36.56
East Anglia	15	**14.73**	0.7	7	**89.29**	6.07	0	•	•
Midlands	35	**14.90**	1.15	18	**88.22**	10.22	7	**635.71**	37.35
Wales	8	**16.38**	3.58	6	**95.17**	6.01	0	•	•
Yorks/Humbs	13	**15.38**	1.19	5	**91.60**	7.92	0	•	•
North West	14	**15.64**	1.86	11	**90.68**	10.73	6	**663.33**	123.84
North East	3	**16.67**	2.89	2	**100.00**	14.14	0	•	•
Scotland	9	**15.11**	0.33	6	**100.00**	0	0	•	•
Overseas	3	**15.00**	0	3	**103.33**	15.28	0	•	•
Not Stated	11	**13.91**	1.63	5	**91.00**	5.48	6	**651.67**	53.54
UK Average	211	**14.91**	1.8	109	**90.53**	11.5	38	**625.79**	80.1

Thai Bush									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**
London	28	**16.21**	2.57	17	**95.00**	17.50	7	**602.14**	41.42
South East	35	**15.54**	2.83	25	**95.48**	14.96	9	**647.22**	47.77
South West	19	**15.08**	2.63	7	**88.57**	9.45	1	**750.00**	•
East Anglia	13	**15.15**	1.68	8	**93.12**	16.24	1	**625.00**	•
Midlands	21	**17.00**	3.12	12	**109.58**	16.98	2	**575.00**	176.78
Wales	10	**16.10**	2.33	6	**110.83**	29.05	2	**775.00**	35.36
Yorks/Humbs	13	**16.15**	2.19	7	**101.43**	16.00	4	**612.50**	47.87
North West	17	**16.24**	2.56	10	**96.50**	17.65	5	**817.00**	238.76
North East	4	**16.25**	2.5	0	•	•	0	•	•
Scotland	6	**16.50**	1.67	0	•	•	0	•	•
Overseas	3	**15.00**	5	0	•	•	0	•	•
Not Stated	9	**13.61**	2.2	11	**98.18**	11.89	3	**690.00**	96.44
UK Average	177	**15.86**	2.6	102	**98.21**	17.1	33	**671.82**	126.0

Table 5.7 (cont.) Regional variations in cannabis prices

African Bush									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**
London	19	**15.16**	2.73	11	**89.09**	8.01	2	**570.00**	42.43
South East	30	**14.55**	1.7	25	**94.12**	32.64	7	**628.57**	30.37
South West	23	**14.09**	2.03	11	**89.82**	8.39	3	**638.33**	12.58
East Anglia	12	**15.25**	1.6	8	**88.12**	7.04	0	•	•
Midlands	21	**15.95**	3.02	11	**98.64**	12.06	1	**640.00**	•
Wales	10	**14.85**	2.77	6	**90.83**	11.14	0	•	•
Yorks/Humbs	9	**15.33**	3.08	2	**92.5**	3.54	0	•	•
North West	15	**15.97**	2.8	11	**89.55**	7.23	4	**617.50**	51.4
North East	4	**14.25**	1.5	3	**88.33**	2.89	0	•	•
Scotland	5	**17.10**	2.13	4	**110.00**	11.55	0	•	•
Overseas	0	•	•	0	•	•	0	•	•
Not Stated	9	**15.28**	1.95	6	**91.67**	6.83	8	**618.75**	51.32
UK Average	155	**15.12**	2.4	97	**92.71**	18.5	24	**620.42**	42.2

American/Caribbean Bush						
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**
London	20	**17.70**	4.45	13	**103.85**	30.22
South East	24	**16.04**	3.37	16	**103.12**	19.57
South West	10	**16.70**	4.9	5	**88.00**	8.37
East Anglia	8	**16.12**	2.42	5	**91.00**	5.48
Midlands	13	**19.00**	4.67	6	**107.50**	26.22
Wales	3	**16.67**	2.89	2	**85.00**	7.07
Yorks/Humbs	5	**14.00**	2.24	1	**90.00**	•
North West	5	**19.50**	1.12	6	**94.17**	8.01
North East	1	**15.00**	•	2	**87.50**	3.54
Scotland	7	**16.21**	3.26	2	**110.00**	14.14
Overseas	0	•	•	0	•	•
Not Stated	4	**15.12**	2.25	2	**92.50**	10.61
UK Average	100	**16.89**	3.9	59	**99.24**	20.5

Skunk									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**
London	50	**21.67**	4.17	25	**129.40**	26.39	4	**710.00**	284.02
South East	69	**20.89**	4.04	42	**125.71**	27.93	10	**943.50**	284.08
South West	44	**20.48**	5.07	19	**143.95**	41.92	4	**1155**	248.53
East Anglia	18	**21.39**	4.84	11	**117.73**	19.92	0	•	•
Midlands	40	**22.76**	5.94	20	**132.00**	20.16	5	**830.00**	139.64
Wales	13	**20.85**	5.6	10	**138.50**	38.3	2	**875.00**	35.36
Yorks/Humbs	15	**20.87**	4.95	5	**147.00**	25.4	1	**600.00**	•
North West	29	**20.90**	4.19	16	**110.00**	22.73	4	**834.25**	211.09
North East	8	**22.25**	3.2	4	**105.00**	19.15	1	**900.00**	•
Scotland	10	**20.15**	3	8	**121.25**	17.27	1	**200.00**	•
Overseas	2	**22.50**	3.54	2	**140.00**	0	0	•	•
Not Stated	13	**20.27**	6.1	8	**145.00**	31.74	2	**1000**	0
UK Average	309	**21.26**	4.7	170	**128.79**	29.3	33	**888.85**	270.1

Table 5.5 (cont.) Regional variations in cannabis prices

Northern Lights									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**
London	26	**22.54**	3.34	10	**133.00**	28.6	2	**665.00**	21.21
South East	29	**22.57**	5.14	22	**140.45**	34.05	6	**943.33**	238.05
South West	16	**20.97**	5.68	11	**146.82**	43.03	2	**1035**	190.92
East Anglia	8	**21.88**	5.3	5	**117.00**	32.71	0	•	•
Midlands	18	**24.06**	5.1	6	**153.33**	20.66	2	**950.00**	70.71
Wales	5	**27.10**	7.64	3	**156.67**	64.29	0	•	•
Yorks/Humbs	9	**21.39**	4.86	4	**162.50**	9.57	0	•	•
North West	13	**19.65**	4.22	9	**122.78**	24.89	4	**733.75**	117.14
North East	7	**22.43**	4.79	4	**113.75**	16.01	0	•	•
Scotland	8	**20.56**	4.89	6	**123.33**	19.66	1	**200.00**	•
Overseas	1	**20.00**	•	1	**140.00**	•	0	•	•
Not Stated	5	**19.00**	4.18	3	**111.67**	23.63	3	**833.33**	208.17
UK Average	144	**22.15**	4.9	84	**136.13**	32.9	19	**839.21**	246.9

Haze						
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**
London	7	**22.71**	2.75	2	**122.5**	24.75
South East	15	**23.17**	5.04	13	**141.92**	26.34
South West	8	**19.38**	5.07	5	**130**	47.96
East Anglia	5	**24**	4.18	2	**112.5**	31.82
Midlands	11	**22.55**	6.27	4	**147.5**	20.62
Wales	1	**25**	•	1	**230**	•
Yorks/Humbs	3	**20**	5	3	**160**	17.32
North West	6	**20**	4.47	6	**134.17**	30.4
North East	2	**25**	0	3	**118.33**	25.66
Scotland	3	**17.17**	1.89	2	**110**	14.14
Overseas	0	•	•	0	•	•
Not Stated	4	**20**	4.08	3	**111.67**	23.63
UK Average	64	**21.81**	4.9	43	**135.81**	32.9

Home Grown						
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**
London	15	**7.40**	6.13	7	**68.57**	34
South East	32	**6.75**	5.41	21	**48.10**	38.29
South West	29	**7.36**	6.66	16	**46.88**	45.38
East Anglia	8	**9.01**	8.23	5	**36.16**	20.39
Midlands	19	**9.00**	6.56	8	**51.25**	46.12
Wales	9	**6.83**	5.67	3	**28.33**	49.07
Yorks/Humbs	8	**2.38**	5.29	6	**20.00**	24.49
North West	12	**5.88**	4.28	9	**53.33**	26.93
North East	5	**11.00**	6.52	1	**90.00**	•
Scotland	6	**9.67**	7.53	4	**45.00**	51.96
Overseas	0	•	•	0	•	•
Not Stated	5	**6.00**	4.18	4	**37.50**	26.3
UK Average	147	**7.26**	6.1	84	**46.85**	37.9

Table 5.7 (cont.) Regional variations in cannabis prices

Other/Unknown Bush									
Region	**1/8 oz (3.5g) Price**			**Ounce (28g) Price**			**9oz (250g) Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**	***n***	**Mean**	**S.D.**
London	21	**14.76**	2.29	8	**90.00**	7.07	4	**580.00**	42.43
South East	23	**15.22**	5.66	12	**86.25**	6.78	9	**582.22**	102.93
South West	17	**15.82**	3.86	7	**84.29**	6.73	6	**646.67**	36.56
East Anglia	6	**15.83**	4.67	5	**83.50**	6.02	0	•	•
Midlands	14	**15.50**	2.3	8	**97.50**	13.89	7	**635.71**	37.35
Wales	7	**13.71**	1.98	4	**93.75**	7.5	0	•	•
Yorks/Humbs	8	**18.50**	5.15	2	**92.50**	10.61	0	•	•
North West	10	**17.25**	6.29	6	**97.17**	21.54	6	**663.33**	123.84
North East	2	**20.00**	7.07	1	**130.00**	•	0	•	•
Scotland	6	**15.42**	1.02	3	**101.67**	7.64	0	•	•
Overseas	2	**21.25**	5.3	1	**120.00**	•	0	•	•
Not Stated	6	**13.83**	1.94	4	**97.50**	17.08	6	**651.67**	53.54
UK Average	121	**15.75**	4.2	60	**92.51**	13.2	15	**674.33**	145.0

Hash Oil			
Region	**1 g Price**		
	n	**Mean**	**S.D.**
London	11	**15.41**	4.4
South East	17	**15.79**	5.95
South West	13	**13.46**	3.38
East Anglia	8	**19.38**	3.2
Midlands	10	**12.60**	5.82
Wales	7	**10.43**	2.37
Yorks/Humbs	4	**17.50**	8.66
North West	7	**15.43**	7.35
North East	3	**20.00**	10
Scotland	3	**13.33**	5.77
Overseas	1	**15.00**	•
Not Stated	4	**15.00**	0
UK Average	88	**15.00**	5.5

A standard deviation of "0" indicates that all respondents gave the same price.

Data Collected 1994/95

Section 6 - Attitudes to cannabis

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Many users gave multiple reasons for using cannabis, so quantitative data is of limited value. Respondents chose their own words to describe why they used cannabis, health problems and benefits, and best and worst experiences; we have summarised them and given some quotes in the tables. Unsurprisingly, people say they use cannabis because they enjoy it. Relaxation, enlightenment and socialising were also frequently mentioned reasons for using it. The users feel that it does them more good than harm. They would prefer that the law was more liberal, but a majority don't think they would use more if it was.

Cannabis had the highest average positive subjective rating of all the drugs, with a positive/negative ratio of 39.4:1 (Tables 3.1-3.4) and was the second most commonly cited cause of a "Best drug experience" either alone or in combination with other drugs. It was the fourth most frequent cause of a "Worst drug experience", chosen 83 times, but 16 of those bad experiences were running out of drugs, and three were being busted. 15% of our sample had never tried any illegal drug except cannabis.

Only 3 people believed there should be no change in drugs laws. 43% of users believed that cannabis should be legalised, 34% decriminalised and 21.5% licensed (these options are not exclusive of one another and multiple answers were common). 24% thought all drugs should be legalised (Tables 6.2-6.3). 71% believed that liberalising the law on cannabis would not alter their own consumption patterns.

61% of users felt that cannabis had been of benefit to their physical or mental health, the most common reasons given being relaxation or stress relief, increased social tolerance, and pain relief. These also showed up frequently as "Best drug experience". 17% felt it had caused them physical or mental problems at some time, commonly short term memory loss, paranoia, or lung complaints. Some of these problems were also listed as "Worst drug experience".

Those reporting health problems from cannabis showed significantly higher frequencies of use of all drugs (aggregate frequency), alcohol, cannabis, mushrooms, tranquillisers, and number of plants grown. Mean incomes of this group were significantly lower. No other indices of drug use or spending showed any significant differences between those who had or had not experienced health problems from cannabis. Those people who reported health benefits were also significantly heavier users of cannabis and most other drugs, although their alcohol and tranquilliser use was lower.

A large majority of those reporting health problems with cannabis also reported health benefits, in particular those who did not specify what problem or benefit.

Table 6.1

Why Use Cannabis?	
No of reports	**Reasons Given/ quotes**
231	Enjoyment
32	Enjoy with ... general
 14 13 4 ea.	Enjoy with ... Sex "Feel bliss out buzz erotic love play" Music Art, other drugs/alcohol
196	Relaxation/ Calming/ Stress Relief
90	Relax and ... general
 76 43 30 38 9	Relax and ... Socialise Enjoy Pain/ hangover killer Enlighten Music “Reduce stress, boredom, and alcohol craving”
89 8 5 2	Inspiration, Perception, Meditation, Spiritual Look at reality/ what's important Know self "Tool for life's events" "To turn on, tune in, drop out" "It seems to grow my ears, eyes, & heart/brain" "Not to commit moral suicide" Closer to God
47	Get Stoned/High/Intoxicated/fucked/mullered “Gets me fried, pumps my juice" “Love feeling like a gibbering mess” "Mong out"
42	Better than alcohol/ cigs
39	Medical uses (5 x Asthma, 1 x MultipleSclerosis., 7 x pain relief)
31 2	Why Not /Because/ I choose to Because I can

Continues...

Table 6.1 (cont.) Why use Cannabis?

No of reports	Reasons Given/ quotes
14	Escapism “It’s better than real life”
9	Avoid boredom
6	Cheap
13	Habit
4	Sensual
6 3 ea.	It's nice/amazing/beautiful/heaven/ good shit "It's part of life", "It makes common sense"
12	Happy/ Euphoric/ Laughter
11	Non aggressive
8	Tastes nice
5	Natural/ plant
4 ea.	Don't be stupid, try it and see
3 ea.	Anti-depressant, experimental, to smoke/ mainly in spliffs
2 ea.	Mild psychedelic, can’t remember
1 ea.	Light relief, "Yes", "I'm a fool", "the illusion of clamping", "free & not fattening", "Family tradition", "It's the word", "live in London", "Gods gift", "hope," "same reasons as you", "minor offence", "What was the question again?", "not enough space", "various" "It's from Mother Nature, I like the effect, the world is too fast" "A complex mixture of bio-psycho-social causes, and I like it" "Love to chill, thrill, humble sinner" "Lesser of several evils" "Searching for real dope"
5	Don’t any more

Table 6.2

Effect of potential (liberal) law reforms on level of cannabis use		
	n	%
Increase	201	17.0
Decrease	23	2.0
No Change	833	70.6
Don't Know	123	10.4
Base	1180	**Response Rate**
Missing	153	88.5%

Table 6.3

Preferred change(s) in the law			
	Single Reform	Inc. Combination	%
Legalise Cannabis Only	251	514	42.9%
Legalise All Drugs	166	284	23.7%
Licensing / Regulation	77	256	21.4%
Free Market	51	181	15.1%
Decriminalise Cannabis	216	406	33.9%
Prescription	0	80	6.7%
No change in law	1	2	0.2%
Increase penalties - all drugs	0	0	0%
Increase penalties - Hard drugs	1	73	6.1%
Base	1198	Response Rate	Percentages do not
Missing	135	90.0%	add up to 100

Table 6.4 Health Problems or Benefits from Cannabis

	Health Problems ?	
Health Benefits?	**No**	**Yes**
No	390	22
Yes	517	184
Chi Square	75.21	p < .0001

A large majority of those reporting health problems with cannabis also reported health benefits.

Table 6.5

Reported Health Problems with Cannabis		
	n	**%**
Yes	225	19.1%
No	953	80.9%
Base	1178	**Response Rate**
Missing	155	88.2%

No. each problem	If "Yes" - What physical/ mental health problems?
56	Short term memory loss
42	Paranoia
36	Cough/Lungs/bronchitis
29	No reason
18	Apathy/laziness
15	Lethargy/tiredness
10 ea.	Panic/anxiety, nausea/ vomiting
5 ea.	Dulled thinking, sore throat, asthma
4 ea.	Shy/Self-conscious, depression
3	Tobacco use
2 ea.	Passed out, clumsiness, blocked sinuses
1 ea.	Discoloured teeth, red eyes, heads fucked, headache, dxylexia, sexual frustration, excess, other drugs "Space head (Lush)" "Squirrel" "Stress related to illegality" "Demotivational youth" "Fucked up my attitude" "Angry when have no weed" "Frustration regarding supplies" "Poor recall of pot binges, lazy when high" "Cough, phlegm, guilt" "Anxiety, tobacco addiction, tight lungs, dehydration, wasted days"

Table 6.6

Reported Health Benefits from Cannabis		
	n	***%***
Yes	725	63.5
No	417	36.5
Base	1142	**Response Rate**
Missing	189	85.3%

No. each benefit	If "Yes" - What health benefits?
327	Not given
	Physical Health Benefits
20	Pain Relief(non specific)
11	PMT
7	Back ache
6	Headache/ Migraine
4	Arthritis/ Rheumatism
3	Hangovers
1 ea.	Pain Killer for.. Irritable bowel Syndrome, stomach ache, muscle spasm, feet, knees
17	Asthma /Hay fever
15	Sleep improvement
12	Multiple Sclerosis
9	Reduces alcohol, tobacco, other drugs use
3 ea.	Appetite improved, anti nausea, Glaucoma delay/eyesight, stops colds/flu, with LSD/comedown, "many"
1 ea.	Physical (not specific), less Epilepsy, control Psoriasis
	Mental Health Benefits
155	Relaxation/ stress relief
29	Less aggressive/ more tolerant/ open minded
25	Insight/ wisdom
18	Positive/ improved approach to life
13	Happiness/laughter
12	Improved creativity
11	Anti depressant
9	Mental (not specific)
9	Concentration
3	Sociability
2 ea.	Sensual, Sexual
1 ea.	"Dafter", "Schizo attitude to work", Steady hands, "Space head", Respect" "Makes mental problems more colourful and silly" "Think it's stopped me going mad" "Feel light, relaxed, no worries, giggly, pure" "Made me get up and do something with my life"

Section 7 - Variations by Age and Sex

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Just over two thirds (68%) of respondents were male, and 32% female. The youngest was 15, the oldest 68 years old. The mean age was 25 years and two months, with no significant age difference between the sexes. The sample under-represents the under-20's compared with other drugs studies. The mode, or most common age, was 21. No age was given by 71 respondents, 67 gave no sex.

Sex and Age Groups			
Ages	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
< 19	84	139	223
19-24	157	486	486
24-30	88	310	310
> 30	74	173	247
Total	403	863	1266

Lifetime prevalence and age of initiation

For all drugs, the lowest number who had ever used them was in the under 20 age group, presumably because of the lower number of that age group, and perhaps because older respondents have had more opportunities to try different drugs. However, younger respondents had first tried all drugs earlier than their elders. The initiation age difference was largest for ecstasy and crack, which were not widely available until the late 1980's. Respondents under 20 had, on average, tried cannabis around 3 years earlier in their lives than the over thirties.

The illegal drugs most likely to ever have been used by the under-20s, apart from cannabis, were LSD, amphetamines, and mushrooms. Alcohol and tobacco were actually the second and third most commonly tried drugs, and a high proportion of that usage will have been illegal because of age limits.

Frequency of use and Spending

The most frequent users of most drugs were in their twenties, with the exceptions of mushrooms (over 30s), other psychedelics (over 25s), cocaine, heroin, barbiturates and tranquillisers (all over 30s). There were notable age differences in spending on drugs, with teenagers spending less than adults on legal drugs and cannabis, and more on LSD, and young adults (20-24) spending nearly twice as much on ecstasy as other groups. The higher levels of drug use among younger, less experienced users, is similar to the findings of the 1984 survey. Drug users would appear to try a range of substances early in their drug-using careers, but revert to mainly cannabis use and possibly occasional use of other drugs as they grow older.

Regular Users - Section 7 - Variations by Age and Sex

Attitudes to Drugs

There were age-related differences in the subjective ratings given to various drugs. Attitudes to tobacco, alcohol, cannabis, and solvents were more negative (or less positive) the older the age group, and attitudes to tea & coffee became more positive. For the other drugs, attitudes were most positive among respondents in their twenties. Respondents under 20 would typically give the most negative responses to most drugs, but gave the most positive responses to LSD and cannabis. This may relate to the numbers who had ever used particular drugs, as low ratings generally correlate with low usage.

Sex:

Women had first tried most drugs later than men, other than alcohol, LSD and amphetamine in the youngest age group. The difference between sexes in age of first use tended to be greater between older respondents (Tables 7.1 & 7.2).

Females of any age group were less likely to have ever used most drugs, likely to use drugs less often, and spent less per month on average, than males. The exceptions were legal drugs, cannabis and ecstasy. The heaviest tobacco smokers and tranquilliser users were women over 30. Women under 20 used alcohol and ecstasy more often than young men. Women between 20-30 were slightly more likely to have ever used alcohol or cannabis than men, but used them less frequently. Ecstasy was more likely to have ever been tried, and used more often, by under-20's females than males, and over 30's males than females.

Comparisons

The British Crime Survey found that more men than women had ever used any drug, for all age groups, with the difference narrower among younger people. The levels of lifetime use of all drugs reported here were higher than in the BCS, and higher than in the London Dance Safety Campaign survey[49] except for Ecstasy and cocaine. They were lower than in the Release Drugs & Dance survey[50] for every drug listed in both, except cannabis and mushrooms, for every age group and both sexes. In particular, the proportion of users in our study (mainly from a pop festival), ever having used ecstasy (52%) was much lower than in the clubs (63%-85%). The Release study found no significant differences between the sexes' levels of lifetime use of any drug except LSD, Ketamine, and crack. Comparisons with the present authors' 1984 survey show a marked rise in ecstasy (included as 'other' in 1984), slightly increased prevalence of LSD and amphetamine, but reduced prevalence of cocaine and heroin (Tables 7.3- 7.5). In other respects the results of this survey are strikingly similar to those reported in 1984.

Table 7.1

Lifetime prevalence, frequency of use and drug ratings, by drug, age & sex

Age group/ Drug	Lifetime Prevalence (%) (p:age at first use)			Frequency of use (0 = non-user, 1 = experimental, 2 = occasional, 3 = regular & 4 = daily)			Subjective Rating (0 = most negative, 5 = neutral 10 = most positive)		
Tea/Coffee	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	79	84	82	2.88	3.03	2.97	5.65	5.11	5.30
20-24	92	83	86	3.49	3.19	3.29	6.50	5.65	5.94
25-29	90	85	86	3.36	3.17	3.23	5.80	5.93	5.89
30 & over	70	72	72	2.80	2.73	2.75	6.35	6.12	6.19
Total	85	81	83	3.21	3.07	3.11	6.14	5.73	5.86
				Age p<.0001			Age p<.05		
Tobacco	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	94	92	93	2.89	2.90	2.90	4.80	3.75	4.15
20-24	96	94	95	3.03	3.16	3.12	4.24	3.92	4.02
25-29	98	95	95	3.05	2.99	3.00	4.16	3.30	3.55
30 & over	93	97	96	3.11	2.91	2.97	4.08	3.38	3.58
Total	96	94	95	3.02	3.02	3.02	4.31	3.61	3.84
								Sex p<.001	
Alcohol	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	98	98	98	2.68	2.51	2.57	6.72	5.68	6.08
20-24	99	97	98	2.62	2.78	2.73	6.38	5.83	6.02
25-29	100	95	96	2.47	2.61	2.57	5.18	5.84	5.65
30 & over	97	99	99	2.43	2.58	2.53	5.56	5.63	5.61
Total	99	97	98	2.57	2.65	2.62	6.04	5.77	5.86
							Age p<.01, Age x Sex p<.05		
Cannabis	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	99	99	99	2.86	3.09	3.00	9.05	8.77	8.88
20-24	100	99	99	3.15	3.34	3.28	8.88	8.77	8.81
25-29	100	97	98	3.14	3.31	3.26	8.94	8.70	8.77
30 & over	96	99	98	2.92	3.14	3.07	8.48	8.53	8.51
Total	99	98	99	3.04	3.25	3.18	8.86	8.70	8.75
				Age p<.01, sex p<.005					
LSD	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	65	75	71	0.89	1.16	1.06	6.71	7.18	7.02
20-24	72	85	81	1.07	1.28	1.21	6.90	6.95	6.93
25-29	60	83	77	0.74	1.19	1.06	6.11	6.98	6.76
30 & over	73	82	79	0.86	1.10	1.03	5.62	7.22	6.79
Total	68	82	78	0.92	1.20	1.11	6.46	7.05	6.88
				Age p<.05, Sex p<.0001			Sex p<.0005		
Mushrooms	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	54	62	59	0.68	0.81	0.76	7.12	7.18	7.16
20-24	57	79	72	0.80	1.11	1.01	7.44	7.52	7.50
25-29	67	80	76	0.80	1.09	1.01	6.49	7.70	7.38
30 & over	70	80	77	0.76	1.22	1.08	5.90	7.16	6.80
Total	61	77	72	0.76	1.08	0.98	6.84	7.45	7.28
				Age p<.01, Sex p<.001			Age p<.0005, Sex p<.01, Age x Sex p<.05		

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Table 7.1 (cont.) Prevalence, frequency and rating by age and sex

Age group/ Drug	Lifetime Prevalence			Frequency of use			Subjective Rating		
Ecstasy	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	46	34	39	0.61	0.48	0.53	6.35	5.33	5.75
20-24	59	61	60	0.83	1.02	0.96	7.08	7.47	7.35
25-29	50	59	57	0.75	0.78	0.77	5.88	6.06	6.01
30 & over	38	46	43	0.39	0.61	0.55	4.41	5.82	5.42
Total	50	53	52	0.69	0.79	0.76	6.21	6.50	6.41
					Age p<.0001			Age p<.0001, Age x Sex p<.05	
Other psychedelics	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	11	12	11	0.12	0.17	0.15	4.52	4.60	4.57
20-24	13	21	18	0.17	0.31	0.26	4.86	6.25	5.86
25-29	7	23	18	0.08	0.27	0.22	3.41	5.57	5.00
30 & over	12	28	23	0.11	0.27	0.22	4.64	4.90	4.83
Total	11	21	18	0.13	0.27	0.22	4.42	5.52	5.20
					Sex p<.0005			Age p=.064, Sex p<.01	
Amphetamine	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	61	63	62	0.98	0.88	0.91	6.11	5.02	5.44
20-24	64	78	73	1.04	1.26	1.19	6.01	5.59	5.71
25-29	65	73	70	1.07	1.05	1.05	5.28	4.80	4.93
30 & over	65	75	72	0.92	1.04	1.00	4.49	4.76	4.68
Total	64	74	70	1.01	1.10	1.07	5.58	5.12	5.26
					Age p<.05			Age p<.0005, Sex p=.055	
Cocaine	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	14	17	16	0.14	0.21	0.18	4.97	4.15	4.48
20-24	30	43	39	0.43	0.57	0.52	6.22	6.22	6.22
25-29	51	47	48	0.69	0.60	0.63	4.96	5.33	5.22
30 & over	55	68	64	0.66	0.91	0.84	4.77	5.23	5.11
Total	36	45	42	0.47	0.59	0.55	5.32	5.49	5.44
					Age p<.001, Sex p=.055			Age p<.0005	
Crack	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	0	4	2	0	0.04	0.03	1.64	1.31	1.44
20-24	6	10	8	0.05	0.11	0.09	1.89	2.90	2.64
25-29	6	11	9	0.05	0.13	0.10	1.34	2.29	2.00
30 & over	4	14	11	0.07	0.12	0.11	0.97	2.19	1.84
Total	4	10	8	0.04	0.11	0.09	1.47	2.34	2.08
					Sex p<.01			Sex p<.05	
Heroin	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	2	7	5	0.01	0.10	0.07	1.67	2.00	1.87
20-24	8	13	11	0.11	0.16	0.15	2.03	3.21	2.90
25-29	7	17	14	0.08	0.22	0.18	0.63	2.81	2.19
30 & over	15	27	23	0.22	0.29	0.27	2.00	2.67	2.49
Total	8	16	13	0.10	0.19	0.16	1.58	2.79	2.44
					Age p<.005, Sex p<.01			Sex p<.005	

Continues

Table 7.1 (cont.) Prevalence, frequency and rating by age and sex

Age group/ Drug	Lifetime Prevalence			Frequency of use			Subjective Rating		
Barbiturates	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	7	7	7	0.04	0.10	0.08	1.69	2.19	2.05
20-24	9	9	9	0.10	0.14	0.12	2.15	2.21	2.18
25-29	5	17	13	0.02	0.16	0.12	2.56	2.60	2.59
30 & over	12	28	23	0.12	0.27	0.23	0.48	2.05	1.63
Total	8	15	13	0.07	0.16	0.13	1.32	1.85	1.72
				Age p<.05, Sex p<.001			Age p<.005, Sex p=.053		
Tranquillisers	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	10	9	9	0.06	0.12	0.10	2.37	2.39	2.38
20-24	13	18	16	0.15	0.26	0.22	2.60	3.10	2.97
25-29	15	17	16	0.25	0.20	0.21	1.55	2.01	1.86
30 & over	26	25	25	0.31	0.26	0.28	2.39	2.26	2.30
Total	15	17	17	0.18	0.22	0.21	2.22	2.52	2.43
					Age p<.01			Age p<.05	
Solvents	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	13	23	19	0.11	0.17	0.15	1.20	1.98	1.68
20-24	10	25	20	0.09	0.19	0.16	1.20	1.88	1.71
25-29	17	23	22	0.15	0.18	0.17	0.79	1.83	1.52
30 & over	4	17	13	0	0.12	0.08	0.38	1.32	1.03
Total	11	22	19	0.09	0.17	0.14	0.90	1.76	1.50
					Sex p<.01			Sex p<.001	

This table was calculated using all those answering positively the question on age at first use of each drug, and includes all those who had tried a drug once only or had stopped taking it.
Tea & Coffee questions were not on one batch of forms; prevalence figures will not be valid.

Table 7.2

Comparative percentages ever using these drugs by sex and age								% of LDSC survey	% of Release survey	% of 1984 survey
	M	F	<19	20-24	25-29	>30	Total %			
Cannabis	98	99	99	99	98	98	99	80	95	98
Ecstasy	34	46	39	60	57	43	52	63	85	1
Amphets	74	64	62	73	70	72	70	58	84	61
LSD	82	68	71	81	77	79	78	41	78	65
Mushroom	77	61	59	72	76	77	72	45	64	74
Cocaine	45	36	16	39	48	64	42	57	62	50
Crack	10	4	2	8	9	11	8	-	18	-
Heroin	16	8	5	11	14	23	13	13	18	20

Table 7.3

Comparative % of 16-29 year olds who've ever used these drugs			
	Present survey	**Release survey**	**BCS 1994**
Cannabis	99	91	34
Ecstasy	54	81	6
Amphets	70	81	14
LSD	78	74	9
Mushrooms	70	60	10
Cocaine	37	57	3
Crack	7	17	*
Heroin	11	15	1

Table 7.4

Age of respondents - comparison with conviction/caution statistics					
Age group	**Number of convictions**	**% of arrests**	**Number of respondents**	**% of respondents**	**Survey / conviction ratio**
<17	5299	6.83	34	2.57	0.38
17-20	23424	30.18	201	15.18	0.50
21-24	19204	24.75	506	38.22	1.54
25-29	14746	19.00	320	24.17	1.27
30+	14932	19.24	263	19.86	1.03
Total	77605	100.00	1324	100	1.00

Table 7.5

Age of first use, monthly spending & other consumption variables by drug, age & sex

Age group/ Drug	Age at first use			Monthly Spending			Custom measures of consumption		
Tea/Coffee							**Cups per day**		
	Female	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	6.17	5.93	6.02	2.04	1.95	1.98	3.72	4.00	3.89
20-24	6.88	6.27	6.48	4.48	3.52	3.83	4.45	5.08	4.88
25-29	6.13	6.45	6.35	4.64	4.23	4.34	5.70	5.29	5.41
30 & over	7.40	6.67	6.89	4.75	4.94	4.88	6.12	6.34	6.27
Total	6.65	6.33	6.43	4.05	3.73	3.83	4.89	5.22	5.11
				Age p<.0001			Age p<.0001		
Tobacco							**Cigarettes per day**		
	Female	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	13.01	12.88	12.93	19.34	19.83	19.65	7.59	8.59	8.22
20-24	13.79	13.47	13.58	21.74	24.70	23.75	7.89	9.97	9.3
25-29	13.51	14.20	14.00	24.37	21.44	22.27	8.36	8.26	8.29
30 & over	15.16	13.53	14.00	25.61	25.12	25.27	12.78	9.98	10.8
Total	13.82	13.57	13.65	22.52	23.16	22.96	8.82	9.31	9.15
	Age p <.01, Age x Sex p<.05						Age p<.005, Age x Sex p<.05		
Alcohol							**Units alcohol per week**		
	Female	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	11.06	11.40	11.27	24.98	21.32	22.70	12.49	16.67	15.06
20-24	11.78	12.19	12.05	26.27	39.69	35.36	14.42	22.26	19.71
25-29	11.52	12.93	12.52	23.47	41.86	36.64	12.78	22.05	19.35
30 & over	13.15	13.10	13.11	23.67	38.89	34.33	12.14	23.37	20.06
Total	11.82	12.43	12.24	24.91	37.13	33.24	13.26	21.57	18.90
	Age p<.0001, Sex p<.05			Sex p<.0005			Sex p<.0001		
Cannabis	**Age at first use**			**Monthly Spending (1)**			**Cannabis Use (g/month)**		
	Female	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	14.60	14.39	14.47	38.85	50.99	46.41	16.89	32.53	26.87
20-24	16.13	15.59	15.77	33.63	71.22	59.08	18.77	28.46	25.27
25-29	16.61	16.14	16.28	48.40	55.61	53.56	17.71	24.86	22.89
30 & over	19.20	16.94	17.60	34.81	62.88	54.47	15.71	25.50	22.72
Total	16.46	15.81	16.02	38.16	62.27	54.60	17.63	27.53	24.44
	Age p<.0001, Sex p<.0001, Age x Sex p<.005			Sex p<.0001 Over £1000 excluded			Sex p<.0001		
Cannabis	**Monthly Spending (2)**			**Monthly Purchase**			**Spliffs per day**		
	Female	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	48.70	60.06	55.95	26.15	19.43	21.8	4.93	6.94	6.24
20-24	39.40	83.33	69.11	29.23	52.98	45.28	4.81	6.66	6.08
25-29	56.04	65.67	62.90	30.93	48.44	43.75	5.47	5.46	5.46
30 & over	43.66	72.52	64.38	18.61	52.13	43.16	4.20	6.20	5.68
Total	45.77	72.88	64.39	27.22	46.45	40.61	4.88	6.31	5.88
	Sex p<.0001			Over 1kg excluded			Sex p<.0001		

Continues

Table 7.5 (cont.) Age of first use & spending, by drug, age & sex

Age group/ Drug	Age at first use			Monthly Spending		
LSD	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	15.56	15.57	15.57	2.11	3.10	2.73
20-24	18.16	17.43	17.64	1.60	2.34	2.10
25-29	19.23	18.74	18.85	1.09	1.64	1.48
30 & over	21.80	19.52	20.15	0.62	1.06	0.93
Total	18.56	17.92	18.10	1.41	2.03	1.83
	Age p<.0001, Sex p<.0001, Age x Sex p<.01			Age p<.005, Sex p<.05		
Mushrooms	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	16.04	15.66	15.79	0.58	0.67	0.63
20-24	18.37	17.52	17.74	0.29	0.53	0.45
25-29	19.83	18.51	18.84	0.27	0.18	0.21
30 & over	22.98	21.05	21.58	0	0.04	0.03
Total	19.27	18.29	18.55	0.29	0.36	0.34
	Age p<.0001, Sex p<.0001					
Ecstasy	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	16.64	16.15	16.37	4.44	3.41	3.8
20-24	19.17	18.89	18.98	7.21	12.89	11.05
25-29	22.43	22.52	22.50	5.36	5.45	5.42
30 & over	31.46	29.71	30.17	1.35	3.84	3.09
Total	21.09	21.52	21.39	5.15	7.63	6.84
	Age p<.0001, Sex p<.05			Age p<.005		
Other psychedelics	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	16.78	14.81	15.52	0	0.40	0.25
20-24	18.60	17.93	18.08	0.29	0.57	0.48
25-29	21.50	19.55	19.75	0.11	0.36	0.29
30 & over	19.22	20.15	20.00	0	0.01	0.01
Total	18.75	18.68	18.70	0.14	0.37	0.30
	Age p<.0005					
Amphetamine	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	16.12	16.16	16.14	3.89	4.94	4.54
20-24	18.50	18.18	18.27	4.10	7.59	6.46
25-29	19.72	18.63	18.92	4.56	4.05	4.20
30 & over	21.73	19.89	20.39	3.70	6.09	5.37
Total	18.90	18.36	18.52	4.08	5.95	5.36
	Age p<.0001, Sex <.001, Age x Sex p<.05					

Continues

Table 7.5 (cont.) Age of first use & spending, by drug, age & sex

Age group/ Drug	Age at first use			Monthly Spending		
Cocaine	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	16.92	16.71	16.78	0.12	0.29	0.22
20-24	19.36	19.33	19.34	2.20	72.18	49.58
25-29	21.20	21.40	21.34	5.72	1.05	2.38
30 & over	24.22	22.51	22.95	0	5.00	3.50
Total	21.10	20.69	20.80	2.13	28.84	20.34
	Age p<.0001			Age 20-24 included 1 very heavy male cocaine user - not significant		
Crack	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	-	13.8	13.8	0.31	3.57	2.53
20-24	19.89	20.38	20.27	0	2.30	1.43
25-29	22.2	23.54	23.31	0.80	0.73	0.75
30 & over	35	26.84	27.71	0	2.25	1.61
Total	23.24	22.76	22.83	0	11.68	8.18
	Age p<.0001					
Heroin	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	15.00	15.40	15.33	0	5.36	3.34
20-24	19.69	19.62	19.64	5.38	5.96	5.77
25-29	20.50	22.14	21.91	0.57	8.18	6.02
30 & over	22.73	22.51	22.55	1.35	4.39	3.48
Total	20.59	20.99	20.92	2.47	6.12	4.96
	Age p<.0001					
Barbiturates	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	17.00	14.7	15.56	0	0.07	0.04
20-24	19.57	17.87	18.40	0.20	0	0.07
25-29	16.25	18.59	18.37	0	0.05	0.03
30 & over	18.33	18.00	18.05	0	0.06	0.04
Total	18.36	17.88	17.98	0.08	0.03	0.05
Tranquillisers	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	17.50	16.17	16.70	0	0.29	0.18
20-24	19.15	18.22	18.46	0.15	0.13	0.14
25-29	21.23	18.87	19.47	0.14	0.06	0.08
30 & over	21.63	19.51	20.16	0.01	0.01	0.01
Total	20.17	18.59	19.04	0.09	0.12	0.11
	Age p<.005, Sex p<.05					
Solvents	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**
19 and under	13.82	13.69	13.72	0.04	0.19	0.13
20-24	14.53	14.42	14.44	0.32	0.21	0.24
25-29	15.40	15.75	15.67	0.11	0.06	0.07
30 & over	16.33	16.93	16.88	0	0.14	0.10
Total	14.77	15.03	14.98	0.16	0.15	0.15
	Age p<.05					

Section 8 - Trouble with the Law

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Drugs and the Law

The term 'busted' was used in the questionnaire, as it commonly is in British drug cultures, to mean convicted or cautioned for any offence (though some respondents might have also meant arrested without being charged, or raided). 24% of respondents answering the question had been busted for cannabis offences, 8% for other drugs, and 14% for other offences. This study did not ask specifically what other drugs, or other offences. A total of 283 people had been busted altogether (21.2% of respondents), some for more than one type of offence. This is very similar to the 22% of respondents 'busted' in the 1984 survey.

In most years, the majority of drugs cases involve possession of cannabis. In the survey 83% of drugs cases had been for possession, 88.5% involved cannabis, 49% were dealt with by cautioning, 5% were imprisoned (Tables 2.8-2.10). The Home Office Statistical Bulletin lists 87.5% of drugs cases in 1994 as for possession, 83% involving cannabis, 56% being cautioned and 7% jailed[51]. This is broadly similar; the differences are probably because our respondents' trouble with the law was in earlier years. Although the use of cautions has been increasing, so apparently has the use of imprisonment. The Release Drugs & Dance survey found that 28% of drug users had had non-specified “trouble with the Police”, but found much higher arrest statistics among respondents who had attended unlicensed events, more liable to police activity. It is possible that persons attending free festivals may be more likely to be searched by police; in 1984, 8% of respondents reported that they had been searched on the way to the festival.

Those who had been busted for cannabis used significantly more illegal drugs ($p < 0.0005$), significantly more frequently than those who had not. Although there were no apparent differences in income, those busted were on average just under three years older, and by regression of current income against age might have been expected to be £20/week better off. They also spent far more money on drugs - 2.5 times as much on cannabis and 7 times as much on other illegal drugs (significance $p < 0.005$ and $p < 0.01$).

Users who had been convicted or cautioned for a cannabis offence gave slightly higher ratings out of ten for cannabis, as well as ecstasy & other psychedelics, cocaine, crack, heroin and tranquillisers. Those who had been arrested or convicted for other drugs gave consistently higher ratings to all drugs except solvents, however none of these differences were statistically significant. There is certainly no evidence to suggest that a drug conviction would lead to more negative attitudes to drugs.

These figures could indicate either successful police targeting of heavier users (not necessarily dealers), or that being busted for any offence may contribute to encouraging more chaotic drug use. Convictions do not appear to deter, nor to induce negative attitudes to drugs. A conviction may even stimulate drug use.

Respondents with criminal convictions other than for drug or motoring offences reported earlier first use of all drugs except crack and ‘other psychedelic’. This difference was

significant in the cases of tobacco, LSD, amphetamine and cocaine. They reported more frequent use of most drugs, highly significant in the cases of tobacco, amphetamine, cocaine, crack, heroin, barbiturates, tranquillisers and solvents. They also reported spending more than the average respondent on drugs; 17 times as much on cocaine, 27 times as much on heroin, 4 times as much on amphetamines, 3 times as much on cannabis, and 2.5 times as much on ecstasy (all statistically significant). Offenders gave significantly higher ratings to crack, heroin and solvents (drugs rejected by the vast majority of respondents), but gave marginally lower ratings to the psychedelic drugs (LSD, mushrooms, 'other') and amphetamine. Offenders were more likely to start smoking tobacco earlier, and to smoke more cigarettes per day. While offenders were less frequent users of alcohol than non-offenders, they spent slightly more on alcohol and drank significantly more units per week, suggestive of a tendency to drink to excess on a few occasions, rather than to drink steadily every night of the week. Offenders used significantly more cannabis, bought more and spent more on cannabis, and smoked more joints and pipes per day than non-offenders. Total drug spending (all drugs including legal drugs) was over 3 times as high among offenders, (mean £103.85 per week, compared to £30.08 per week in non-offenders), suggesting that offenders may be those who are less able to control their appetites for drugs than the otherwise law-abiding user.

Cannabis and Driving

The figures appear to show drug-using drivers involved in roughly the same number of accidents as the UK average, even though the respondents were younger than the average driver, and might therefore be assumed to be involved in more than the average number of accidents (Table 8.7). Fourteen drivers (1.5% of drivers) were involved in 77 accidents (17.1% of total). This group spent significantly more on all illicit drugs than other respondents, but (surprisingly) were not significantly heavier users of alcohol, and did not differ significantly in monthly cannabis use or purchase.

Factors which might have resulted in artificially low figures may be (i) not all drivers had been driving for 5 years, (ii) users on lower incomes may cover less distance per year than the average, or (iii) there may have been under reporting of accidents. Factors which might have artificially raised the estimate may be (i) exclusion from total mileage of drivers who did not respond to the question on accidents, many of whom may have considered it irrelevant. If this mileage is included the rate falls to 0.652 per 100,000 km; (ii) reporting of accidents which occurred over 5 years previously, (iii) the respondents are younger than the average driver, and would normally be expected to have more accidents than the national average.

No significant relationships were found between the frequency of use of other drugs and reported accident rates, except for occasional Ecstasy users who showed an accident rate 35% higher than other drug users. Due to the small subsample this only just achieved statistical significance. There were weak correlation's between accidents and aggregate spending on most drugs, suggesting that heavier users may be more at risk, although none of these correlation's were statistically significant (Table 8.8).

The surprisingly low proportion of road accident casualties testing positive for cannabis (9.2%)[52] would appear to be lower than the proportion of young adults (16%) who admitted using cannabis over the previous month in the 1996 British Crime Survey[53] . The figures certainly give no support to claims that moderate use of cannabis, or of other illicit drugs, are major causes of road-traffic accidents. However, very heavy and/or chaotic poly-drug users who drive would appear to present a greater risk to themselves and other road users. Current police concerns about the dangers posed by 'drugged drivers' would appear to be misplaced.

Table 8.1

Trouble with the Law		
'Busted' for Cannabis		
Yes	283	23.7
No	909	76.3
Base	1192	**Response Rate**
Missing	49	89.4%
'Busted' for other drugs		
Yes	85	7.6
No	1028	92.4
Base	1113	**Response Rate**
Missing	220	83.5%
Convicted for other offence		
Yes	164	14.0
No	1008	86.0
Base	1172	**Response Rate**
Missing	161	87.9%

Table 8.2

Drugs Offences - Drugs Involved			
	Single drug	In combination	% of convictions
Cannabis	218	233	88.5
LSD	6	14	5.3
MDMA	2	5	1.9
Amphetamine	10	14	5.3
Heroin	2	3	1.2
Cocaine/crack	0	1	0.4
Mushrooms	1	3	1.1
Others	4	6	2.3
Base	263		

Table 8.3

Drugs Offences - Offences Involved			
	Single Offence	In combination	% of convictions
Possession	198	229	82.7
Possession with intent	20	44	15.9
Supply	4	23	8.3
Production / Cultivation	7	20	7.4
Import / Export	3	7	2.5
Other	2	3	1.1
Base	277		

Table 8.4

Drugs Offences - Sentencing			
	Single Sentence	In combination	% of cases
Caution	132	134	48.2%
Absolute Discharge	10	10	3.6%
Conditional Discharge	6	8	2.9%
Probation	5	10	3.6%
Fine	73	82	29.5%
Average Fine	*£173.11*	*Range*	*£0.50 to £1500*
Community Service	5	11	4.0%
Average Hours	*110*	*Range*	*40 to 180*
Suspended Sentence	10	15	5.4%
Average Length (months)	*6.6*	*Range*	*1 to 12*
Suspended for (months)	*10.1*	*Range*	*1 to 24*
Imprisonment	13	14	5.0%
Average Length (months)	*16.8*	*Range*	*3 to 48*
Awaiting trial / Sentence	9	9	3.2%
Base	279		100%

Table 8.5

Other drug use of Cannabis Offenders						
Busted for cannabis?	**Frequency**			**Spending (£)**		
Drug	**YES**	**NO**	***p***	**YES**	**NO**	***p***
Tea/Coffee	3.12	3.15	n.s.	0.17	0.13	n.s.
Tobacco	3.30	2.97	<.001	24.71	23.58	n.s.
Alcohol	2.62	2.67	n.s.	34.31	34.72	n.s.
All Legal	9.04	8.78	n.s.	63.33	62.30	n.s.
Cannabis	3.49	3.15	<.0001	121.64	49.81	<.005
LSD	1.32	1.08	<.0001	3.71	1.80	<.05
Mushrooms	1.27	0.92	<.0001	0.65	0.26	n.s.
Ecstasy	0.99	0.71	<.0001	12.92	6.20	<.0005
Other Psychedelic	0.38	0.19	<.0001	0.49	0.28	n.s.
Amphetamine	1.30	1.05	<.0005	9.52	4.80	<.01
Cocaine	0.95	0.45	<.0001	83.02	3.69	.056
Crack	0.20	0.06	<.0001	9.08	0.67	<.05
Heroin	0.37	0.11	<.0001	13.82	1.15	<.0001
Barbiturates	0.24	0.11	<.0001	0.05	0.05	n.s.
Tranquillisers	0.41	0.16	<.0001	0.21	0.06	.057
Solvents	0.17	0.13	n.s.	0.23	0.12	n.s.
All illegal drugs exc. cannabis	7.63	4.97	<.0001	133.70	19.09	<.01
All Drugs	20.16	16.9	<.0001	318.68	131.21	<.0005
Cannabis Use (g/month)	35.46	25.31	n.s.	**Other Drug Bust?**	**Cannabis Bust ?**	
Cannabis (g) Purchase/month	89.38	35.5	<.005		**No**	**Yes**
Spliffs smoked per day	7.70	5.43	<.0001	**No**	1036	213
Number of plants grown	20.58	6.30	<.0001	**Yes**	15	70
Income	8270	8151	n.s.	*Chi Square*	203.03	<.0001

Table 8.6

Attitudes to drugs by busts for cannabis and for other drugs

Tea/Coffee

Arrest	Cannabis	Y	N	Totals
Other	Y	5.37	6.38	5.50
drug	N	5.33	5.93	5.84
	Totals	5.34	5.93	5.82

Tobacco

Arrest	Cannabis	Y	N	Totals
Other	Y	2.71	6.22	3.18
drug	N	3.33	3.89	3.81
	Totals	3.15	3.92	3.76

Alcohol

Arrest	Cannabis	Y	N	Totals
Other	Y	4.95	6.78	5.19
drug	N	5.41	5.89	5.82
	Totals	5.28	5.90	5.78

Cannabis

Arrest	Cannabis	Y	N	Totals
Other	Y	9.23	9.00	9.20
drug	N	8.97	8.71	8.75
	Totals	9.04	8.71	8.78

LSD

Arrest	Cannabis	Y	N	Totals
Other	Y	7.07	8.22	7.23
drug	N	6.77	6.92	6.89
	Totals	6.86	6.94	6.92

Mushrooms

Arrest	Cannabis	Y	N	Totals
Other	Y	7.67	7.86	7.69
drug	N	7.02	7.31	7.26
	Totals	7.21	7.31	7.29

Ecstasy

Arrest	Cannabis	Y	N	Totals
Other	Y	6.88	8.12	7.05
drug	N	6.56	6.25	6.30
	Totals	6.66	6.28	6.37

Other Psychedelic

Arrest	Cannabis	Y	N	Totals
Other	Y	6.45	5.67	6.38
drug	N	5.42	5.14	5.19
	Totals	5.74	5.15	5.29

Amphetamine

Arrest	Cannabis	Y	N	Totals
Other	Y	5.27	6.62	5.45
drug	N	4.81	5.36	5.27
	Totals	4.95	5.38	5.28

Cocaine

Arrest	Cannabis	Y	N	Totals
Other	Y	6.44	6.43	6.44
drug	N	6.06	5.32	5.46
	Totals	6.17	5.34	5.55

Crack

Arrest	Cannabis	Y	N	Totals
Other	Y	3.12	0.67	2.92
drug	N	2.71	1.81	1.98
	Totals	2.84	1.80	2.06

Heroin

Arrest	Cannabis	Y	N	Totals
Other	Y	3.50	4.17	3.61
drug	N	3.29	2.15	2.38
	Totals	3.35	2.19	2.49

'Bliss'

Arrest	Cannabis	Y	N	Totals
Other	Y	1.13	7.50	1.88
drug	N	1.33	1.66	1.61
	Totals	1.27	1.72	1.63

Barbiturates

Arrest	Cannabis	Y	N	Totals
Other	Y	2.40	2.8	2.46
drug	N	1.63	2.03	1.96
	Totals	1.89	2.04	2.00

Tranquillisers

Arrest	Cannabis	Y	N	Totals
Other	Y	2.74	3.83	2.92
drug	N	2.52	2.36	2.39
	Totals	2.59	2.39	2.44

Solvents

Arrest	Cannabis	Y	N	Totals
Other	Y	1.30	1.20	1.28
drug	N	1.51	1.48	1.48
	Totals	1.45	1.47	1.47

Table 8.7

Drug use by criminal conviction (exc. drugs and motoring)					
Drug	**Conviction?**	**Age first use**	**Frequency** (blank = 0)	**Spending** (blank = 0)	**Rating**
Tea/Coffee	No	6.48	3.18	4.00	5.92
	Yes	5.97	2.96	4.60	5.52
Tobacco	No	13.81	2.99	23.18	3.72
	Yes	12.93**	3.32**	27.66	4.11
Alcohol	No	12.23	2.68*	33.94	5.88
	Yes	12.01	2.49	39.06	5.66
Cannabis	No	16.19	3.19	50.55	8.76
	Yes	15.68	3.32	160.26***	9.00
LSD	No	18.41	1.10	1.78	6.91
	Yes	17.59**	1.24	4.57*	6.66
Mushrooms	No	18.87	0.97	0.36	7.26
	Yes	18.28	1.20*	0.23	7.24
Ecstasy	No	21.65	0.75	6.10	6.31
	Yes	21.53	0.87	15.65***	6.44
Other Psych.	No	18.64	0.22	.27	5.24
	Yes	19.04	0.33*	.65*	5.10
Amphetamine	No	18.77	1.06	4.24	5.32
	Yes	18.00*	1.37***	16.11***	4.93
Cocaine	No	21.00	0.51	2.11	5.42
	Yes	20.21*	0.84***	34.01***	5.70
Crack	No	22.13	0.07	2.57	1.90
	Yes	24.32	0.21***	3.17	2.94*
Heroin	No	20.76	0.13	1.01	2.31
	Yes	20.74	0.43***	27.47***	3.45**
Barbiturates	No	17.92	0.12	0.05	2.05
	Yes	17.66	0.29***	0.09	2.15
Tranx	No	19.04	0.18	0.07	2.35
	Yes	18.82	0.44***	0.20	2.81
Solvents	No	14.90	0.13	0.11	1.32
	Yes	15.45	0.24**	0.46*	2.29**

Continues

Table 8.7 (cont.)

Drug use by criminal conviction (exc. drugs and motoring) Additional variables					
Cannabis (additional)	**Conviction?**	**Spending (2)**	**Monthly use**	**Monthly purchase**	**Plants grown**
	No	57.71	22.23	36.16	7.08
	Yes	104.88***	37.8***	77.31***	25.67***
		Spliffs smoked / day	**Spliffs rolled per day**		**Pipes etc. per day**
	No	5.72	4.76		2.02
	Yes	7.43***	7.12***		3.93***
Legal Drugs		**Cigarettes per day**	**Units alcohol per week**		**Cups tea & coffee / day**
	No	8.84	18.56		5.15
	Yes	11.23**	22.52*		5.55
Aggregate scores		**Aggregate spending legal**	**Aggregate spending exc. cannabis**		**Aggregate spending all drugs**
	No	61.12	18.66		130.33
	Yes	71.32	218.45***		450.03***
		Aggregate frequency legal	**Aggregate frequency exc. cannabis**		**Aggregate frequency all drugs**
	No	8.86	5.24		17.29
	Yes	8.77	7.51***		19.60***

Notes - Significance (Dunnet's 't') * p<.05, ** - p<.01, *** - p<.001

Table 8.8

Cannabis and Driving		
	n	**%**
Drivers	913	69.5
Non-drivers	401	30.5
Base	1314	**Response Rate**
Missing	19	98.6%

Number of reported accidents over past 5 years		
None	582	67.7%
One	180	20.9%
Two	59	6.9%
Three	25	2.9%
Four	6	0.7%
Five	2	0.2%
More than five	6	0.7%
Base	860	100%

Total Drivers	913		**Response rate** (of all drivers)
Missing Drivers	53		94.2%
Total Accidents	450	**Drivers Involved**	278
Total km over 5yr (860 drivers)	64.97 Million	**UK average**	15110 km/yr
Accident rate per 100,000km	0.692	**UK average**	0.679

The accidents per 100,000km figure is an estimate, and assumes that each driver has reported all accidents, and drives the average distance covered by UK motorists[54].

Motoring Convictions		
Ever Convicted?		
	n	**%** of drivers
Yes	186	77.0%
No	624	23.0%
Base	810	Response Rate
Missing	103	88.7%
Motoring Penalty Points		
Points	***n***	**%** of drivers
1-3	74	8.1%
4-6	40	4.4%
7-9	19	2.1%
10-12	6	0.7%
>12	4	0.4%
Base	136	73.1 of convictions

Cannabis, other drugs, and driving accidents

Conclusions

1. Virtually all respondents had used cannabis; the majority were daily users. Although the majority of users consume a moderate amount (1g per day or less, around 6 typical joints), there is a significant minority of heavy users consuming 1 to 2 ounces per week (4g to 9g per day, 10 to 20 or more joints). Even the heaviest UK users, including growers of cannabis (who use significantly more than average), use substantially less than in Caribbean producer countries. The distribution of cannabis consumption among UK users appears to have altered little since 1984, although prevalence indicators suggest that the number of drug users in the general population has increased substantially in that time.

2. Most regular cannabis users will have tried a range of drugs, notably LSD, mushrooms, amphetamine and ecstasy. For most, such use is experimental or occasional. Hardly any respondents were regular users of cocaine, heroin or crack, and the proportion of daily heroin users within the sample (<1%) is similar to that found in 1984 (0.5%). Of those who have not yet done so, fewer would try heroin than in 1984. While these results provide some support for a progression from regular cannabis use to experimental or occasional use of hallucinogens and/or stimulants, there is no evidence of any progression from any level of cannabis use to regular use of any other drug. Ecstasy use among persons attending festivals would appear to be substantially lower than among 'clubbers'.

3. A clear majority of users reported positive or highly positive attitudes to cannabis, Mushrooms, LSD and Ecstasy (in that order), and an overwhelming majority gave negative or highly negative ratings to solvents, crack, barbiturates, heroin, and tranquillisers. Subjective ratings of individual drugs were lowest among non-users, and highest among regular or daily users of each drug. LSD was responsible for the greatest number of worst, and of best drug experiences. A majority of those reporting health problems arising from cannabis also reported health benefits. The most common mental health benefit reported was relaxation and/or stress relief.

4. Users who had been convicted or cautioned for cannabis offences were significantly more likely to use, and/or to spend, substantially more money, on a range of drugs. These results may indicate that the effect of an arrest could be more likely to stimulate than to deter subsequent drug use. The year of first use of cannabis mirrors the police conviction statistics for those years, suggesting both to be determined to a large extent by availability, and that naive users are not substantially deterred by convictions among their peers.

5. The overall level of road traffic accidents reported by respondents who drove appeared to be no greater than that found in the general population. However, the small minority of respondents reporting multiple accidents were significantly heavier users of and/or spenders on a range of drugs. The proportion of road accident victims testing positive for cannabis, indicating use within the past month (under 10%) may not exceed the level of use among the general population, particularly among the young adults (i.e. inexperienced drivers) who are statistically more likely to become involved in road accidents. These results provide no support for the view that moderate drug use, particularly of cannabis, makes a significant contribution to road traffic accident statistics.

6. Women tended to be lighter users of most drugs, and to have first used most drugs later in life, than men. Users under 20 had first used cannabis at a mean age three years younger than users over 30. The heaviest users of drugs tended to be respondents in their twenties. This is consistent with the finding in 1984 that users experiment with a range of drugs early in a drug-using career, and settle down to a more stable pattern involving regular cannabis use and, for some, occasional use of other drugs.

7. Students reported lower drug use than unemployed or working respondents, a finding common to both the authors' previous surveys of this nature. A high proportion of drug abuse surveys concentrate on school and/or university students; these results suggest such studies

may substantially underestimate the prevalence, and levels of, drug use among young adults, and any generalisations from such studies would be of questionable validity.

8 Prices of cannabis are remarkably stable throughout the UK, both in geographical distribution and between inner-city and rural areas. The level of recognition of different types of cannabis appears to be lower than in previous generations, many could not easily distinguish between cannabis or resin of different types or origins. Eighth ounce deals (nominal 3.5g) of most types of cannabis resin tend to cost £15 or less, herbal cannabis £15 or more. 'Skunk' and similar have more variable prices, from under commercial prices to up to twice the price of resin, most commonly £20 to £25 per eighth, but also supplied at lower prices on an informal basis. 'Home grown' (outdoor/leaf) prices are much lower, around half the average resin price, but where supplied such material would most commonly be given away free. Prices are both lower and more variable in larger quantities.

9. Extrapolation of these results to prevalence in the population may not be reliable due to the nature of the user population under study, although both previous surveys by the authors have found similar patterns of use and rates of arrest. However, using arrest statistics and reported 'busts' among respondents in this survey as indicators, regular cannabis users could comprise some 2.75 million UK citizens in 1994, consuming 817 metric tons of cannabis products per year worth approximately £3.5 billion at street level. These estimates would probably be conservative.

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