

14. Demand reduction expenditures on drugs

The expenditure laid out in relation to the whole illicit drug issue is traditionally divided into three categories: expenditure for prevention; expenditure for health; expenditure for drug repression. The question to be asked therefore, when we study the sensible expenditure having an impact on the demand for illicit drugs, is to understand if these different categories of expenditure are involved or in other words to identify the expenditure which by nature effectively enables a reduction in the demand for drugs.

On this note, it appears indisputable that the expenditure for prevention is exclusively dedicated to the reduction in the demand for drugs, since the objective of prevention, via information, is to encourage potential users not to become real users, while on the other side prevention attempts to urge real users to give up using drug products by informing them for example, about the dangers of these.

As far as the expenditure for health is concerned, it can not be considered as expenditure intended to reduce the demand for drugs, except in cases where the expenditure aims to help real users give up drug use. Such is the case when treatment programmes are implemented which aim to substitute drug consumption with certain products such as Subutex® or methadone, with the eventual objective being the complete cessation in the use of this type of product.

Finally the issue of expenditure for drug repression may appear more problematic. Indeed in France repression is aimed just as much at the offer of drugs as well as at the demand for them. Nevertheless, the objective of repressing the offer is to limit the access of users to illicit products and as a result leads to a reduction in demand by the absence of the offer. It is in this sense that it is estimated that the whole of the expenditure for repression has a negative impact on the demand for drugs.

It appears, however, that this type of distinction (expenditure for prevention, health and repression) is not always easy to implement. At first sight, it appears indeed that some administrations, for example, possess more of a repressive character and use expenditure in this sense (law, police, police force, customs) while the other administrations have missions to implement health and social treatment and prevention. In reality this type of division proves to be rather problematic and in the sense of the sharing between the repressive administrations and the others it must be remembered that the legal, police and police force administrations devote a proportion, sometimes a significant one, of their activities to prevention.

On the other hand it appears to be simpler to present the expenditure by administration, taking into account the existing budgetary framework (the state budget) and the lack of consistency between the different ministries. Thus at the national level, out of the total expenditure relating to the state budget, it proves not only to be easier to identify that which is directly dedicated to drug issues by ministry, without having to ask for example, if this or that expenditure is considered more so as expenditure for prevention or repression, but it is also clearly obvious that all expenditure relating to drug issues laid out in the framework of the state budget is intended to reduce the demand for drugs.

However, besides the expenditure allocated at the national level, i.e. the state budget, a certain amount of expenditure aimed at reducing the demand for drugs is allocated at the regional, departmental and local level, whether it is by

public authorities or by private associations. Since France is a State which is strongly focused on this type of issue, it does not mean that the local communities do not have an active role in the treatment of drug problems. Unfortunately the multiplication of hierarchical levels and the division of responsibilities makes the efforts to put forward any evaluation on the expenditure implemented at these levels, extremely difficult, indeed even impossible at the moment. Therefore only an estimate of the public expenditure on top of the state budget can be put forward, with this expenditure constituting without a doubt, the largest proportion of financial resources mobilised for the purpose of having a negative effect on the consumption of drugs.

14.1 – Concepts and definitions

The concepts and definitions are those generally used in national accounting.

14.2 – Financial mechanisms, responsibilities and accountability

All of the data presented below originates from the state budget.

14.3 – Expenditure at national level

All of the data presented below may be considered as being allocated completely to the reduction in the demand for drugs. It is presented by administration, although we will start with the treatment using Subutex[®] and its cost.

14.3.1 - Subutex[®] and its cost

According to Kopp, Rumeau-Pichon and Le Pen⁵⁶, Subutex[®], introduced to the market in France in 1996 is a high-dosage form of buprenorphine which is a partial agonist of morphine receptors. This in fact is theoretically an opiate substitution product with no risk of respiratory depression owing to its ceiling effect. The authorisation for placing products on the market (AMM) defines it as a *“substitute treatment for major pharma-codependences on opiates, within the framework of medical, social and psychological care”*. The methods for the product's prescription and delivery have been set by the French Agency of Medicaments and appear on the certified copy of the authorisation for its placement on the market. It is available in sublingual tablet form with buprenorphine dosages of 0.4 mg, 2 mg and 8 mg.

The SIAMOIS⁵⁷ indicators estimate that 14,000 to 18,000 patients per month were taken into care from June 1996 and almost 40,000 patients per month in June 1997. The calculation of these figures is based on the assumption that one 30-day treatment (at a dosage of 8 mg) is entirely purchased and consumed by the same person. It appears, however, that the reality may be less rigid: the hypothesis of 50,000 to 80,000 individuals consuming Subutex[®]

⁵⁶ Kopp, Rumeau-Pichon and Le Pen, The financial stakes of substitution treatments (in col.), Revue d'Epidémiologie et de Santé Publique (Epidemiological and Health Review), June 2002, No. 48.

⁵⁷ The SIAMOIS (Information System for the Accessibility to Sterile Injection Equipment) system, managed by the National Public Health Network, enables the collection of information relating to the sale of products in pharmacies purchased by drug users. It was put in place in January 1996 within the framework of France's risk repression policy.

seems more likely. The revenue court's report estimates that the number of drug addicts treated with Subutex[®] at approximately 42,000 on 13 December 1997, compared to 24,000 a year later.

With regard to the cost of treatment, a project is available which was carried out by the Centre for Economic and Sociological Research and Management⁵⁸ (CRESGE), at the request of the Schering-Plough Laboratory, the results of which have been included in the recent report from the revenue court⁵⁹. According to this study carried out amongst a panel of prescribing doctors, the cost for medical care using Subutex[®]⁶⁰ was estimated at 2,332.47 Euros per person per year.

Therefore based on the hypothesis of 40,000 people undergoing Subutex[®] substitution treatment, an approximate calculation of the monthly cost can be made. The direct medical cost globally would therefore amount to 91.47 million euros.

14.3.2 – Expenditure of public administrations

The division made for the expenditure for the administrations (mainly the ministries) is based on presentation by administration, this system being easier to adopt, taking into account the budgetary framework and the lack of consistency between the different ministries, but also the sharing between the repressive administration and the others whilst remembering that the legal, police and police force administrations devote a proportion, sometimes a significant one, of their activities to prevention.

A – The Ministry of Justice

The first expenditure group is linked to the activities of magistrates at different stages of the penal process and in the operation of magistrates' courts. This expenditure mainly consists of personnel costs (magistrates, clerks and legal employees), the costs for the operation of courts of law (building maintenance, information technology, etc.), legal costs and legal aid. This expenditure is allocated in the budget under the heading **Judicial services**. The second expenditure category is linked to the imprisonment of charged and convicted persons. This is the expenditure for the **Prison authorities**. Finally there is the expenditure allocated to the **Legal protection services for young people** relating to minors.

With regard to the **Judicial services**, Table 1 estimates the cost of magistrates allocated to drug-related offences (ILS). In total the cost of the activity of judges dedicated to ILS rises to 14.65 million euros.

⁵⁸ Parea, Allenet, Lebrun, Subutex[®] within the therapeutic care system for heroin addicts: cost environment and assessment of the medical cost, Centre for Economic, Sociological Research and Management (CRESGE), October 1997. The participants used the general practitioners' network database of the Epidemiological Observatory, Thalès, with 383 computerised general practitioners. All Subutex[®] prescriptions issued by these doctors were studied from October 1996 to March 1997 inclusively. In total, 1548 prescriptions including Subutex[®] were thus analysed, detailing the prescription methods, co-prescriptions, the associated diagnostics and the supplementary examinations. 378 patients were involved, mainly men (77% of the sample), with an average age of 30 years.

⁵⁹ op. cit.

⁶⁰ Subutex[®] is available in boxes of 7 sublingual tablets with buprenorphine dosages of 0.4, 2 or 8 mg, retail price 4.30 euros (0.4 mg), 9.92 euros (2 mg) and 26.94 euros (8 mg).

Cost of the activity of judges dedicated to ILS (million euros)

Type of magistrate	Number of magistrates working on ILS	ILS cost
Court of appeal magistrates	31.5	2.69
Court magistrates	24.9	1.67
Public prosecution magistrates	61.0	4.11
Examining magistrates	61.0	4.08
Review judges	30.0	2.00
Juvenile judges	1.6	0.11
Total	210.0	14.65

Two other categories of personnel to be taken into account in the judicial services are clerks and other official employees. In total, 327.25 clerks and legal employees devote the whole of their activity to ILS, representing in budgetary terms, 9.49 million euros.

However, it is advisable to add the cost for official employees appointed to the appeal courts. 64 clerks and supplementary legal employees allocated to ILS, representing in budgetary terms 1.86 million euros.

In total the cost for clerks and legal employees working on ILS represents 11.35 million euros.

Besides the different categories of personnel counted above, the judicial services include other expenditure. Table 2 details all the costs to be taken into account for judicial services.

Miscellaneous expenses for judicial services allocated to ILS (*in million euros*)

Type of cost	Expenditure
Ch 34-05 Information technology and telephony expenditure	0.48
Ch 34-90 Transfer expenditure	0.28
Ch 37-11 Criminal, correction and police justice expenditure	4.76
Ch 37-12 Legal aid	5.96
Ch 37-92 Legal operation	
- Art. 40 Appeal court	0.86
- Art. 51 Large scale courts (Métropole et DOM)	2.76
Ch 46-01 Subventions et interventions diverses	
- Art. 21 Private or public bodies contributing to judicial control	0.14
Total	15.24

Therefore the other costs for judicial services for ILS increase to 15.24 million euros.

In total when the personnel costs and other costs are added, the total cost of judicial services attributable to illicit drugs comes to 41.24 million euros.

With regard to the **Prison authorities** the number of prisoners held for ILS increased to 11816 people on 1 May 1995, while the total number of prisoners was 51325 at the start of 1995. Consequently the proportion of individuals imprisoned on account of ILS related to 23.02% of the total prison population. Therefore with a budgetary expenditure of 873.22 million euros for the prison authorities, the cost of detention of persons imprisoned for ILS represented 201.03 million euros.

With regard to the management of the **Legal protection services for young people** (PJJ), two groups of the public are affected by these actions: at-risk

minors (Law from 4 June 1970) and offending minors. The care for these two categories of minors depends on a public and a voluntary sector. Within this framework the expenditure of the PJJ has increased to approximately 0.32 million euros, of which 43% is distributed to the voluntary sector and 57% to the public sector.

More than 30000 minors have been monitored in the public sector, of which approximately 14000 are offending minors. More than 100000 minors are monitored within the framework of the voluntary sector, of which only 373 are offending minors. Unfortunately the PJJ does not supply information which helps to establish the number of minors whose care could be linked to their drug addiction or their implication in other ILS. The only statistical information available relates to 4376 minors implicated in ILS in 1994, representing approximately 4% of the total of minors implicated. On the other hand, in 1993, 866 minors sentenced on account of ILS were counted out of a total of 30714 minors sentenced. Out of these 866 sentences, 353 are educational measures which generally convert to simple admonishment, the other 515 sentences convert to imprisonment, fines or alternative sentences. In these conditions it proves to be extremely difficult to determine the cost of the PJJ services attributable to drugs. The only thing that can be mentioned, for instance is the worrying trend in the increasing number of "ILS" minors.

B- Customs

There is no specialist "narcotics" service in existence, but Customs estimates the approximate number of agents devoting all of their activity to the fight against drugs at 500. With the average budgetary cost for positions rising in 1995 to approximately 24086.94 euros, it is possible to estimate the minimum expenditure for personnel at 12.04 million euros, representing 500 agents allocated full-time to the fight against drug trafficking (a proportion of DNRED agents, surveillance levels that reinforce the DNRED agents and dog handlers specialised in narcotics).

On their part, the operational costs (outside of personnel) of customs represented 108.39 million euros in 1995. By dividing this amount in proportion to the number of agents, the operational costs per agent rises to 5411.94 euros. Therefore, additional to the operational costs are approximately 2.71 million euros, relating to 500 agents engaged in the fight against drug trafficking.

Besides these 500 people, are all the uninformed customs officers who assist in the fight against the trafficking of drugs. Based on hypothesis, it is considered that approximately 25% of the activity of uniformed customs officers is dedicated to the fight against the trafficking in narcotics. The total number in this category of personnel consists of approximately 9000 people, with 2250 customs officers allocated full time to narcotics. Therefore the personnel costs are estimated at 54.20 million euros and the operational costs relating to these 2250 agents at 12.19 million euros. Therefore the total cost for these 2250 customs officers increases to 66.39 million euros, to which the previously calculated cost of 500 customs officers, specialised in the fight against narcotics, is added.

C – Police force

The expenditure on the police force relating to ILS, originates on the one hand, from repressive activity exercised within the framework of **criminal investigation missions** and, on the other, from the preventive activity exercised within the framework of **public security missions**. Finally, **other**

expenditure which is directly identifiable will be added (anti-drug training officers, designated by the abbreviation FRAD, dog handlers etc.).

Regarding the **criminal investigation missions**, the police force handles almost a third of crimes and offences committed in France each year, but there is no specialised service in narcotics in existence. There is a means of measuring the activity of service activity by type of mission and it emerges that in 1995, 27.345 million police hours were allocated to the "criminal investigation" mission, which represents 30% of total activity and 38% of activity relating to missions. According to the police force's statistics, the persons implicated in ILS represent 7.4% of the total implications by the police force and those imprisoned for ILS, 11.8% of the total imprisoned by the police force. The final statistic relates to the number of implicated persons, that is, 7.4% of criminal investigation mission activity is allocated to persons infringing the drug law. The police force therefore allocates 2,023,530 police hours to drug-related offences. The cost per police hour (combining personnel costs and other operational costs) increases to 34.43 euros, the overall cost of criminal investigation missions allocated to drug-related offences is therefore in the region of 47.51 million euros.

With regard to the **general public security missions**, these bring together the surveillance activities exercised by the police services and also the regulation of road safety and the presence of police at "raves". Based on hypothesis, the drug-related offence part of the general public security mission represents 3%. With this mission taking up 23.7 million police hours, the total cost of the police's general public security missions allocated to drug-related offences is 16.69 million euros.

Other expenditure attributable to drug-related offences increases to 5.83 million euros. This includes in the first place, the FRAD (anti-drug trainers), representing 40000 working hours at a cost of 0.95 million euros. Then there are 120 additional people in various sectors, who devote themselves entirely to the fight against narcotics (dog handlers, etc.), at a cost estimated at 4.88 million euros.

D – The Police

Out of the national police force's entire personnel, 2000 active service officers devote their whole activity to the fight against drug trafficking. This concerns the officials of OCRTIS (Central Office for the Repression of Illicit Drug Trafficking), the criminal investigation services and the urban and departmental security departments. Also called upon to regularly intervene in the drugs domain, are approximately 260 officials belonging to the BRI (Research and Intervention Brigades) or to the BREC (Brigades for Repression, Investigation and Co-ordination), representing a proportion of activity estimated at 15 to 20% there are 45 officials giving an average figure of 17.5%. It is still necessary to add to this total a 5 to 10% proportion of administrative officials, representing 150 officials, with an average figure of 7.5%. In total therefore there are 2195 police officers devoting the whole of their time to the fight against drugs. Based on an average budgetary cost of 29727.56 euros, the corresponding expenditure increases to 65.25 million euros, adding to this the operational expenditure representing 15% of the total budget, which amounts to 11.51 million euros for the 2195 officers.

Still to be taken into account is the expenditure for 82600 public security officials relating to their activity allocated to the fight against drug trafficking. According to a CESDIP (Centre of sociological research on the law and penal

institutions) study, public security officials devoted 70% of their time to penal tasks. Therefore there are 57820 public security officials who devote their full time to legal action. This legal proportion itself is divided up into an identical amount of repressive and preventive activities, with 28910 officials devoting their full time to the repressive proportion and the same number of officials for the preventive proportion. Finally, the repressive activity allocated to drug-related offences increases to 12% (proportion of people implicated for drug-related offences out of the total of implications by the national police force),⁶¹ while the proportion of activity for drug-related offences is 3%, the same as for the police force. Therefore, the number of officials increases to 3469 for the repression of drug-related offences and to 867 for the prevention of drug-related offences. In total there are 4336 public security officials devoting their full time to drug-related offences. Since the annual budgetary cost increases to 21885.58 euros per public security official, the total budgetary cost rises to 94.90 million euros and with the addition of operational costs rising respectively to 13.40 million euros for the repressive aspect of drug-related offences and to 3.35 million euros for the preventive aspect of drug-related offences.

E – The Ministry of Social, Health and Urban Affairs

An investigation into the expenditure of this ministry is directed towards the area of treatment and prevention. These issues are dealt with, in the area of health treatment, by the **General Health Department** (DGS), in the area of social treatment and prevention, by the **Department of Social Affairs** and the **Interministerial Delegation for Urban Affairs** (DIV). The ministry's direct expenditure for personnel is restricted to tasks of coordination and escalation to the **Departmental and Regional Directorates for Health and Social Action** (DDASS and DRASS). Nevertheless, it should be noted that the whole of this expenditure does not come into the reduction in the demand for drugs.

With regard to the **General Health Department** (DGS), its expenditure is listed in Chapter 47-15 of the budget of the ministry of social, health and urban affairs, under the title "programmes and mechanisms in the fight against drug addiction", excluding Articles 50 and 60 which relate to the DAS. The amount of the credits passed for 1995 increases to more than 92.08 million euros.

Nine tenths of these credits are found in Article 40 "*Structure of the fight against drug addiction: decentralised actions*". These credits are used mainly to subsidise the specialist centres for the treatment of drug addiction, exclusively for the area of health, not including the "prevention and studies" and "research" aspects. At the end of 1995, 163 treatment centres were counted (it is necessary to add to these 26 with permanent reception) and 51 aftercare centres with accommodation benefiting from these subsidies. The credits in Article 40 also enable the financing of drug addiction branches in penal establishments and town/hospital networks. The expenditure allocated in Article 40 increases to 82.98 million euros.

The second item, in order of importance, in Chapter 47-15 corresponds to Article 10 under the title "*Reimbursement for the health care of drug addicts*", which lists the amount of 9.01 million euros for 1995".

It is finally necessary to add the expenditure relating to the implementation of mandatory treatment rising to 1.65 million euros.

⁶¹ Out of caution we based this on an assumption of 12%, while public security's proportion of penal activity allocated to ILS is between 12 and 25%.

On the one hand, a whole range of expenditure does not come into the reduction in the demand for drugs. Such is the case for expenditure for prevention in relation to AIDS and intended for drug users, estimated, according to the AIDS Division of the DGS, at 6.10 million euros (listed in Article 20 "*The fight against AIDS: decentralised actions*" of Chapter 47-18). It is a matter of credits relating to syringe exchange programmes, the creation of "boutiques" for drug users, the installation of urban containers, etc. On the other hand there are the subsidies (Article 10 "*The fight against AIDS: national actions*") to some associations acting in the area of drug addiction (Green Cross and Red Ribbon, SAFE, IREP) which do not represent more than 0.15 million euros. However, at the national level, the communication actions specifically targeting drug addicts would not have passed the embryonic stage in 1995, and represent no more than 0.15 million euros. Finally we exclude the expenditure, that is, the credits allocated to accommodation actions (6.84 million euros) and to the support of everyday life (5.06 million euros). Applying the rate of 25% (proportion of drug users treated for HIV infection in hospitals), additional expenditure of 2.97 million francs is reached.

With regard to the **Department of Social Services** (DAS), these preventive actions carried out on the national level as well as the local level, are financed by the credits listed in Chapter 47-15, Articles 50 and 60, and have increased to 2.13 million euros. From their side, the MILDT (Interministerial Mission for the Fight Against Drugs and Drug Addiction) credits have risen to 2.47 million euros.⁶² Financed within this framework are the "counselling centres", some training actions, "sleep-ins", etc. In fact included in the overall expenditure some of these have an influence on the demand for drugs, although others simply concern the social treatment of a drug problem. Unfortunately we are not able to separate these amounts into the different types of expenditure.

3.35 million euros were allocated to the **Interministerial Delegation for Urban Affairs** (DIV) in 1995 for the prevention of drug addiction. The distribution of these credits can be achieved within the framework of the community or departmental councils for the prevention of delinquency or through urban contracts. State finance must increase in principal by at least 50%. It is the case, however, that in some disadvantaged regions, this percentage may be higher. The average multiplier effect would be between 2 and 3, that is, 3.35 million euros expended by the state could generate approximately between 6.71 and 10.06 million euros in expenditure on behalf of regions, departments and towns. In total, therefore, there would be an amount of between 10.06 and 13.42 million euros expended within the framework of the town policy and allocated to the prevention of drug addiction. This omits, however, the whole area of local financing, which it is impossible to establish accurately. In fact, the fight against drug addiction would be an important concern for town councils and one of the better handled priorities. Local financing therefore should be relatively significant.

Finally, with regard to the **Departmental and Regional Directorates for Health and Social Action** (DDASS and DRASS), it is necessary to calculate an equivalent amount of time fully dedicated to drug addiction per department, involving about a hundred people. The average budgetary cost for social welfare and social workers is approximately 24849.17 euros. Consequently, the **total cost for the DDASS and DRASS is 2.48 million euros.**

⁶² The 2.47 million euros of MILDT credits are interministerial credits.

For the ministry of national education, higher education and research, two areas need to be studied: the activity developed by **National education**, on the one hand, and aspects relating to **research** on the other.

The **ministry of national education** and the ministry for youth and sport both have the common specificity of mainly practising in the primary prevention sector involving young people. In both cases, identification of the measures taken, other than the MILDT credits is particularly difficult. This relates first of all, to the definition itself of a preventive action, for which it is impossible to say where it starts and where it ends. Finally the only preventive actions against drug addiction which can be measured are those that essentially appear as such in the interministerial credits regarding national education, youth and sport.

The ministry for national education created the "Social Environment Committees" (CES) in 1990, which were an instrument in the development of the prevention of at-risk behaviour in schools. The decision was taken in close collaboration with the ex General Department for the Fight against Drugs and Drug Addiction, which illustrates in spite of everything, the central position occupied by the fight against drug addiction. In 1995 there were 1691 CES, representing 20% of establishments. The ministry only contributed to the financing from its funds an amount of 0.30 million euros in 1995.

In each academy there is a pilot group consisting of 5 people (1 doctor, 1 nurse, 1 social worker, 1 school headmaster, 1 inspector). However, it is unfortunately impossible to determine the proportion of activity each of these people allocate to the pilot group. Furthermore, 3 people are available at the departmental level, but here again it is not possible to determine the proportion of their activity relating to drug issues. Finally, it is also necessary in each CES to count the head of the establishment, as well as a team with a variable composition.

The ministry's other expenditure is allocated to training, on the one hand for projects requiring the ministry's approval and on the other within the framework of academic training programmes. Unfortunately, the amount of expenditure from their funds, represented by this is not known.

Therefore with all these uncertainties, only 0.30 million euros is thus attributed to national education for the prevention of drug addiction.

With regard to the activity of the **ministry of research**, there is still difficulty in defining the field of drug addiction. Nevertheless, there are approximately 50 permanent researchers, to which it is necessary to add about forty ITA personnel, amounting to 90 people generating an expense (salary costs and operational credits included) of 5.75 million euros. However, the criteria of these two bodies for including or not including a researcher in the field of drug addiction are not known. It is thus necessary to note that the natural trend with these bodies is more so to minimise the amount of credits and researchers.

In fact a quick check of the number of researchers operating in the area of neurobiology and psychology is already approaching a figure of about fifty people. It is then necessary to take into account "clinical" research in the areas of psychiatry and psychology and the research of social sciences. A check based on the files of the GDR "psychotropics, politics and society" research teams enabled the calculation of about twenty researchers undertaking work focusing on drugs in 1995, and a single ITA post (ETP). It is also necessary to include the expenditure of approximately 0.27 million euros relating generally

to holiday payments. There would in total therefore be about 50 researchers in the neurobiology, psychobiology and clinical research domain, to which about forty ITA (ETP) should be added, which is 90 people in all at an average annual cost (expenses included) of 48783.69 euros. If 10% is added for operating costs, the expenditure for this category of researchers amounts to 4.83 million euros. Then 21 people are calculated for social sciences, amounting to an increased average salary cost (minus ITA) of 54881.65 euros. Calculating 10% for operating costs and holiday payments, the total expenditure increases to 1.52 million euros in 1995. Consequently the total expenditure for research is estimated at a minimum of 6.35 million euros.

G – The Ministry for Youth and Sport

As for the national education, the means committed to the prevention policy of the Ministry of Youth and Sport are not globally identifiable, the financing of the actions have been decentralised in a general procedure that does not allow for the registering of the prevention as such. More generally, apparently none of the government programmes may be considered as exclusively centred on the prevention of drug addiction.

In this way, the costs for the people-resources on which drug addiction rests, the policies for the prevention of drug addiction may only be identified at a local level. There are 104 of these people (1 individual by department and by region), and devotes between a third and two thirds of their activities to the drug addiction domain. By taking one part of drug addiction activity averaging at 50%, there are 52 people who are entirely devoted to the drug addiction problem. In this way, with an average budgetary employment cost of 25800,62 euros, the Minister for Youth and Sports allots, a minimum of 1.34 million euros to the drug addiction problem.

H- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The voluntary contributions of the minister to the PNUCID programmes (United Nations Programme for International Drug Control) and the financing of certain co-operation actions may be considered as bound to the policies for the fight against drug addiction and drug trafficking. In 1995, the voluntary contributions to the PNUCID have risen to 1.07 million euros.

Certain co-operation actions including a “narcotic” section that remains however difficult to estimate. The government has made hundreds of attempts but finished by abandoning this due to the difficulty in obtaining information from the players on the field. However, according to the spokesperson for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the expenses for the fight against drugs included in the programmes of co-operation must not exceed the amount contributed to PNUCID.

In total, this is approximately 2.13 million euros that the Minister of Foreign Affairs allots to the drug problem (excluding interministerial funds, in other words 7 million of the contribution to PNUCID and 7 million of expenses in the co-operation programmes).

I-The Ministry of the Cooperation

The actions for the fight against drugs makes up a section of programmes for the fight against large trafficking and the programmes of general co-operation with regards to the police and the police force.

For West Africa, over three years, including 1995, the authorisation of programmes rose to 18.45 million euros for the co-operation as regards to the

police, and is at 11.59 million euros for the police force. The « narcotic » part of these programmes are evaluated at 20% for the police funds and 0% for the police force funds. In this way during 1995, 3.69 million euros would have been allotted to the fight against drug trafficking in the name of intervention funding (structuring of services, equipment, training).

On the other hand, we must also take into account the expenses linked to the presence of a corresponding “narcotic” in each of the 12 countries of West Africa. The cost being estimated at 53357.76 euros yearly and by person, the total cost for the 12 correspondents rises to 0.64 million euros. Therefore, in total there is 4.33 million euros of “narcotic” funds for West Africa.

The government action also extends to Central Africa and to The Caribbean Islands. This latter area does not seem to have benefited from the identifiable funds of their actual budget. On the other hand, for Central Africa, the amount of the funds for the actual budget may be roughly estimated at half of the funds allotted to West Africa, in other words approximately 2.16 million euros.

J-Cooperation of France to the EU drug budget

The European Union budget allotted to the fight against drugs has risen to 27.94 million euros in 1995, of which 13.3 million is for the Union’s internal programmes and 14.59 for actions in Southern countries on one hand, and Eastern Countries and Central Europe on the other hand.

France’s portion in the total budget of the European Union was 17% in 1995. So, the French contribution to the European programmes for the fight against drugs has risen to 4.75 million euros. However, we have noticed that the amounts allotted to the Union Interior cooperation with regards to the justice department and the police are not evaluated here, it is difficult to pinpoint the specific part allotted to the fight against drug addiction in these funds.

14.4 – Expenditure of specialised drug centres

No information available

14.5 - Conclusions

Table 3 relates to the expenses made at a central level by the group of administration who allotted a part of their resources to the drug question. In total, 803.71 million euros was spent to attempt giving a negative attitude to drugs.

The justice department alone represents 30.14% of these expenses, followed by the police (23.44% in total). Only these two administrations represent almost 53.59% of the total expenditure, the only prison administration represents a quarter of these expenses.

By adding to the expenditure of the police, and other “repressive” administrations (customs and police force), we obtained an expenditure amount of 339.58 million euros, in other words 42.25%. In total, these expenses amount to 581.85 million euros, in other words 72.40%, the total expenditure, that were made by the “repressive” administrations (the justice department, police, customs and police force) but we must remember that the justice department, the police and the police force administrations devote a very important part of their activities to drug prevention.

The third item, by order of importance, is represented by a social administration (Department of Social Affairs) with 12.69%.

Type of expenditure	Expenses
Subutex®	91,47
<i>Public Administration expenditure</i>	712,24
<i>Department of Justice</i>	242,27
including : -judicial departments	41,24
Prison Administration	201,03
Judicial Department for the protection of youth	NA
<i>B-Customs</i>	81,14
including : -personnel	66,24
– running expenses	14,90
<i>C- Police force</i>	70,03
including : – Judicial police missions	47,51
- general public security missions	16,69
- other expenses	5,83
<i>D-Police</i>	188,41
including : -personnel	160,15
– running expenses	28,26
<i>E- Social, health and Urban Affairs</i>	101,99
including : -DGS (General Health Department)	94,03
including : -chapter 47-15	92,08
-therapeutic injunction	1,65
-chapter 47-18, article 10	0,15
- communication actions for drug addicts	0,15
- DAS (Department of Social Services)	2,13
-DIV	3,35
-DDASS and DRASS	2,48
F- National Education, higher education, research	6,65
including : - National Education	0,30
- Research	6,35
including : -personnel	5,79
– running expenses	0,56
G- Youth and Sport	1,34
H- Foreign Affairs	2,13
including : - PNUCID (United Nations Programme for International Drug Control)	1,07
- Cooperation Actions	1,07
I- Cooperation	6,49
including : - West Africa cooperation	4,33
Central Africa Cooperation	2,16
J- France's Cooperation to the EU budget for drugs	4,75
K- Work, employment, and professional training	0,12
L – MILDT	6,92
<i>Public expenditure at a local level</i>	NA
<i>Expenditure of associations privately financed</i>	NA
<i>Total</i>	803,71

Syntheses of imputable expenses used for drugs (in million euros)-1995

The other administration expenses are on the whole quite marginal, since each one represents less than 1% in total expenditure.

Obviously this data only includes the expenditure of central administrations, no data was available for the expenditure of the players at a decentralised level (regions, departments, communes). This limits the representation of the work, even if we could estimate on the drug question, the State represents the main source of expenditure. It appears that a study of expenditure at a local level made up one of the main reflections conducted at a French level to have a global vision of the amounts at stake concerning the problems in reducing the drug demand.

Concerning a global estimation of these expenses, it sometimes proves quite difficult to distinguish with precision which of these expenses have a negative action on the reduction of the drug demand, and those that have no impact at all. For example, in the case of the Department of Social Affairs, Health and Town certain funds are accounted for, when we didn't know if these had had a real impact on the drug demand. In this way, for the Department of Social

Affairs [*Direction de l'action sociale*] (DAS) a group of diverse funding is accounted for including the financing of "help-lines" training action, "sleep-in", etc. If the personnel training has caused a negative approach to the drug demand, the other expenses could be considered as a simple social treatment of the problems generated by drugs, without knowing if these expenses had any effect on the drug demand.

Be that as it may, it however appears that the large majority of the expenses described here have had a negative impact on the drug demand, the amount of these expenses could give rise to a discussion being relatively marginal.

14.6-Methodological information

a- Limits in the available data

The limits in the available data essentially comes from three aspects. Firstly, the available numbers date back to 1995 and after this date no study has been conducted. Consequently, it could prove interesting to update the numbers of 1995. If during the period 1995-2002, there does not seem to be large differences, in budgetary terms, that have been made, it seems, on the other hand, that the actual budgetary adjustment could change the prospect of the expenses described here.

The second point that should be indicated on the data projected here rests on the fact that no data is available for the expenses made by the players at a decentralised level (regions, departments, communes). This limits the representation of the work, even if we could estimate on the drug question, the State represents the main source of expenditure.

Finally, even if we have an explicit reserved hypothesis to calculate the expenses presented in this work, we have to admit that, in certain cases, it sometimes proves quite difficult to precisely distinguish the expenses that have had a negative action on the reduction of the drug demand, with those that have had no impact.

b- Main studies and research

The main studies and research on the expenditure domain concerning the drug problems in France are those that have been used to produce this article. Two sources seem nevertheless more complete on these questions. The first rests on the description of public expenditure with regards to drugs and was produced in 1998 (Kopp P. et Palle C., 1998). The second, conducted in 2000, drafting the social costs of legal (alcohol and tobacco) and illicit drugs in France (Kopp P. et Fenoglio P., 2000). The main information sources on these questions are given in the heading "Bibliographic References" below.

c- Bibliographic References

Kopp P. et Fenoglio P. (2000), *Le coût social des drogues licites (alcool et tabac) et illicites en France*, OFDT/ARMI, Paris, 277 pages.

Kopp P. et Palle C. (1998), *Vers l'analyse du coût des drogues des drogues illégales : un essai de mesure du coût de la politique publique de la drogue et quelques réflexion sur la mesure des autres coûts*, OFDT/ARMI, Paris, 80 pages.

Kopp, Rumeau-Pichon et Le Pen, *Les enjeux financiers des traitements de substitution (en col.)*, *Revue d'Epidémiologie et de Santé Publique*, juin 2002, n° 48.

OFDT (2002), *Drogues et Dépendances : indicateurs et tendances 2002*, OFDT, Paris, 368 pages.

