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"A Drug-Free World" Rationality & Drug Control

An elucidation of Harmonization and Challenge
for International and National Drug Control
Strategies in the light of Globalization

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SAMMANFATTNING

Denna uppsats syftar till att belysa strategierna inom internationell och nationell narkotikakontroll. Då globaliseringen påverkar det globala narkotikaproblemet och möjligheterna till kontroll av detsamma har vikten av en fungerande narkotikakontroll på internationell nivå uppmannats. Den svenska narkotikapolitiken anses god i internationella mått mätt men bygger på restriktiva strategier som syftar till att uppnå ett narkotikafritt samhälle genom effektiv kontroll och utökade polisiära åtgärder. Detta mål anses inte realistisk av alla stater och i Sverige har en ökning av narkotikarelaterade problem konstaterats spegla den tilltagna kontrollpolitiken och polisens insatser. Genom en deskriptiv metod och intervjuer med poliser utrönas det polisiära utrymmet i de svenska styrdokumenterna. Detta jämförs sedan med strategierna inom de internationella styrdokumenterna, för att i sin tur se på hur kontrollen harmoniserar från internationell till nationell nivå. Resultatet påvisar att polisen ges fortsatt stort utrymme som huvudsaklig aktör inom den svenska narkotikakontrollen och att den restriktiva linjen skärpts ytterligare i den nya handlingsplanen. På det stora hela harmoniserar dessa strategier med den internationella narkotikakontrollen, men politikens negativa effekter på utvecklingen av narkotikarelaterade problem motverkar de internationella målen som bygger på individens hälsa och de mänskliga rättigheterna. Den övergripande frågan, om strategierna i ”ett narkotikafritt samhälle” är rationella i en globaliserad värld, besvaras genom Foucault’s begrepp makt, styrningsrationalitet och disciplin som utgör grundläggande teoretiska verktyg i en analytisk diskussion. I relation till resultatet blir det svårt att se den svenska narkotikakontrollen som rationell då man arbetar emot sitt eget syfte och fördjupar problemen för både samhället och den enskilda missbrukaren, vilket i förlängningen går emot de principer de internationella styrdokumenterna bygger på.

Nyckelord: *Globalisering, Narkotikakontroll, Kontrollpolitik, Styrningsrationalitet, makt & politiska strategier*

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Presenting the Perspective

The perspective within this thesis will relate to the complexity around global/international norms in a national context as the nation state with the principle of sovereignty is the main actor within international law and international society. Drug problems increase with the active development of globalization, and the international and national drug control becomes dependent on each other in order to combat these problems. As the UN conventions are legally binding norms and rules that take place both formally and informally, based on fundamental human rights concerning all human beings regardless of nationality or culture, I will look at them as law in books, and superior on the area of drug control. With a focus on the three UN conventions on drugs supported by the existing EU action plan and strategy, as international drug control, I would like to see how these are practiced on the national level. The Swedish government has accepted the UN conventions for their content through signing and ratification, and bound themselves to fulfill their purpose, to follow their norms and principles and have implemented these in the national legislation. As the legislation is practiced through the police authorities my purpose is to see how the international drug control is implemented through the police, as law in action. With this in mind I will not be critical to the content of the three UN conventions, but instead review the form they take on a national level, more specified how they are acted out, in order to see how the national practicing of international drug control meet the challenges of globalization.

1.1.1. Disposition

The introduction of the problem in chapter 1 will present the international norms and their complexity through the challenge of a global drug problem and the structure of international drug control, with the intention of giving a clear view of the problem which then is presented. In chapter 2 I will treat of the national norms through the historical development of the Swedish drug control to what it is today aiming for a “society free from drugs”. In Chapter 3 I will present relevant contributions of the previous research on the field related to my main subjects of sociology of law, globalization and the analytical tools from Michel Foucault. In chapter 4 I will introduce my theoretical framework based on three concepts of Michel Foucault related to power and governmental strategies with a globalized attempt. Chapter 5 will clarify my method and material based on a descriptive and qualitative perspective.

Further on I will present my result in chapter 6 and analytical discussion and conclusions in chapter 7 with the intention of answering my research question.

1.1.2. Definitions

“A society free from drugs”/”A drug-free society”- It’s the aim of a society without drugs, the overall goal in the Swedish drug policies. Through this thesis reflected to as a norm, the principal norm operating through/as Swedish drug control.

ANDT- Alcohol, Narcotics, Doping and Tobacco

BRÅ- National Council for Crime Prevention

Drugs- Drugs, Narcotics and Narcotic substances will all be used in this thesis, depending on translation or used in texts referred to.

EMCDDA- European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction

FHI- Swedish institute for people’s health

Globalization- a global development characterized by the stretching of social, political and economical activities. Activities in one region of the world could effect and have significance for both individuals and societies in another part of the world as well. The world as a shared social space, as a structural change down to the level of individuals where the power is organized and exercised on a trans-regional, transnational and transcontinental basis where many actors, international organizations as criminal networks exercise power within, across and against states. (Bauman, 1998; Giddens, 2003:7ff & Mc Grew in Baylis & Smith, 2005: 22ff).

INCB- The International Narcotics Control Board

Political strategies- The objectives and measures in specific policies, in this thesis seen as the strategies of drug control.

UNODC- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, one of the responsible organs for the rule of law

1.2. Introducing the problem

This section of the thesis is intended to introduce the research problem, through the development of globalization, the problem this process brings on nations and the international society, and as well for the possibilities it comprehends the same. It will be presented from the drug related problems of globalization and the structure of international drug control, in order to get a concluding exposition of the complex problem I intend to shed light on.

1.2.1. Globalization & Illicit Drug trafficking

Drugs are global to their nature and therefore seen as a global problem. Around 100 years ago the international community met to discuss the largest drug problem the world ever known, the Chinese opium epidemic. There they started the process of creating and enacting international law and normative instruments in order to deal with the global drug problem, which today is defined through three main UN conventions on drugs. (UNODC, 2008:8). Even though, the problems related to illicit drugs have increased significantly along with the process of globalization.

Together with the interactions of people and the blurred territorial borders related to the process of globalization, organized crime has found its market through the opportunities of working both locally and internationally. (McGrew in Baylis & Smith, 2005:24). Intimidation and corruption have through that become effective tools used by organized criminal groups in order to counter the drug control efforts of law enforcement agencies. Nothing has a more debilitating effect on efforts to curtail the illicit drug trade than the successful attempts of criminal organizations to intimidate and corrupt public officials. Nor does nothing undermine the international drug control efforts as much as the numerous cases of corrupt officials who facilitate or participate in drug trafficking. These circumstances are what empowers these criminal organizations and put them beyond the reach of law. Vast drug trafficking networks have emerged in most parts of the world, extending across borders. The huge profits generated by illicit drug markets fuel the growth of these organizations. All of these factors contribute to the weakening of law enforcement and criminal justice institutions, and through that they constitute a threat to national and international security and stability. (INCB, 2011:1). The widespread corruption associated with illicit drug markets can easily get out of control and disrupt or completely paralyze existing drug control mechanisms. Illicit drug markets are complex and constantly changing which give them the possibility to keep up with changes in control and to adapt quickly in order to counter the government's efforts.

Therefore it is a necessity with a functioning international cooperation concerning these problems. (INCB, 2011:3). International cooperation is dependent on trustworthy relationships, and the challenges in this area relates to the structure of sovereignty issues, the absence of enabling legislation, poor channels of communication and the diversity of law enforcement. These circumstances undermine some of the best international drug control initiatives to failure. At all levels the success of strategic approaches to fight drug trafficking, depends on the capacity and willingness of the officials in various agencies to be involved and to cooperate with each other. (INCB, 2011:7). Organized crime is one area where international rules are growing stronger in order to control the effects of globalization on this problem, as a counterpoise to national special interests or lack of interest in handling shared problems. (Hydén, 2001:87).

1.2.2. The Complexity of International Drug Control

International drug control is based on three UN conventions that constitute international law in this area. The conventions concern customary law and are multilateral treaties with a broad number of parties. They are binding instruments which mean that the contracting parties are intended to create legal rights and duties that make up binding norms in their mutual agreements. When signing conventions, these become binding only for the state that have ratified them and not for the individual under national law. (www.un.org & Hydén, 2001:74ff). Ratification of a convention means the incorporation of its norms under national law. (United Nations, 2011). The signing of a convention means acknowledging its content, and the state can therefore not take any measures that frustrate the purpose of the treaty. It means a principal acceptance which becomes binding through the ratification of the convention. (Strömberg & Melander, 2003:14 & 45ff). The purposes of the UN drug conventions are to introduce some sort of global drug prohibition. (Fazey, 2003:173).

In the process of combating the Chinese opium epidemic international drug control was developed and the first fundamental objective came to be about limiting the licit international trade in narcotic drugs to medical requirements. Drug demand reduction, which today is a key component in tackling the drug problem, developed as an integral part of the international drug control system. Primarily this was seen as a national task as national authorities were and still are better aware of specific abusive situations and contexts in their countries. Through numerous agreements and declarations, international control strategies concerning drugs have achieved a somewhat functioning construction. This process would take roughly

100 years and is still not final. Even today, the system is a work in progress that continuously meet consequences as a violent black market, trafficking and geographic issues etc. and therefore under constant change in order to adapt to the shifting global circumstances. (UNODC, 2008:8ff).

Since 1990, domestic demand for drugs has become universally recognized as an international issue, even though, many governments are in retreat in the sense that they want a domestic policy that is different from the one demanded by the conventions and some powerful countries. (Fazey, 2003:166). Demand reduction has from the beginning, and is through many aspects understood as a domestic matter and not a binding international agreement. (Fazey, 2003:157). Difficulty arises as many countries oppose themselves to a universal policy on demand reduction. This opposition is argued through the fact that domestic conditions vary nationally and that drug policy through this perspective needs to be tailored to the country, its culture and its social and religious customs. Supply reduction on the other hand, is commonly seen as an international issue as it concerns the trafficking between countries. (Fazey, 2003:167). Nations may therefore currently push the boundaries of the international system, but the pursuit of any action to formally legalize non medical and scientific drug use would require either treaty revision or a complete or partial withdrawal from the current regime. (Bewley-Taylor, 2003:173). Through this perspective further progress within sovereign states will only be possible through a change of the international regime, but this is problematic as parties supporting the treaties might block the change. (Bewley-Taylor, 2003:171). On the other hand, the system leaves a degree of freedom when formulating domestic policies and for its interpretation at the national level. (Fazey, 2003:173). Bewley-Taylor (2003:178) argues that this possible path, for nations wishing to expand their national policy space by operating beyond the present, confines the current global drug prohibition. The board is, through this, concerned with that any failure to the international drug control treaties may weaken the collective efforts of the international community to fight against drug abuse and trafficking. (INCB, 2011:14).

Consecutively an international control system has developed, in which the countries cooperate for an international system of rules. Even though, it's concluded that it's been easier to build an international control system concerning production and illicit trafficking in drugs than to cooperate around preventive and care measures. But during the years the

interest in international measures to limit the demand has increased. (Regeringskansliet, 2009).

1.2.3. Sweden under International Drug Control

Already in the beginning of the 1960's Sweden was a party to all international drug control treaties in force, except the 1936 convention for the suppression of Illicit Traffic in Drugs.

The concerted international action against stimulants was a major concern for the Swedish government, as the stimulants weren't restricted in many of the countries where they were manufactured, which made the national efforts to curb their abuse difficult. Sweden therefore urged manufacturing states to cooperate and called on the WHO's drug committees to impose controls on stimulants and depressants in 1965. In 1970 Sweden participated in the first special session of the UN commission on Narcotic Drugs and took an active role in promoting the control of psychoactive substances. Together with other countries Sweden formed a coalition for strict control that urged for stringent limitation of all classes of psychotropic substances. The provisions of the convention, adopted in 1971, were in some respect weaker than what Sweden had hoped for but succeeded in placing stringent controls over amphetamines which still were the main drug of problem in terms of abuse in Sweden. (UNODC, 2007:13ff). Besides the control measures Sweden was advocating, they also proposed a weakening of the penal provisions of the 1961 convention, suggesting measures of treatment, rehabilitation and social integration of the drug abuser as an alternative to conviction, punishment or in addition to punishment. They also suggested on a separate article for the convention, requiring all parties to take all practicable measures for the prevention of abuse of drugs and for early identification, treatment, education, after-care, rehabilitation and social integration of the persons involved. They stated that meaningful action against drug abuse should be directed towards both supply and demand. These were both accepted and became articles of the 1961 convention as amended by the 1972 protocol. (UNODC, 2007:14).

Sweden is still fully in line with the three UN conventions on drugs stated by the International Narcotics Control board and in many aspects even more restrictive than what is required. (UNODC, 2007:20). But as Sweden has a policy more restrictive than the EU and the UN, they including some other states, want to maintain or even tighten the world wide drug prohibition. Other states are on the other hand in technical compliance with the UN

conventions, but pro-w policies that make parts of it ineffective. Also the liberal policies in some countries have weakened the current international regime and dissatisfaction with the prohibition oriented UN drug control system has grown. An increasing number of states are therefore reviewing their stance on the international treaties. Recent years show on nations implementing, or seriously discuss tolerant drug policies that exploit the latitude of existing legal framework of the global drug control regime. These circumstances are the main problems when it comes to the implementation of universal norms on a national level, powered by cultural and social norms. (Fazey, 2003:156 & Bewley-Taylor, 2003:171).

Anand Grover, the UN special rapporteur on the Right of Everyone to the Highest Attainable Standard of Physical and Mental Health, means that the focus on creating a drug free world with law enforcement policies and criminal sanctions, undermines health promotion initiatives and the strong norm deter people to seek help. He argues that this is an approach that has failed and resulted in countless human rights violations. With these arguments he calls for a change in the global drug control, through a fundamental shift in drug policy, and shows on the need of a changed policy regarded to the harms that drug policies have caused. The Latin American commission on drugs and democracy calls for a paradigm shift as well. They recognize that the world is farther away from the announced goal of eradicating drugs than ever and claim for acknowledgment of the failure of existing policies and their consequences. With these liberal developments the existing control policies are challenged (LACDD, 2011). In June 2011 the group “Global Commission on Drug Policy” with e.g. Kofi Annan, stated that the global drug use is increasing even though all measures against use, which calls for a change in strategy. Through a legalization of some drugs they mean that it could be easier to reach the criminality as this would end the criminalization and stigmatization of users that doesn’t harm others and specifically that campaigns with slogans of zero tolerance of drugs should be replaced with other educational methods. (Global Commission on Drug Policy, 2011; www.dn.se).

1.3. Problem

As cared for above, drugs have become an increased global problem as the process of globalization opens up for global abuse of narcotics. Through an increasingly complex accessibility of drugs owing to shorter, more diverse and easily traversed routes of

trafficking, the drug trade and its associated problems continue to grow in most parts of the world. (www.interpol.com). Along with the process of globalization, the control of drugs has developed as well. Even though, it has been hard to construct a functional international norm system with the ability to be fully implemented nationally. Globalization and its growing influence on drug trafficking, requires cooperation at the international level, through harmonization and national implementation of international drug control and there seem to be several circumstances affecting the possibilities for a positive result of the police's fight against drugs nationally. The problem of global drug abuse needs a universal control of cooperating states aiming at the same goal. The discussion within international drug control has now come to be about new more liberal methods, different from criminalization effects like imprisonment.

Through a national perspective, the global engagement in drug control becomes important in the light of globalization. (Regeringskansliet, 2009). The implementation of the international control documents have resulted in successful progress to some extent throughout Europe while in Sweden, with a more restrictive and control policy dominated drug politics, the drug related problems have increased. Pointed out is though that Sweden still are among the low-rate countries regarding national drug problems. Concerning the political strategy of the Swedish norm "a society free from drugs" it's constructed around these restrictive policies with continuously sharpened legislation and increased police efforts with further focus on personal consumption and small holdings. These strategies have shown on counteracting their own purpose and the increased police activities are said to be mirroring this negative development.

As the globalization hits all areas of narcotics, it seems to be rather impossible to reach a national change in drug related problems if the global situation doesn't change and the other way around. Therefore a stronger international framework is required for the global drug problems to be fought nationally as well. As the UN norms are superior in this matter, the Swedish strategies should aim towards the same goal, and must be if the drug related problems should be solved in a globalized world.

1.3.1. Purpose & Question

With the aim of illuminating the Swedish control political strategies and actions of the norm of “a society free from drugs”, my purpose is to elucidate how law in books, international drug control, is transformed into law in action through the police authorities, in order to see how the updated Swedish drug policies are adapting to the global challenges.

My overall question is:

- Are the governmental strategies of “a society free from drugs” rational in a globalized world?

I would like to answer this through:

- What role are the police authorities given within Swedish action plan and how are these acted out in practice?
- How does *this* harmonize with the objectives of international drug control?

1.4. The relevance of Sociology of Law and Globalization for the discussion of Drug Control

The discipline of sociology of law or law in society is of main importance within this research as I will see how law is practiced in reality. This thesis concerns the step from law in books into law in action, through the perspective of how the international control documents harmonize with the national action plan and further on the how these strategies are practiced through the police. Through the theoretical perspective my intention is further on to explain how this transition of law from theory to practice looks, its complexity and its challenges in the modern globalized world.

The concept of globalization is therefore of relevance throughout the whole research, as it's based on how international drug control is implemented and practiced on the national level. It is focused on the increased problems of drugs related to globalization and the new relations of power and governmental strategies; challenged, depending and existing because of globalization.

Sociology of law and globalization are both aspects of great importance regarding scientific contribution for a possible solution on the area of drug control through my point of view. As the problems related to narcotics increase with globalization, and the differences among

countries challenge the practicing of international drug control documents, they are both necessary for a solution. International drug control is needed for drug related problems both internationally as nationally, as well as discouraged by the same, as it is dependent on national policies and international cooperation.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1. Development of Swedish Restrictive Drug Policies

Until the 1930's, drug abuse was rather unknown in the Swedish society, but the introduction of amphetamines around 1938 resulted in a widespread drug abuse controlled by measurements towards a specific drug. As the market enlarged, an increasing diversity of psychoactive substances made the problem of drug abuse more difficult to control. Further on, the main drug policy was directed towards a small number of drugs through prescription requirements and warnings on health consequences, but the expansion of drug use in the 1960's made it clear that this drug policy couldn't address the growing problem of drugs. (UNODC, 2007:9).

In 1965, the idea of limiting the harmful effects of drug use, in society and on abusers, launched an experimental project for the legal prescription of drugs. It was based on a "liberal and non-authoritarian view" with patients under medical supervision, free to decide their own dosages. Problems with the project appeared soon after it started as legally prescribed drugs were increasingly diverted to the illicit market. Next to this, the proportion of arrested people showing signs of intravenous drug use rose with 13% during two years in Stockholm. After the decision to close down the project a 17 year old girl within the project died from an overdose and the project was totally closed down on 1 June 1967. (UNODC, 2007:11ff). In 1966, a Swedish national methadone maintenance programme was opened at the psychiatric Research center in Uppsala which made Sweden the first country in Europe to carry out this kind of treatment. The programme was judged very successful based on a significant decrease in drug abuse, criminality and prostitution compared to the situation before treatment, together with a dramatic reduction in drug related deaths for those staying in treatment. (UNODC, 2007:13).

During the same year, developments concerning drug control were already made as the first expert group on narcotic drug abuse was enlarged to a Narcotics Drug Committee comprising

five subcommittees on: *legislative aspects; therapeutic approaches; technical-diagnostic problems; social medical aspects; and on methods of prevention*. The results of the committee were published in two reports. The first report *SOU 1967:25* was focused on different forms of treatment of drug abuse, and made recommendations to maintain a central registry of drug abusers. The second report *SOU 1967:41* concerned the legal aspects of drug control, with the intention of following the development in order to detect sudden changes at an early stage. *The Narcotics Drugs Act 1968:64* was then adopted in order to address the obvious drug problem. (UNODC, 2007: 9ff).

The same year, a meeting between all the regional chiefs of police concluded that the illicit trafficking in drugs should be given the police's highest priority. In 1969 a ten point anti-drugs programme was approved by the Swedish government in order to increase the public efforts against the drug problem. (UNODC, 2007:10). The ten point programme was heavy on law enforcement measures but covered demand reduction issues as well. Drug abuse prevention was one of the main tasks, which resulted in the establishment of a demand reduction programme. Together with further stiffening of penalties, the police were allowed to wire-tap in individual cases in order to uncover serious narcotic offences. Sweden participated in the first special session of the UN Commission on Narcotic drugs and gave their firm support to the draft protocol on Psychotropic substances. (UNODC, 2007:11).

In 1969, Nils Bejerot, a deputy social medical officer at the Child and Youth Welfare Board of the City of Stockholm founded "*association for a Drug-Free Society*" which should come to play an important role in the further shaping of Swedish drug policies. He concluded that the society had to have a restrictive drug policy to limit general exposure to illicit drugs and that the main target should be the drug user. (UNODC, 2007:12ff). *The Narcotics Drugs Act* was therefore amended again in 1972, with maximum penalties for serious offences raised to 10 years. Nevertheless, drug abuse continued persistently which was seen as an effect of the changed attitudes in society. Through that society was thought to have a responsibility for the abusers whose lives were in danger and was therefore supposed to take vigorous action against all forms of drug trafficking. In 1978, a parliamentary bill was proposed *prop. 1977/78:105* which aimed to raise the standards for drug control policy efforts. The new standard was to eliminate drug abuse and stated was: "*The struggle against drug abuse may not be limited only to reducing its existence but must aim at eliminating drug abuse. Drug abuse can never be accepted as a part of our culture*" which endorsed the guiding principles

of drug policy: “*The basis for the struggle must be that society cannot accept any other use of narcotic drugs than what is medically motivated. All other use is abuse and must forcefully be opposed*”. (UNODC, 2007:14).

2.1.1. “A Drug-Free Society”

After the establishment of the restrictive principle in the Swedish drug policies, the policies were further tightened and in 1980 new directives to prosecutors ruled out for; no waiver of charges unless the amount possessed for personal use was so small that it could not be subdivided. Charges for possession of heroin, morphine, opium or cocaine should in principle therefore never be waived at all. The penalties for drug offences were the next year raised again, as non-serious offences raised from 2 to 3 years and minimum sentences for serious offences were raised from 1 to 2 years. In 1982, the Social services Act was amended and permitted the state to coerce adult drug abusers into treatment. In 1984, the adoption of a new government bill *Prop. 1984/85:19*, on a coordinated and intensified drug policy, proposed the aim of the Swedish drug policy as a “*drug-free society*”. This goal included all parts of society to take action against drugs. The ultimate aim was a society free from drugs where drug abuse should remain socially unacceptable. (UNODC, 2007:14ff).

The vision of a society free from drugs directed the focus increasingly on the abuser as suggested by Nils Bejerot already in 1969. Next to care and treatment the growing numbers of HIV positive abusers turned the discussion to be about on which ways the treatment should be directed. The strict line was maintained with the perspective of combining drug-free treatment and limitations of social and medical damages. Besides this, harm reduction measures were implemented in areas of need. On project basis, needle exchange programmes started in Malmo and Lund. Sweden was, through this, one of the first countries in Europe introducing these programmes and a new law took effect in 2006 allowing needle exchange programmes across the country on certain conditions. (UNODC, 2007:16).

In 1988, drug abuse became a punishable offence, as defined necessary to signalize repudiation by the community concerning all actions connected to drugs. The idea was that criminalizing of personal consumption would have a preventive effect and as the economic crises of the 1990’s forced the society to make major cuts at the local level, resources were instead focused on control policies, specifically the police. Treatment and care of drug abusers was therefore set aside, which led to an increase of drug abuse and drug-related

problems and in 1993, the law was further tightened with imprisonment into the scale of punishments. With the purpose of intervening at an early stage, the police was also empowered to undertake bodily examination where there were reasonable grounds to suspect drug use. In 1999, a zero limit of drugs when driving made it possible for the police to raise charges only on toxicological analysis. Nevertheless, no success in changing the drug habits of young people or halt the recruitment to drug misuse was showed. Instead it was showed in Sweden and throughout Europe that experimentation among young people increased during the 1990's. (UNODC, 2007:16; FHI, 2010:161; BRÅ, 2003:9).

These unsuccessful developments in the Swedish society resulted in a Drugs Commission in 1998, which should propose possible options to improve governmental action towards a drug-free society. The commission stated that the restrictive policy should be sustained and reinforced; with the argument that lowered guard against drug abuse and drug trafficking wouldn't improve matters for abusers or the society as a whole. Even though, the commission criticized the national drug policy for its lack of sustained activities taken to reduce the demand for illicit drugs. They suggested a stronger political leadership, measures to combat both demand and supply, criminal welfare within prison, probation system, competence development and further research. (UNODC, 2007:17ff).

The verdict by the Drugs Commission came to be the basis when formulating the National Action Plan on Drugs adopted in 2002. This first national action plan, considering the years 2002-2005, was founded in order to clarify the priority of the drug issue on all policy levels in Sweden. Its main objectives were to reduce the number of persons engaged in illicit drug use, encourage more drug abusers to give up their habit and to reduce the supply of drugs. In order to implement the vision of a drug-free society it was demanded to recruit more people in this work, make people say no to drugs, give people knowledge about the consequences of drugs, get fewer people to start with drugs, get more abusers to obtain help in order to live a life free of criminality and to reduce the availability of drugs. (UNODC, 2007:18). The action plan predicted better coordinated measures on all levels in society, in order to limit both demand and supply. A national drug policy coordinator was therefore appointed with the intention of implementing the action plan, through mobilizing society towards the vision of a drug-free society. In this, drug related criminality was said to always lead to prosecution, criminal sanctions and drug-free treatment to be seen as a priority measure in response to addiction. The evaluation of the plan showed on positive outcomes concerning its priority on

all levels in society with most municipalities increasing their activities against illicit drugs. The treatment of the abusers had been improved and the control of drug related crime was intensified. (UNODC, 2007:19ff).

The next action plan adopted in 2005 in order to run 2006-2010 kept the focus on the drug-free society with the same aim of a political focus towards access and demand where narcotic drugs never should threaten the health, the quality of life or the security of the individual, nor the general welfare or the development of democracy in society. This focus was kept in order to reduce the number of new users, to get more persons with addiction to receive treatment and to decrease the access to illicit drugs. The measures stressed within this action plan were also to improve the cooperation between different authorities and with NGO's. Besides these measures e.g. improvement of the preventive work, developed treatment care and more effective control system were stressed. (Reitox National Focal Point, 2009:6ff; UNODC, 2007:19ff). The evaluation of this action plan was made by the Swedish governmental health institute, noting that the overall goal and norm of the Swedish drug policies wasn't achieved through this action plan. No steps towards a drug free society had been made during its running time as both drug related- criminality, death and treatment had increased. (FHI, 2010:10). The experimental abuse of narcotics have been increasing in Sweden, and even if experimental abuse is on higher levels in the rest of Europe, has shown on an upward trend which could lead to an increased flow of substances, curiosity and changed attitude to drugs within the Swedish society. Overall, BRÅ found it hard to find connections between the police measurements and a decrease in drug abuse even if it, to some extent, showed on positive effects of the efforts towards dealing and supply of drugs. (BRÅ, 2003:10& 39). Based on these developments with sharpened control policies, Sweden might be farther away from the goals within their drug policies as ever before, "*specifically the overall goal of a society free from drugs seems rather distant*". (BRÅ, 2003:32). The Swedish people's health institute as well, concludes their evaluation of the previous action plan 2006-2010 with that the objective of the action plan and the overall norm on which the Swedish drug policies are based, hasn't been reached during the running period of the action plan. Consumption and harm is slightly bigger than it was in the start of implementation of the action plan. Pointed out was though, that the restrictive policies have effectively limited the use in narcotic drugs and the harm. (FHI, 2010:11). These two action plans on drugs has even though been said to have markedly vitalized the fight against drugs through: promoting of tests, implementation

of new strategies and methods, improved quality of measurements, increased resources and introduction of new and specialized projects. (Reitox National Focal Point, 2009:51).

From May 2011, the Swedish drug control is integrated with the control of doping, alcohol and tobacco, as a new collected strategy through the new proposition 2010/11:47 suggest a new overall goal for the drug policies connected to alcohol, doping and tobacco: “*A society free from drugs and doping, with reduced medical and social harm caused by alcohol and with a reduced use of tobacco*”. (Prop. 2010/11:47). This overall goal doesn’t change the strategies within in the politics, concerning the different substances, but point out the direction of the governmental will to encounter the collected problems these substances constitute on both the society and the individual. An action programme for the years 2011-2015 has been created to implement the objectives in the collected strategy (prop.2010711:47) through a long-term perspective with increased coordination and cooperation within Sweden and internationally. The governmental belief is now that coordination between different authorities in the areas of: care, treatment, rehabilitation, preventive and crime fighting area, should be strengthened in order to reach the goals. (Social departementet, 2011 & prop.2010/11:47). The Swedish legislation is from this year further sharpened through: the new regulation in Act 1992:860 which makes it possible to handle narcotics for industrial purposes; New alterations in Act 1992:41 with prohibition against some injurious to health goods; and through a new Act 2010:XX on destroying of some injurious to health substances which are thought to be used in abusive purpose. These regulations took effect in April 2011.

3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE FIELD

The law enforcement activities concerning drug related criminality are a central part of both national as international drug strategies and ultimately prominent in the Swedish drug control. Even though, the information on drug fighting efforts isn’t that developed and available like in other areas of drug politics, which both complicates and invites for an interesting research through my perspective. (EMCDDA, 2010:35). My decision is therefore to present the scientific discussion related to restrictive drug policies and further on Michel Foucault’s possible theoretical contribution or complexity on the fields of globalization, international society and law.

Drugs and drug policies are often evaluated and analyzed throughout different scientific institutions and as well as concerning global issues there are large amounts of research in this field. The restrictive drug policies explored in this thesis are investigated to some extent as there are liberal movements growing together with the improvement of the individual focused human rights perspective within global policies. Already in 1975 Susman examined the restrictive drug strategy within the American context in which congress defined and attempted to solve the “drug problem”. In the article *“Drug Abuse, Congress and the Fact-Finding Process”* Susman then suggested a more rational and responsible action in drug related problems and meant that law enforcement mechanisms in drug control, concerning legislation, had failed in raising public interest and not taking in other alternatives or various solutions. His article brought up the criticism of restrictive drug policies that could be seen today with the conclusion that every piece of drug legislation was justified through the idea of a worsening drug problem but clear was that harsher provisions of drug control law never accomplished what they were formulated to achieve. Organized crime therefore was said to exist because of the complicity and cooperation of law enforcement authorities, but continued to center around pursuit and prosecution of the addict. The author also noticed the opportunity of seeking treatment as a positive development of the flexibility of law, but meant that the problem should be seen through correct facts and not through bureaucratic/specific interests and further on that only through acknowledgement of the real essence of the problem, the politics could be rational. (Susman, 1975). The same conclusion has been made of Träskman (2005), who focuses on describing and analyzing drug policy and drug control in relation to Nordic criminal police and criminal law policy. In his *“Drug Control and Drug Offences in the Nordic Countries: A Criminal Political Failure too often Interpreted as a Success”* he states critically that general criminal policy requires rationality and humanism, but that drug policy have an opposite attitude in the sense that drugs must be strongly contributed and primarily penal. His discussion concerns how this inconsistency came about and their sequences of the opposite attitudes and therefore he overall questions the rationality in filling the prisons with drug offenders. Through these discussions he among others concludes that the goal of a drug-free society is unrealistic and that control policies based on intensive control efforts, especially carried out by the police, must be stopped by all available means and especially strong criminal law as non of the aims have been realized (Träskman, 2005:240). According to official declarations, the Swedish drug policies have been successful even as an increase has been seen and in *“Swedish Drug Policy and the*

Vision of the Good Society” Henrik Tham takes up what strategies that are chosen in the light of this development and how these are explained. There’s a general strategy of denial within the Swedish policies in which facts are denied and instead replaced, and an illusion is build on that Sweden is a low rate country in drug related problems. “A drug-free society” is based on that one drug user is one to many, but still it’s politics said to be for the best of the individual. The ultimate goal is the welfare of society with active citizens and a dignified life for everyone, which demands a society totally free from drugs and this could in turn explain the roads chosen. (Tham, 2005).

On the subject of globalization, international control policies and universal norms, there are numerous quantities of research. Concerning my choice of theoretical approach, with concepts coined by Michel Foucault, it’s hard to find relevant scientific contribution on this field as Foucault died before the explosive progress of globalization. Even though, there are some examples of research on how foucauldian analysis could contribute in the area of global issues. Ulrich Brand (2005) looks at global governance as political regulation from the international level through Foucault’s concept of *discourse* and means that this perspective of a discourse makes the handling of globalization-induced crisis more effective. Through Foucault’s perspective the global society could be seen as the dominant discourse with a hegemonic status. Brand expresses a concern with its importance as a discourse in a globalized context and through that, the reconstruction of politics at particularly the international level. (Brand, 2005:155ff). The globalization through his point of view creates and sharpens world problems. (Brand, 2005:166).With the same idea, Rosenow (2009), means that global power is located in a complex and flexible constellation of diverse and contradictory mutually consisting and destabilizing strategies and tactics and states that Foucault’s concept of *dispotif* is better suited when investigating decentring. (Rosenow, 2009:497ff) In a global perspective the state itself will become a strategy which both constitutes and undermines regimes of global governance. Foucault’s concepts of discourse and governmentality are here used to explain how power is deployed to achieve dominance in the global sphere, where they then are regarded as strategies that operate on the surface of an underlying general structure. She further on claims that his approach of decentring, with the idea of heterogeneity, enables studies in international relations to recognize the varieties in tactics, strategies, fields of truths and rationalization that can be found in any particular regime of power. (Rosenow, 2009:501&503ff). Manokha, Risse and Sikkink share the thought of human rights as a global norm that governs behavior of both individuals and

states. (Manokha, 2009:438; Risse & Sikkink, 2001:8). Manokha (2009) further on develop this with the focus on Foucault's concept of power and the global discourse of human rights where he means that power is exercised through knowledge/power configurations within discursive structures, and argues that human rights constitute a global norm through whose agents, which are all kind of actors, are disciplined, evaluated and receives the task to evaluate themselves. They change their behavior, at least in practice, in order to live up to the standards of the norm. (Manokha, 2009:429ff). Tony Evans as well, brings up the human rights discourse in "*International Human Rights Law as Power/Knowledge*" through a discussion of international law where he is concerned with the hegemony of law and discipline, in a global world order. He means that if the international control fails, there should be more international laws instead of just questioning the existing ones. As he brings up Michel Foucault it's with the idea that there is no knowledge without power, and he sees discipline as the modern form of power which imbues the individual with a certain way of thinking, knowing and behaving, of being normal. (Evans, 2005). Porcelli and Zhai (2010) further on discuss legal harmonization in their "*The Challenge for the Harmonization of Law*", not through the perspective of unification but rather based on voluntary participation from the interested parties. In some cases steps towards unification of law could be seen, which then is either difficult or impossible. (Porcelli & Zhai, 2010).

Challenges with using foucauldian analysis are demonstrated in the field of sociology of law as well. Many articles to be found are focused on criticism towards his analytical tools, with the estimation of his concepts as weak in analysis of law, as his concept of law is empty through an undeveloped meaning. Even though, scientific contribution could be made, and de Ville states in: "*Rethinking Power and Law: Foucault's 'society must be defended'*", that normalization is more important than the concept of law as law serves normalization which would make Foucault relevant for studies in sociology of law. (de Ville, 2011).

Tadros (1998) brings up Foucault and the understanding of the operations of modern law in "*Between Governance and Discipline: the Law and Michel Foucault*" where he means that modern law operates between Foucault's government and discipline, and provides a key way in which government decisions can adjust the relationship between disciplinary institutions. Here he states that law is operating through the police and discipline institutions and point out that Foucault's concept of juridical not is equal to law. He discusses the concept of biopower in the sense that discipline works on particular individuals in a particular space, and

governmentality on groups. He means that modern law constitutes these both to be legitimate where law act as an interface through which governmental decisions can take effect by adjusting the operation and arrangement of discipline mechanisms. Conclusively he means that the understanding of law in Foucault is not complete until we have seen the shift in disciplinary power in modern age, then we can see how law is caught between the two poles of biopower. (Tadros, 1998). Valverde on the other hand, means that discipline and government doesn't have firm definitions because they are not concepts in her "Specters of Foucault in Law and Society Scholarship". They're rather tentative and dynamic abstractions, deployed strategically, not in order to describe tactics of power but as tactical in themselves, which can and does change. (Valverde, 2010).

The discussion in Hunt's article "Foucault's Expulsion of Law: Toward a Retrieval" is about how Foucault gets law wrong in order to explore the concept of law. Hunt together with Wickham criticized Foucault through the perspective of "expulsion of law" where they argues that Foucault's concept of law is too crude to understand modern law. Therefore they mean that it could be questioned why he should be relevant for legal analysis as his own understanding of the concept of law is so primitive. Baxter on the other hand reacts to this criticism in "*Review: Bringing Foucault into Law and Law into Foucault*" where he means that Foucault himself put less focus on his own use of the concept of law. Instead it could be seen through his perspective that law is a form of government and as government rule the nation state, region or municipalities, the principles of governmentality could come at hand when studying law as he means that law is operations, the doings. Biopower on the other hand is through his perspective, fitted for global issues, as it brings together the two poles of discipline of the body and regulation of the population. Hunt instead means that Foucault ignored the significance of the state and other forms of institutionalized power but that he recognized the existence of major global dominations where he instead focused on norms, normalization and control. (Hunt, 1992; Baxter, 1996).

With the conclusion of an observable challenge when using Michel Foucault's theoretical approach on problems of today, found in the previous research on the field, it's with both curiosity and optimism I will try to answer my research question through possible interpretation of his concepts.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As Michel Foucault himself rejects his ideas as a theory I will use his concepts of power, discipline and governmentality as a theoretical framework with the aim of illuminating political strategies of a national norm operating in a global context. To apply this theoretical approach on circumstances concerning international drug control I will have to contemplate his concepts in the light of globalization. Therefore my intention is to look at these concepts through different interpretations, in order create theoretical tools for my analysis. With this approach and on account of the criticism in the recent research, I won't use Foucault's own construction of the concepts, or together as in the concept of biopower, but rather one by one for clearer analysis and through updated interpretations. As Foucault wasn't active during the emergence of globalization, his ideas have met a lot of skepticism when it comes to applying them on problems of our time. According to Fraser (2003:160) there was a new situation of "*deregulation*" and "*flexibilization*" in the beginning of globalization that reflected this global change. As Michel Foucault at the same time was conceptualizing disciplinary normalization this problematize his relevance to the present. Even though, Nilsson (2008) points out that Foucault's ideas shows on how humans historically are shaped and understood in different ways, through different practices, techniques of normalization and power technologies. With this, he argues that Foucault's thoughts and ideas could be applied on globalization and other new phenomenon because of their dynamic and innovative potential as they offer guidance and methods for analysis. (Nilsson, 2008:193). With a "*recontextualization*" of Foucault, Fraser focuses on small particles functioning in the society and the existence of techniques everywhere. It's no longer centered at the nation state as the social ordering works through the power and wills of a dispersed collection of entities which represents the global society. (Fraser, 2003:161ff). The thought is here that these perspectives constitute a multileveled structure of governmentality, where the nation state is one actor in some level among others. (Fraser, 2003:167ff). Thomas Lemke develop this as he concretize Fraser's ideas through the perspective of individualization within the state and that the differences between state, civil society, national regulation and transnational agencies not represents the basis and limits of government, but rather their function as elements and effects. Through these interpretations the concept of government should comprehend us with a different view on new political forms and levels of the state. (Lemke, 2003:177ff).

Power, through Foucault's perspective contains different forms of techniques with related technologies where the technique is seen as the action and the technology as the knowledge around a certain technique. As Foucault sees it, there is an inextricable relationship between power and knowledge as power produces knowledge and that they are dependent on, and require one another. (Nilsson, 2008:81, 85; Foucault, 1987:33). It's not possible to enjoy power without using it, it can never be latent and therefore it only exists as practiced power. (Nilsson, 2008:85). This means that this power is something that is exercised and can't be possessed, it's not something that the rulers have concurred or one of their privileges, but is instead a result of their strategically positions. It's not either seen as a power that works towards them that not posses it, but instead it surrounds them, works through them and they react against it. It's concerning deep power relations, working through all levels and not just localized between the state and its citizens. (Foucault, 1987:31ff). Power is therefore the name of a strategic situation in a certain society. (Nilsson, 2008:91). The state neither has inherent propensities, nor essence and the nature of the institution of the state is a function of changes in the practices of government. (Gordon in Burchell, Gordon & Miller, 1991:4). The state is therefore only the name of a collection of institutions, procedures, techniques, calycles and formations of knowledge, which all together constitute a form of control. Even if the state is the main place for this control technique there is nothing that binds directly to the state. (Nilsson, 2008:129). The state could therefore not be a monolith power source from which the power emanates as it can't, even though it has its resources, control all actions from the power relations. (Nilsson, 2008:84). Power through Foucault's perspective, exists everywhere and is a part of every relationship. (Nilsson, 2008:92ff). Seeing power as relational means that it can never be eliminated; relations without power do not exist. (Nilsson, 2008:93). Power is as well dynamic and in constant change. (Nilsson, 2008:86). Through this perspective, the power is rational, a rationality which turns to the methods through which it's practiced. When someone practices power he often knows what he does or want to do, but he could never overlook or control the consequences of his actions. (Nilsson, 2008:87).

In relation to Foucault's disciplined power, the individual does not stand in a relationship to this power but is instead one of its primer effects. (Nilsson, 2008:88). More exactly, the methods which controls every part of the human body and imposes and maintain a link of docility and usefulness for these bodies is what Foucault calls discipline, and its goal is the ductile body which lets itself be trained and manipulated. (Foucault,1987:138). Discipline is

with this a type of power which includes a whole set of tools, techniques, actions and purposes. It's a physics of power or anatomy, it's a technology. (Nilsson, 2008:101).

With this discipline one has to control every part and step the individual takes so that he doesn't work against his purpose or group himself in unwelcome ways. Their abilities and merits should be measured and the individual is ought to be rewarded and punished in this process. Discipline is through this about developing a method that generates knowledge, which masters and leverages the human body. (Foucault, 1987:138ff) The new body is then a body manipulated by state mechanisms rather than by the natural. (Foucault, 1987:157). The discipline thus becomes the result of connected forces with the purpose to maintain an effective apparatus. (Foucault, 1987:165). It uses a technique of power exercise which produces an individual as both object and tool. (Foucault, 1987:171). Within the disciplinary appliances develops then a hierarchy of good and bad individuals through a differentiation which focuses on the individuals themselves and not on their actions. The differentiation is constructed from one common rule which have a function as the lowest possible threshold or a principle to strive, it means that it normalizes. Therefore it concerns a mechanism of normalizing sanctions and the power of the norm appears in all forms of discipline. (Foucault, 1987:182ff). The mechanisms and techniques of this discipline help to provide the subjective conditions necessary for the exercise of liberal forms of freedom. Therefore discipline and regulation could as well have played a vital role in reconfiguring the material infrastructure on which liberal forms of government are also thought to rely. (Barry in Barry, Osborne & Rose, 1996:124). Foucault's disciplinary power is a power that works through and upon the individual and it constitutes the individual as an object of knowledge close connected to the strategies of governmentality, where the central technique as well is the normalization which implies correction of the individual. (O'Malley in Barry, Osborne & Rose, 1996:189).

The purposes and goals of the governing are created to shape, guide, administrate or regulate human behavior and there selves. (Rose in Hultqvist & Petersson, 1995:45). Government is seen as a methodical and rationally reflected way of doing things, an art for acting on the actions of individuals, taken either singly or collectively, so as to shape, guide, correct and modify the ways in which they conduct themselves. (Burchell in Barry, Osborne & Rose, 1996:19). When we are governed we do not become passive objects of a physical determination as the government presupposes and requires the activity and freedom of the governed. (Burchell in Burchell, Gordon & Miller, 1991:119). It concerns a

professionalization of individuals, as they are targets of methods of governments. (Burchell in Burchell, Gordon & Miller, 1991:123). Related to this, governmentality is on the other hand constructed for state survival and tactics, in definition and redefinition of the competence of the state. (Foucault in Burchell, Gordon & Miller, 1991:103). It's about how to govern and the art of this governing is rational. (Gordon in Burchell, Gordon & Miller, 1991:7,9). It's, like mentioned above, a configuration of power which includes techniques and procedures that control and regulates human behavior and the control has a prejudice about the object that is intended to be controlled. A practice to form, lead or influence on how humans act. Governmentality is the modern power action and contains knowledge about the object of power where the power is liberalized and decentralized. (Nilsson, 2008:128ff; Rose in Hultqvist & Petersson, 1995:45).

Through this theoretical perspective I've made an empirical selection with the intention of illuminating the political strategies of drug control, internationally and nationally and chosen supportive material to expose the techniques of these power technologies in the Swedish drug control.

5. METHOD & MATERIAL

In the process of answering my overall question I use my theoretical framework as tools of analysis in order to evaluate strategies within the Swedish drug control. As the overall question is of normative character, as it concerns rationality and therefore seen as scientifically questionable, I decided to answer it through two more practical questions revealing the practicing of law. (Esaiasson, Gilljam, Oscarsson & Wängnerud, 2004:28). My methods are chosen in order to illuminate the political strategies of drug control, both international and national, in order to see how they correlate from theory into practice. My material is selected with the idea of them, as representing the strategies of drug control. Through this perspective the study doesn't concern the normative aspect of how it should be as it first and foremost actually looks on how it is. (Esaiasson, Gilljam, Oscarsson & Wängnerud, 2004:42). The normative sense of the thesis is rather related to the analytical tools within the theoretical approach in order to describe law in action and perhaps put the perspective of Foucault as relevant for problems of globalization. When using Foucault I know that a discourse analysis could be appropriate but my aim of this study is not to

evaluate existing discourses but rather show on how global power is practiced through the study of law in action.

5.1. Delimitations

The complexity of globalization, its intensity and effects on global drug abuse offers a huge area of possible research problems. As I previously have written about drug policies and the unique Swedish norm of a “drug-free society” I wanted to further investigate the objectives and the political strategies behind this norm in the light of globalization. The field of international drug control contains a lot of interesting aspects, but connected to the increased drug related problems in Sweden, despite their respected policies and because of the ongoing debate criticizing restrictive drug policies in the international society, the Swedish norm in a global context, became my main interest.

In order to elucidate how international drug control works in practice, my first decision was to illuminate how the Swedish drug policies harmonize with the objectives of international drug control. Due to that the international and European drug control mechanisms evaluate the national implementation in legislation and have evaluated Sweden to have good drug policies, my decision was to look on how this legislation is practiced through political strategies and supplemented by actual measures of these. While reading my background material I found that the prominent role of control polices and police measures in the Swedish policies mirrored the increased drug problem which offered me to delineate my focus to the police authorities. This I support with the thought of law in action as the practicing of legislation which is mainly made by the police. Related to the international perspective I could have focused on Interpol, Europol and Euro Just, as the international police cooperation, but my main focus is the Swedish control political strategies and therefore the national police who practice these strategies.

The problem of narcotics and drug related criminality leaves us with challenges and areas in need of research, but my focus is related to the size of a master thesis and my personal interests. Through this perspective the research won't be exhaustive but hopefully contributing to some extent.

5.2. Qualitative Research

The chapter of method and material is of importance in this research as the reliability of a qualitative research much depends on showing every step made in the research process. My decision of doing a qualitative research is related to which methods those were able to answer the research question and for what reason I use my theoretical framework. A qualitative research is often said to be inductive, theory generating and based on an interpretative perspective. The difficulties it faces are connected to the changing aspect of social reality and dependent on individual abilities. (Bryman, 2011:40ff). This research strategy is connected to description and offers a holistic perspective as it look at things in their own context and how they are related and dependent on each other. The researcher is the central instrument in these measures and influences the collection of data as well as the interpretation of it. These personal believing or identities can therefore not be totally eliminated from the process of analysis. (Denscombe, 1998.205ff, 244).

Theories in a qualitative research are generated on the practical research results and the concepts and theories of qualitative researchers are seen as representations which mean that there could be other trustworthy representations. (Bryman, 2011:360). As I already have a theoretical approach through concepts of Michel Foucault, my intention is to use them as explanation of the strategies I intend to illuminate and perhaps show on how these concepts could be used on a problem of globalization. It's hard to do a replication of a qualitative research because of the personal approach throughout the work. (Bryman, 2011: 368). These scientifically challenges within a qualitative research reflects the importance of validity and reliability for a research of this kind.

5.3. Validity & Reliability

The two concepts of validity and reliability mentioned above are of great importance throughout the process in doing a research as well as for the results and the research presentation. They are both significant principles for a reliable study. Reliability is focused on how trustworthy a research might be, which relies on if the research measures what the researcher claims to be measured. This is hard within a qualitative research as you can't stop the development of social environments. (Bryman, 2011:352). As I look to a certain phenomena within the process of globalization this complexity could be rather substantial as globalization stands for development. Even though, I use empirical data that concerns a

specific period in time, which constitute the actual strategies that I intend to illuminate. They do concern a changing environment but the documents used are written to an outlined time period which would connect their meaning to the situation here and now.

Validity is on the other hand concerned with if the conclusions fit together or not. Intern validity raises the question if we can be sure of which variable causes what, or if there could be other correlations behind the result. (Bryman, 2011:50). This is something I believe always should be acknowledged as every human, and therefore every researcher, possess different interpretations and values. Extern validity on the other hand concerns if the results are possible to generalize outside the specific context. (Bryman, 2011:51, 352). For me, extern validity in this research is less possible as there was no time in doing supportive researches. Through these perspectives these two concepts carry a complexity when applying them on a qualitative research.

Because of the criticism concerning reliability and validity within qualitative research, the literature offers a suggestion of four concepts when measuring the reliability of a qualitative research. (Bryman, 2011:353). The first one is *credibility* which can be ensured through triangulation, which is the usage of more than one method or source of data. In my research I use both interviews and a descriptive method and this combination together with my supporting background material could verify my credibility through Bryman's perspective. The second is *transferability*, which suggests that the researcher does 'thick descriptions' of the contextual unique so that others later on could judge how transferable the results are. (Bryman, 2011:355). As my research isn't dependent on any social circumstances or contextual issues but instead a global complex phenomenon, I do believe that this chapter together with my theoretical presentation and analysis cares for this standard. *Dependability* is the third requirement which relies on 'auditing', that every step of the research process is showed which, through my perspective, is taken accounted for in the chapters of: method, result and analysis & conclusion. The fourth and last requirement is *confirmability* that depends on if the research is objective in the sense that the researcher have acted in good faith without his or her own influence throughout the results. (Bryman, 2011:355). As a qualitative research actually includes personal perspectives I believe that I have influenced the research both in raising the question and choosing the method but first and foremost analyzed the problem through certain theoretical concepts. The theory is chosen from my personal perspective of the problem and my interpretation of it might be different from the

purpose through which they were created, but still, it's done in good faith. The question is raised through the results from former evaluations of the Swedish drug control and it's the quality of the theoretical conclusions that are important when you judge how generalizable the results are. (Bryman, 2011:369).

5.4. Empirical selection & templates

Through a descriptive method I would like to narrate the international drug control, as my intention is to use this as law in books. Further on I will discern the police's role in the Swedish drug control and supplement this with interviews of the police, as law in action. In the analytical discussion I will see how these harmonize and then relate it to my theoretical approach in order to answer the overall question.

5.4.1. Control Documents

There is an ocean of literature and documents concerning international drug control as these documents are in constant change and under governmental impact related to globalization. When choosing documents in a document analysis, the researcher has to look at their authenticity to see if they're real as the documents have to be reliable. This can be showed through what purpose they were written, with who wrote them and in when they were written. This has become a rather problematic issue in writing this thesis as I first evaluated the Swedish Action Plan 2006-2010. During my work with the analysis the FHI released the evaluation of this action plan and the government propounded a new action plan and strategy in May 2011. Because of the existing evaluation I therefore decided to change my main document of interest to the new action plan and strategy with the purpose of having the updated policies for a relevant and hopefully contributing result. With this said, the documents used for this analysis are the Swedish and international control documents most relevant for answering my research question and valid in time. I decided to use: *Convention on Psychotropic Substances 1971*, *Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs 1961* and *United Nations convention against illicit trafficking in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances 1988*; *The EU drug strategy 2005-2012*; *The EU action plan 2009-2012* and *The governments proposition 2010/11:47*; and *The governments action programme for alcohol-, narcotics-, doping- and tobacco politics 2011*, combined in this. The selection of material were taken from the suggested documents on www.drogportalen.se as relevant control documents

concerning Sweden and drugs. The three UN conventions were chosen as these constitute the international drug control. The EU drug strategy and Action plan were chosen as supportive material on international drug control as these strategies are built upon the UN conventions and include more practically developed aims which would make a contribution for the result. The national laws were not selected as relevant for this research as my focus is directed towards the strategies of drug control through objectives and measures and through the fact that their implementation is evaluated as good. The Swedish strategy and action plan was chosen by the criteria that this contains the overall national drug control and care for the principal strategies over police measures against drug related problems. All the documents might change over time as the global and national society develops, but the documents I used in this research are the ones valid right now and therefore most relevant. Further on it's important to see to if the documents are representative and what they contain. (Denscombe, 1998: 198). I believe these documents are representative as they are the existing control documents related to my purpose. As I neither have the access to look through all sources of documents on the area nor to keep up with the intensive development, this could of course affect the outcome and the relevance for the research.

5.4.2. Semi-structured interviews

Related to my interest in law in action, the next step in my research process was to interview police officers in order to support the Swedish action plan through; how the national strategies are translated in to practical police work, what role the police actually has in these strategies. As I couldn't get the interviews I had planned for I had to change my first objective and to choose uniformed police officers as informants. I support this choice with the fact that the actual measurements of control politics are practiced at this level.

I decided to do a goal-oriented selection of informants which depends on that the researcher chose objects for interviews that are relevant for the research questions and the problem. (Bryman, 2011:434). My first objective was to interview chiefs of police in order to compare different districts within Sweden as the evaluation of the action plan proclaimed regional differences. As time went by and no answers were received from these police authorities I had to change my informants. Therefore I decided on uniformed police officers as informants with the purpose of the content of their work assignments. The question to be asked could then be of how these interviews could be representative as they weren't chosen randomly, but as they were selected with a certain goal in mind they answer to a specific purpose. In this

research, randomly chosen informants would not be able to contribute to the research question as it is constructed. Even though, after my change in level within the police authorities, the goal-oriented selection of informants was chosen through their availability, within the local stations in Malmo, Gothenburg and Stockholm. This through a chain-selective method, where I had to use contacts within the police in order to reach informants that had the time and interest in answering my questions based on my own narrow time period. (Bryman, 2011:350, 369& 434). The amount of informants came to be 30 but with a certain drop-off in some of the questions as there was a lack of knowledge in these specific matters. Related to the fact that the informants were chosen through a chain-selective method the selection concerned a group, between the ages of 25-35 from different ethnical backgrounds and in both sexes with a majority of men, in which most of them was newly recruits with up to a five year working experience. This could in turn affect their validity as informants but from the perspective within this thesis, the overall importance depends on how they practice the control political strategies. As pointed out above, is as well, that the possibility to make generalizations and questions around extern validity already are limited and not that prominent within qualitative research strategies, which could support the selection group in this matter. (Bryman, 2011:191&197ff).

Further on there are a few questions to be acknowledged when using interviews as a method. The first question concerns if the research really is in need of the detailed information an interview comprehends. The researcher should therefore be able to motivate the decision of using interviews as a method with how it is of interest to go in depth in the material. I believe that the interviews in my research contribute with relevant information as they reveal the police's actual role and practicing, as law in action, as the policies themselves change continuously. Further on it's through my belief of high importance that the police on the streets, who actually practice the drug control, should be well aware of the international standards and national strategies. Is it then coherent to trust information collected from small-sampled informants? The informants in this research are chosen with the criteria of their specific knowledge of practical implementation and that the research question to some extent concerns this specific knowledge. Further on their answers are relevant in relation to deepened knowledge of the police measures in order to support was indicated in the Swedish drug policies. (Denscombe, 1998:132).

The semi-structured interviews in this research offers fields of interests related to the research question and the theory. The depth through this method is of importance as it contributes with answers that could be found nowhere else, at least not as trustworthy as through interviews as it is this knowledge that shows on the practical operation of the norm.

5.5. Carrying through

My first step in the research process was to present the strategies of the international drug control in a descriptive sense in order to see how these harmonize with the strategies of the Swedish drug control. My choice of description was related to that I look at the international control as law in books, more specified, that the UN policy documents constitutes how it should be. In the result I therefore describe the objectives/strategies of the three UN conventions and illustrate them with relevant articles for police work. Further on, on the way of answering my research question, my intention was to reveal the police's role in the Swedish drug control, in order to observe law in action. This I did through taking out the objectives, and measures under these objectives, where the police was mentioned in the Swedish action plan and strategy. This as well, is descriptively presented. To supplement the Swedish action plan with the police practicing of the international drug control I continued with interviewing policemen. Important was to ascertain what was needed in order to answer the question, and to form themes that would make the question easier to answer. As the theoretical approach relates to governmental strategies, the questions for interviews were constructed as themes related to the practicing of these strategies/objectives. The most structural within semi-structured interviews is this list of themes or areas that are going to be analyzed which is called an interview guide. (Bryman, 2011:419). The interview guide was therefore based around the themes of: *coordination & cooperation; demand reduction; supply reduction; international cooperation; knowledge; human rights; and "a drug free society"* for a clearer perspective when combining them with the documents within the analytical discussion. The themes of discussion were chosen from the relevant areas within drug control, and specified through human rights and the overall goal in the Swedish strategies as this is of bigger interest for the research question. The informants were then able to respond in free choice and no manuscript was used like in structured interviews. (Bryman, 2011:415). Even if I had a list over subjects that were going to be treated and questions to be answered, flexibility was applied concerning the structure so that the informant could develop

his or hers answer and ideas. (Denscombe, 1998:135). In the result the interviews where combined and presented from the themes of the interview guide with some specifically detailed answers pointed out. This choice was made in order to make a clear presentation as most informants offered the same answers.

Through an analytical discussion I then intended to compare the international control documents with the result from the Swedish action plan and the interviews in order to see how the Swedish drug control, as strategies and measures of the norm of “a society free from drugs”, harmonize with the objectives of international drug control. The thought was then to relate the results of this comparison with a deepened analytical discussion based on my theoretical approach in order to answer the overall question.

4.5.1. Points of discussion

All points of discussion are chosen with drug control in mind and constructed in order to answer the overall research question.

- Coordination & Cooperation
- Demand reduction
- Supply reduction
- International Cooperation
- Knowledge
- Human rights
- “A Drug-free Society”

(Appendix 1.).

5.6. Ethical considerations

Specifically important in relation to the method of interviews is to give information about the research to persons involved, in this case the police informants. (Bryman, 2011:131). This concerns deontological ethics, based on informed consent which means that the persons involved should have information of everything within the research. My informants got information on the problem, purpose and the overall question of the research. On the other hand, it also concerns the principles of confidentiality and this process needs to be built on an

agreement. The informants had freedom when answering and were offered to read the thesis when finished, in order for me to care for this matter. The interviews should then only be used for the research and its purpose. Through this perspective a responsibility in how to take care of the information relies upon me as the researcher. (Bryman, 2011:132; May, 1997:80). Throughout this process there are ethical decisions based on principles that concerns what's fare where the persons who are affected by the research are the main concern. (May, 1997:79). As my purpose relates to the strategies of different levels of drug control, the informants won't be singled out in any way and will remain anonymous.

With this said, the researcher has the responsibility for the moral standards within the research which is facilitated through ethical consideration through four aspects. These ethical trades-offs concerns the choice of project or problem, the implementation within the research process and the responsibility for the consequences of the research and for the following of scientific development. (SOU 1999:4, 8). Ethics are here seen as the reflected moral, which means that the personal moral itself should be evaluated and with an ethical consideration it's the researcher's intention that is of importance. More defined it relies on that there's no manipulation of the truth or intentional misleading. To intentionally fritter, over interpret or avoid presenting all data is seen morally reprehensible. (SOU 1999:4, 24,45&49). From my perspective I don't have any immoral intentions to distort the answers or misrepresent the results in any way.

Further on, dishonesty of data concerns falsification like selective choices supporting theory/hypothesis, withholding of information, conscious misinterpretation and distortion etc. which I hope to be stated for throughout chapter 4 in this thesis. Plagiarism on the other hand is concerned with using other researcher's data without permission, unpermitted reproduction of unpublished data, reproduction of others material as your own, using unclear techniques of references and not to give appropriate recognition to other researches etc. (SOU 1999:4, 54). Plagiarism could be securely avoided through well defined citations based on quotations and references correctly done. With veracity and openness, the choice of public material and a well documented research process, all the above could be relatively facilitated. (SOU 1999:4, 49ff, 61&79). From my restricted knowledge in this area I support my throughout choices with ethical intentions, personal well-meaning and plain description of carrying out the research as hopefully faultless citations throughout the whole thesis.

6. RESULTS

6.1. Documents

The description of the international control documents from the UN will be presented through their objectives and exemplified articles concerning the practical police work. The EU strategy and Action Plan will be presented through their main objectives in order to summarize the contents of these documents. The focus in the documents will be on control policies with direct influence over the police authorities. The national control documents will be presented together through their objectives as the new drug policies differ in its construction. It's based on combined policies regarding different areas, under objectives and strategies for reaching these objectives within its running period.

I would like to elucidate that all documents contains relevant strategies concerning other areas and that a lot of their focus is put on care and treatment. Once again I therefore emphasize that the point of contact within my research is control policies carried out by the police.

6.1.1. International Control Documents

6.1.1.1. The UN Conventions on Drugs: Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961; Convention on Psychotropic Substances, 1971; and United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, 1988

Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961

The Parties of the 1961 convention are concerned with the health and welfare of mankind. With this convention they're recognizing that the medical use of narcotic drugs continues to be indispensable for the relief of pain and suffering and that adequate provision must be made to ensure the availability of narcotic drugs for such purposes. They also recognize that the addiction to narcotic drugs constitutes a serious evil for the individual and is fraught with social and economic danger to mankind. They are conscious of their duty to prevent and combat this evil, considering that effective measures against abuse of narcotic drugs require coordinated and universal action. They invoke an understanding that such universal action

calls for cooperation guided by the same principles and aimed at common objectives. The Parties acknowledge the competence of the UN in the field of narcotics control and are desirous that the international organs concerned should be within the framework of that Organization. They desire to conclude a generally acceptable international convention that could replace existing treaties on narcotic drugs, limiting such drugs to medical and scientific use, and providing for continuous international co-operation and control for the achievement of such aims and objectives.

Article 35 on action against the illicit traffic states, inter alia, that:

“Having due regard to their constitutional, legal and administrative systems, the Parties shall:

- a) Make arrangements at the national level for co-ordination of preventive and repressive action against the illicit traffic; to this end they may usefully designate an appropriate agency responsible for such co-ordination;*
- b) Assist each other in the campaign against the illicit traffic in narcotic drugs;*
- c) Co-operate closely with each other and with the competent international organizations of which they are members with a view to maintaining a co-ordinated campaign against the illicit traffic..”*

Article 37 on seizure and confiscation states that: *“Any drugs, substances and equipment used in or intended for the commission of any of the offences, referred to in article 36, shall be liable to seizure and confiscation.”*

Article 38 on measures against the abuse of drugs states that:

“1. The Parties shall give special attention to and take all practicable measures for the prevention of abuse of drugs and for the early identification, treatment, education, after-care, rehabilitation and social reintegration of the persons involved and shall co-ordinate their efforts to these ends.

2. The Parties shall as far as possible promote the training of personnel in the treatment, after-care, rehabilitation and social reintegration of abusers of drugs.

3. The Parties shall take all practicable measures to assist persons whose work so requires to gain an understanding of the problems of abuse of drugs and of its prevention, and shall also promote such understanding among the general public if there is a risk that abuse of drugs will become widespread.”

Article 38 bis on agreements on regional centers states that:

“If a Party considers it desirable as part of its action against the illicit traffic in drugs, having due regard to its constitutional, legal and administrative systems, and, if it so desires, with the technical advice of the Board or the specialized agencies, it shall promote the establishment, in consultation, with other interested Parties in the region, of agreements which contemplate the development of regional centres for scientific research and education to combat the problems resulting from the illicit use of and traffic in drugs.”

Article 39 on application of stricter national control measures than those required by this convention, states that:

“Notwithstanding anything contained in this Convention, a Party shall not be, or be deemed to be, precluded from adopting measures of control more strict or severe than those provided by this Convention and in particular from requiring that preparations in Schedule III or drugs in Schedule II be subject to all or such of the measures of control applicable to drugs in Schedule I as in its opinion is necessary or desirable for the protection of the public health or welfare.”

Resolution III recommends that the parties should do everything in their power to combat the spread of the illicit use of drugs

Convention on psychotropic substances, 1971

The Parties under this convention are concerned with the health and welfare of mankind, noting with concern the public health and social problems resulting from the abuse of certain psychotropic substances and are determined to prevent and combat abuse of such substances and the illicit traffic to which it gives rise. They are considering that rigorous measures are necessary to restrict the use of such substances to legitimate purposes, and recognize that the use of psychotropic substances for medical and scientific purposes is indispensable and that their availability for such purposes should not be unduly restricted. They have the belief that effective measures against abuse of such substances require coordination and universal action, and are acknowledging the competence of the UN in the field of control of psychotropic substances and are desirous that the international organs concerned should be

within the framework of that organization. They are as well recognizing that an international convention is necessary to achieve these purposes.

Under article 14 it's stated that concerning the "*substances carried by ships, aircraft or other forms of international public transport.. without prejudice to any rights of the competent local authorities to carry out checks, inspections and other control measures on board these conveyances. The administration of such substances in the case of emergency shall not be considered a violation of the requirements of paragraph 1 of article 9.*"

Article 20, on measures against the abuse of psychotropic substances states under paragraph 1. that "*the Parties shall take all practicable measures for the prevention of abuse of psychotropic substances and for the early identification, treatment, education, after-care, rehabilitation and social reintegration of the persons involved, and shall co-ordinate their efforts to these ends*" And further on under paragraph 2. that "*The Parties shall as far as possible promote the training of personnel in the treatment, after-care, rehabilitation and social reintegration of abusers of psychotropic substances*" Under paragraph 3. "*The Parties shall assist persons whose work so requires to gain an understanding of the problems of abuse of psychotropic substances and of its prevention, and shall also promote such understanding among the general public if there is a risk that abuse of such substances will become widespread*"

Article 21 on Action against illicit traffic states:

"Having due regard to their constitutional, legal and administrative systems, the Parties shall:

- a) Make arrangements at the national level for the co-ordination of preventive and repressive action against the illicit traffic; to this end they may usefully designate an appropriate agency responsible for such co-ordination;*
- b) Assist each other in the campaign against the illicit traffic in psychotropic substances, and in particular immediately transmit, through the diplomatic channel or the competent authorities designated by the Parties for this purpose, to the other Parties directly concerned, a copy of any report addressed to the Secretary-General under article 16 in connexion with the discovery of a case of illicit traffic or a seizure;*

c) Co-operate closely with each other and with the competent international organizations of which they are members with a view to maintaining a co-ordinated campaign against the illicit traffic..”

Article 23 concerned with Application of stricter control measures than those required by this convention states that: *“A Party may adopt more strict or severe measures of control than those provided by this Convention if, in its opinion, such measures are desirable or necessary for the protection of the public health and welfare.”*

United Nations Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, 1988

I would like to point out the relevance of this convention in relation to the global perspective within the national control policies and that it, through most articles, points out the importance of co-operation between the Parties.

Resolution I, on exchange of information calls attention to Resolution III (p.36 in this thesis) adopted by the 1961 UN conference for the Adoption of a Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs with consider of the machinery, developed by the International criminal Police Organization, for the timely and efficient exchange of crime investigation information between police authorities on a world-wide basis. It recommends that the widest possible use should be made by police authorities of the records and communications system of the International Criminal Police Organization in achieving the goals of the UN convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.

The parties to this convention are deeply concerned by the size of the rising trend in the illicit production of, demand for and traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. This pose a serious threat to the health and welfare of human beings and adversely affect the economic, cultural and political foundations of society. They are also deeply concerned by the gradually increasing roads into various social groups made by illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, and particularly by the fact that children are used in many parts of the world as parts of an illicit drug consumers market and for purposes of illicit production, distribution and trade in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, which entails a danger of incalculable gravity. They recognize the links between illicit traffic and other related organized criminal activities which undermine the legitimate economies and

threaten the stability, security and sovereignty of states. Recognizing also that illicit traffic is an international criminal activity, which demands urgent attention and the highest priority. The parties are determined to deprive persons engaged in illicit traffic of the proceeds of their criminal activities and thereby eliminate their main incentive for so doing. They desire to eliminate the root causes of the problem of abuse of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, including the illicit demand for such drugs and substances and the enormous profits derived from illicit traffic. They are determined to improve international cooperation and recognize that eradication of illicit traffic is a collective responsibility for all states and that coordinated action within the framework of international cooperation is necessary. They are also recognizing the importance of strengthening and enhancing effective legal means for international cooperation in criminal matters for suppressing the international criminal activities of illicit traffic.

The scope of this convention, stated in *Article 2*, is *“The purpose of this Convention is to promote co-operation among the Parties so that they may address more effectively the various aspects of illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances having an international dimension. In carrying out their obligations under the Convention, the Parties shall take necessary measures, including legislative and administrative measures, in conformity with the fundamental provisions of their respective domestic legislative systems”*

Under Article 5 on confiscations it's stated that:

“1. Each Party shall adopt such measures as may be necessary to enable confiscation of:

a) Proceeds derived from offences established in accordance with article 3, paragraph 1, or property the value of which corresponds to that of such proceeds;

b) Narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, materials and equipment or other instrumentalities used in or intended for use in any manner in offences established in accordance with article 3, paragraph 1.

2. Each Party shall also adopt such measures as may be necessary to enable its competent authorities to identify, trace, and freeze or seize proceeds, property, instrumentalities or any other things referred to in paragraph 1 of this article, for the purpose of eventual confiscation.

3. In order to carry out the measures referred to in this article, each Party shall empower its courts or other competent authorities to order that bank, financial or commercial records be

made available or be seized. A Party shall not decline to act under the provisions of this paragraph on the ground of bank”

Article 7 on mutual legal assistance states that: *“1. The Parties shall afford one another, pursuant to this article, the widest measure of mutual legal assistance in investigations, prosecutions and judicial proceedings in relation to criminal offences established in accordance with article 3, paragraph 1.”*

Article 9 on other forms of co-operation and training states that:

“1. The Parties shall co-operate closely with one another, consistent with their respective domestic legal and administrative systems, with a view to enhancing the effectiveness of law enforcement action to suppress the commission of offences established in accordance with article 3, paragraph 1. They shall, in particular, on the basis of bilateral or multilateral agreements or arrangements: a) Establish and maintain channels of communication between their competent agencies and services to facilitate the secure and rapid exchange of information concerning all aspects of offences established in accordance with article 3, paragraph 1, including, if the Parties concerned deem it appropriate, links with other criminal activities..” and under Paragraph 2. *“Each Party shall, to the extent necessary, initiate, develop or improve specific training programmes for its law enforcement and other personnel, including customs, charged with the suppression of offences established in accordance with article 3, paragraph 1. Such programmes shall deal, in particular, with the following..”* Under Paragraph 2(c) *“Monitoring of the import and export of narcotic drugs, psychotropic substances and substances in Table I and Table II”*

Article 12 on substances frequently used in the illicit manufacture of narcotic drugs or psychotropic substances brings up that: *“1. The Parties shall take the measures they deem appropriate to prevent diversion of substances in Table I and Table II used for the purpose of illicit manufacture of narcotic drugs or psychotropic substances, and shall co-operate with one another to this end.”*

Further on, Article 14 on measures to eradicate illicit cultivation of narcotic plants and to eliminate illicit demand for narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, points out under Paragraph 4 that: *“The Parties shall adopt appropriate measures aimed at eliminating or*

reducing illicit demand for narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, with a view to reducing human suffering and eliminating financial incentives for illicit traffic”

Article 19 on the use of mails states that: *“..the Parties shall adopt measures to suppress the use of the mails for illicit traffic and shall co-operate with one another to that end.”*

6.1.1.2. The EU strategy (2005-2012)

The EU strategy is, first and foremost, based on the principles in the EU legislation and maintains through all aspects the values the union is built on, together with tackling the drug problem in a well-balanced and integrated way. This strategy is also built on the relevant UN conventions brought up in the former chapter.

Demand reduction

The EU strategy points out demand reduction as an important area of politics. Through development and improvement of an effective and integrated overall and knowledge based system, the results should be a measurable decrease in drug use, drug addiction and drug related health- and social risks. This in order to decrease the demand with e.g. preventive, early notice, treatment, decrease in harm, rehabilitation and social rehabilitation measures within the EU member states. That kind of system for decreasing demand, requires measures with using the latest scientifically offered tools in order to: restrain people from starting using drugs; prevent experimental use from becoming a habit; early intervention in risky patterns of consumption; offering treatment programs; offer programs for rehabilitation and social rehabilitation; and decrease the harm on health and social damages caused by narcotics.

To be able to decrease the demand, following priorities has been concluded: *improved access to and affectivity in preventive programs and increase of the consciousness about the risk in using psychoactive substances and its consequences; Improved access to programs for early intervention specifically for youths that experiment with psychoactive substances; improved access to goal oriented and diversified treatment programs, including integrated psychosocial and pharmacological care; improved access in services for prevention and treatment of HIV/Aids, hepatitis, other infections, illnesses and drug related health related and social damages.*

Supply reduction

In the EU strategy, the importance of supply reduction is pointed out. To reduce the supply, there should be a measurable improvement in the efficiency, streamlining and in the knowledge base for the EU and its members crime-busting interventions. Also measures directed towards production of- and illicit trade in narcotics, derivation of precursors, inclusive derivation of synthetic narcotic precursors that are imported to the EU, illicit traffic with narcotics, finance of terrorism and money laundering in correlation with drug related crime.

This should be reached through a focus on drug related organized criminality with the use of existing instruments and framework when suitable, with the use of regional and thematically cooperation and with openness for possibilities to intensify preventive measures concerning drug related criminality.

The main emphasis, concerning the EU judicial and crime-busting drug policies, should therefore be the following priorities: *offences thereto at the same time the subsidiary principle is respected; Improved EU cooperation around crime-busting on strategically and crime preventive level, improvement of the operative work when it comes to narcotics and derivation of precursors in the chain of production, illicit traffic over EU inner borders, criminal networks working with this and serious criminal offences.* Within this, it's pointed out that the national authority's measures towards e.g. street crime won't be limited, either national or transnational in any way.

Further on, intensified of the factual cooperation between the members in crime-busting, with the use of existing instruments and framework is an area of priority; Prevention of, and sanctions for illicit import and export of narcotics and psychotropic substances, also to other member states territories; Strengthened cooperation in crime-busting, crime investigation and criminal technical work within the EU framework, between the member states that have common interests and/or stand in front of the same drug related problems; Intensified crime-busting purposes directed towards non-member states, specifically producing countries and areas along the roads of transportation. Cooperation between the customs and other crime-busting authorities in order to improve the control within the different territories is of importance in this area.

International Cooperation

Sought after is a measurable improvement, that will show itself more effective and visible in the coordination between the member states and between these and the commission when it comes to promote and favor a well-balanced strategy for the narcotics- and precursors problem in the contact with international organizations, within international forums and in the contact with third countries. This with the aim of decreasing the production and deliveries of narcotics to Europe and comprehend third countries in prioritized areas to reduce demand of narcotics as an integrated part of politics- and development cooperation. Pointed out are the global nature of the drug problem and the demand of regional, international and multilateral points of attack through intensified coordination and cooperation. This demands a comprehensive effort which includes crime-busting, extermination, reduced demand and alternative- livelihood possibilities and development initiatives supported by local communities.

Concerning outer communications prioritized is: coordinated, effective and a more visible acting by the union within international organizations and forums, with the purpose to strengthen and favor a well-balanced strategy on the drug problem. The EU should widen their political influence on the international field and reach maximal effect through the resources which they use to control the production of narcotics and the illicit traffic in drugs in order to reduce the demand on narcotics and therefore its negative consequences. There should also be special efforts directed towards the members and becoming members in order to encourage them to sign the legal framework. Further on, there should be cooperation with third countries when it comes to increasing their affectivity trough closer cooperation with the member states. Support to the international police- and customs cooperation will be continued so that the production and illicit traffic in drugs could be tackled effectively.

Knowledge

Information, research and evaluation should give better understanding of the drug problem through a measurable and enduring improvement of the knowledge base and the infrastructure of knowledge. Pointed out are the innovative market and the changing environment that demands knowledge improvement in drug related work and EU drug control.

6.1.1.3. The EU Action Plan on Drugs 2009-2012

To support the EU strategy this new action plan is proposed, which is based on the existing framework and the experiences learned during the running period of the former Action plan. In consideration with existing national legislation five areas will be prioritized.

Improve the coordination and the cooperation and increase the consciousness with the public

The coordination and cooperation on the drug area could be improved both on the European and the national level for drug policies to become relevant for those who are active on the area and for the civil society, in order for these structures to affect the politics through feedback. Pointed out is as well that the national politics of the member states should mirror the EU strategy and action plan. Wanted are improved measures concerning specific or urgent problems where efforts are needed. Also guaranteed effective coordination on the national field among the national authorities concerning drug related problems and that the civil society should be engaged in the national work as well.

Decrease the demand on Narcotics

Stated is, that there should be continued streamlining of the efforts to decrease the drug abuse and its consequences through increased efforts to decrease demand with preventive services, treatment and reduction in harm. A special notice will be taken towards vulnerable groups and those in mixed abuse through use of both legal and illegal substances.

Prevention of drug abuse and the risks it constitute should be done through favor of innovation in and systematically supplies in evidence based and evaluated universal programs and efforts concerning preventive actions in different environments e.g. among youths, schools, adults in working environments. The importance of preventing and delaying the first use of drugs, drugs in traffic and use of both narcotics and legal substances as alcohol and tobacco is pointed out. Continued development of techniques for early detection of abuse and efforts in preventive efforts concerning vulnerable groups and intravenous abuse should be done as well as preventive efforts in reaching the different groups of abusers and those in other abuse as well. Besides this the states should increase the quality and efficiency in the measures to decrease demand in drugs through consideration of the special needs of different drug abusers.

Decrease the supply of Narcotics

A more streamlined crime-busting on the EU level to control the production of- and illicit traffic in drugs, this should be based on intelligence strategies where the suppliers that constitute the biggest threat or cause the biggest harm will be prioritized.

Further on, improvement on the cooperation between crime-busting authorities in the EU to control the production and the illicit traffic should be done, with focus on criminal organizations and new threats based on intelligence strategies prioritizing criminal networks and traffic that constitute the most dangerous threats. The police will be used in bilateral and multilateral cooperation alternatives etc. for improved quality in the intelligence of Europol's national units'. Exchange of information and intelligence among the member's crime-busting organs and Europol should be completed and further on criminal technical profile analysis within drug control concerning e.g. synthetic narcotics. The focal point should be on the serious organized criminality and on cooperation with the member states that has the largest influence on the larger drug traffic in the EU. CEPOL, the European police academy, should offer relevant education for higher police officers and customs through the national police academies.

Also improvement of the legal cooperation on the area of drug control and crime-busting, regarding production, illicit traffic in narcotics and/or precursors and money laundering in relation to this illicit traffic. Faster and more effective reaction on the operative-, policy- and political level in new threats regarding the substances or roads of drug trafficking is wanted. Regional security platforms should, if necessary, be established in order to control these new threats through coordinated operative efforts.

A decrease in the production and supply of synthetic narcotics through an active maintaining of the cooperation between crime-busting organs and the joint operations in this area is wanted.

Further on, also decrease of the derivation of/and the illicit traffic through the EU with precursors for illegal production of narcotics, through closer cooperation between the customs and other crime-busting authorities in the control of production and illicit traffic in drugs. Through a crime-busting- and intelligence perspective, the EU and its members should support Europol's drug related projects to control criminal networks related to illicit traffic in precursors.

Improve the International Cooperation

Coordination of the member states and the EU politics and intensified efforts in international cooperation but based on a well-balanced strategy where illegal production of drugs will be seen as an important factor in the supply of drugs is aimed for.

Improve the understanding of the problem

First and foremost an increased knowledge, in all the aspects of the drug problem through more and better coordinated research on drug related criminality and the function of the illicit traffic, is desirable.

Research in order to develop the knowledge base in the drug area should be favored and the exchange of correct and politically relevant information in the area of illicit drugs should be guaranteed. Further development of instruments for surveillance of the drug situation and efficiency of the measures against drugs should be done. Suggested is scientific research to evaluate the use of internet as tool in illicit trafficking in narcotics and analysis on which national, European or international measures that could be effective. Development of indicators to collect politically relevant information on drug related criminality, illicit production, illicit traffic and interventions for decreased supply and develop a strategy for this collection. Also development of instruments for analysis to evaluate the efficiency of drug policies what concerns cause and effects and evaluation and change in the current drug control in order to keep up with the drug related problems is needed.

6.1.2. National Control Documents

6.1.2.1 . The governments proposition (2010/11:47): A collected strategy for alcohol-, drugs-, doping-and tobacco policies & The governments action programme for alcohol-, drugs-, doping- and tobacco policies 2011

The Swedish drug politics and the strategies within it are revised during 2010-2011 as the old action plan was ceased in the end of 2010. The new Swedish drug policies are combined with the policies concerning alcohol, doping and tobacco. The main objective of this combined policy is “*A Society Free from Drugs and Doping, with reduced medical and social harms caused by alcohol and with a decreased use of tobacco*”. This objective implies a zero tolerance of narcotics and therefore continues on the restrictive line within the Swedish drug

policies. The new Action Programme is divided in seven long-term objectives which all includes prioritized goals specific for the running period of five years 2011-2015. I will present the result from these long-term objectives, with focus on the prioritized goals that are of relevance for the practical implementation of control policies regarding drugs, and the police, as relevant for my purpose and question.

The supply of Narcotics, Doping, Alcohol and Tobacco shall decrease

One of the most important measures to decrease ANDT- related harm and problems is to limit the access and availability of these substances. In these measures, efforts concerning decrease in smuggling of narcotics and doping, and all illicit traffic of alcohol and tobacco is brought up. It is stated that the effective working methods, developed in the crime preventing and crime-busting authorities and the good examples on the functioning cooperation between different actors, should be kept.

An effective crime-busting of illegal traffic is one prioritized goal for this long-term objective. The illicit traffic with ANDT leads to increased criminality and prevents the society's possibility to decrease new recruitments and abuse and the prioritized focus on illicit traffic should therefore be continued. During this period the focus should be on narcotics and the crime-busting authorities should continue to limit the organized and big-scaled criminality. Drug control should be given further high priority with the intention to decrease the supply of narcotics in Sweden. The organized criminality cross borders and therefore demands a close cooperation between relevant authorities, both nationally and internationally, as well as an active commitment in the international cooperation. With this, information could be collected and in turn mapping of how, where and which drugs that enters the country in order to decrease the import of this substances could be done. As drug related crime leads to other criminality and a criminal lifestyle, it is of importance to make efforts with the purpose to prevent children and youth abuse. Efforts on the sale to this group will be specially prioritized as it should be hard for young people to reach narcotics.

An effective control of illegal sale via digital media is a prioritized goal within this long-term objective. During the period of the strategy, cooperation on the internet traffic should be deepened and the classification process concerning new drugs should be further prioritized. Further on a deepened cooperation between relevant authorities should improve surveillance, intelligence work and analysis of the illegal sale.

Another prioritized goal is: *A functioning local and regional cooperation and coordination between ANDT- preventive and crime preventive work* which brings up that the connection between AND- abuse and criminality demands efforts on the local level as well as between the ANDT- and crime preventive work. Further development and strengthened cooperation should be prioritized regionally as well as locally between the police, school, social services and other relevant actors. Continued long-termed ANDT- and crime preventive work between Malmo, Gothenburg and Stockholm is needed. The importance of the crime- and ANDT preventive work on local level by those who specifically know the problems in these areas is pointed out. The police among other authorities are pointed out as important in cooperation concerning prevention of criminality and increased safety. The police work closely with the social services in the area of youth criminality and the increased level of police officers has led to increase in availability and local establishment which should continue. An increased cooperation in early efforts to decrease new recruitments is therefore wanted.

Children shall be protected from the harmful effects caused by Alcohol, Narcotics, Doping or Tobacco

The first prioritized goal of: Fewer children shall be born with injuries caused by alcohol, narcotics, doping or tobacco, *doesn't bring up any police related work.*

The prioritized goal of: *Children in families with abuse, mental illness or mental dysfunction shall be offered suitable support* points out that cooperation on the local level needs improvement between the groups that interact with children that are harmed or risks to be, related to their own or others abuse. A strategy made by the National Police Board and other authorities has been put forward in order to support this work through local strategies for cooperation between authorities in this field which is seen as a starting point for this work. All the districts of the police, communities and the county council should use evaluated methods and ways of working to cooperate around children and youth's in need of societal protection.

Further on, the prioritized goal concerning *Increased knowledge about marketing of alcohol or tobacco via digital media, and the marketing's effects on the consumption,* doesn't relate to narcotics.

The level of children and young people starting to use Narcotics or Doping or debut early with Alcohol or Tobacco shall gradually decrease

Efforts to prevent anyone to start using drugs or debut early with other substances should be given higher priority. The police are one among many authorities mentioned as having an important role in the preventive work, in order to change behaviors and norms. For the possibilities of this to increase, it should be met in different areas and through different actors cooperating. Supply-limiting efforts have a great importance in postponing the new recruits in drug abuse. Demand reduction efforts are needed, together with knowledge increasing efforts, to affect attitudes and norms and create an acceptance for the restrictive policies and knowledge about ANDT- effects on health, criminality and social development.

The prioritized goal of importance for the practical implementation within the Police is to: *Reduce the new recruits in drug- and doping abuse* as experimenting with narcotics shows tendencies on an increase among youths. The fact that more people are exposed by these substances, strengthened measures to prevent new recruits should be given high priority. Cooperative efforts with the purpose to early discovery should be strengthened locally. Methods developed to follow the development and the marketing of new drugs should be done. Increased knowledge on certain risk groups or areas to direct measures, and to follow effects of preventing and crime-busting efforts is pointed out of importance as well. The cooperation between the police and other authorities with the purpose of coordination in an early stage of the abusive development seems prioritized and the coordinated efforts should therefore be strengthened locally as well.

Further on, this long-term objective should be supported through the prioritized goals: *Develop methods so that children and youths won't begin using tobacco products; Increased use of existing active methods to delay alcohol debut and decrease the harmful alcohol consumption; A health encouraging school; and An increased participation by parents, idea carried organizations and industry in the preventive work*

The level of persons that develop a harmful use, abuse or addiction of Alcohol, Narcotics, Doping or Tobacco shall gradually decrease

This long-term objective is based on the belief that through early discovery and support in order to change harmful and risky living habits, the society could help in preventing individuals, families and other relatives to be hurt, but also with the intention of a positive

economical, social and a more health directed societal development. Through the prioritized goals of: *Health- and the medical service work with preventing ANDT- related ill-health shall be developed; Decreased risky use and intensive consumption of alcohol among students and among young adults with mental ill-health; The prerequisites for the dental care to work with prevention of tobacco should increase; and The prerequisites to in an early state could notice and attend to ANDT- problems in working life should be improved, this long-term objective should be supported* which none of them focus on the police.

Persons with abuse or addiction shall have increased accessibility to care and support in good quality

This long-term objective focus on care and treatment of the abuser and during the running period of the action plan, this goal should be supported through the prioritized goals of: *Access to knowledge based care- and support efforts shall increase; A clearer and more expedient distribution of response between the responsible authorities of abuse- and addiction care shall be reached; Regional and local differences in quality, accessibility and result shall decrease.* These goals don't concern the work of the police.

The level of dead and hurt because of their own or others use of Alcohol, Narcotics, Doping or Tobacco shall decrease

The abuse of both narcotics and legal substances is one of the main reasons behind early mortality and injuries in Sweden. Besides this, these substances show on a clear connection with criminality and violence.

The level of dead and hurt in traffic because of alcohol and other drugs shall decrease is one prioritized goal within this long-term objective which brings up the Police as having a large role in the prevention of these problems and during the running period of the Action Plan, structures for cooperation between the police and other authorities should be under continuous development. The knowledge about this problem and specifically drivers on both illicit and medical drugs should be improved, both generally and in accidents.

The level of dead and hurt because of alcohol-, narcotics- and doping related violence shall decrease is as well a prioritized goal during the running period of the strategy.

The connection between these substances and violence is obvious, and it also leads to exposure of crime. The knowledge around this violence should be increased, and knowledge

based working methods to decrease this violence should be given increased spread. Directed efforts towards youth environments should be done through developed cooperation between the police and the entertainment business.

Mortality among youths and young adults because of alcohol poisoning and experimenting with drugs shall be decreased

Deepened knowledge about these deaths is needed and the internet traffic is pointed out.

The consciousness within the whole population of ANDT- use effects on the health should increase

Where efforts directed towards the whole population are necessary in increasing knowledge about these substances effects on the health, to decrease the harm they constitute and to support the existing legislation. During the period of the strategy the research results on their harmful effects should be communicated to the population.

A public health based and restrictive view of ANDT within the EU and internationally

Sweden is dependent and influenced of the world outside its borders and it's therefore necessary to actively work for these questions within the EU and internationally. Sweden should as well work for that the strategies and conventions ratified, brakes through in the national politics. The objective is to influence the EU and the international field with a public health's based and restrictive perspective on ANDT. The cooperation within the EU and internationally is an important part of the Swedish politics. Sweden should as well work actively for the implementation of these international control documents in the national politics.

Actively act for the UN conventions on the drug area to be observed

A developed international cooperation is totally crucial for an effective drug control. The youth population is affected by other cultures and norms as well as their own and their specific environments. The illicit traffic is in constant change and with social networks and the internet the sale and information of illicit substances runs by the system of control.

The two prioritized goals of: *Actively act for the EU and the WHO strategies concerning alcohol and health are carried through; and Actively act for the WHO general convention on tobacco control is observed* doesn't give attention to the drug problem.

An increased coordination and priority of the Nordic cooperation within the ANDT-area

Is the prioritized goal, concentrated on the cooperation and spreading of national methods in alcohol and drug preventive work both locally and nationally. This Nordic cooperation should within the EU and internationally be more goal- and result directed.

6.2. Interviews

The result of the interviews is here combined under the different points of discussion in order to get a conclusive picture of the answers. This as the questions, related to the different points of discussion, developed dependent on the respondent and the responding.

Coordination & Cooperation

One of the informants stated that as a constable police officer he couldn't think of any coordination between his assignments and any other authorities. He instead pointed out the specific areas within the police who work specifically with drug control and their cooperation with the Customs and Judicial personnel. The second informant pointed out cooperation with the Coast guard, Customs and Municipalities. Further on he pointed out that within the local police districts, there usually are 1-2 officers that works close with the schools and brings forward action plans, and evaluate the problems among youths and discuss on how to influence their attitude towards drugs at an early stage. "These officers visit the schools in order to build up confidence for the authorities and to get their own picture on the situation." Another informant points out the cooperation with the social services but states that the sections that work specifically with drug related criminality has much more knowledge in this area.

Regarding the European coordination in drug control, one informant points out that a constable officer doesn't get in contact with this level of work, but that they do receive information on drug related actions/cases/individuals but primary on the local level. Another informant points out the cooperation between the Swedish and Danish police in the Sound region, and that there are clear strategies within the whole Europe on drug control.

Demand reduction

One informant pointed out the complexity in controlling demand and said that in this area their prime efforts are directed towards the accessibility in drugs. Further on he pointed out the importance of information given to children and youths on drug related effects in order to prevent new recruits in drug abuse. In relation to this he took notice on the cooperation with other authorities with the aim of achieving this goal. As a constable officer he doesn't believe that it's their assignment to make the abuser quit his abusive behavior as "there is neither time nor the education for this". The constable officers take legal proceedings against the persons who commit crime, which could lead to them getting help to quit their abusive behavior. Pointed out was though, that they should work with the attitude that they could help an abuser to quit with drugs. Another informant means that the practical police work concerns proving that someone has used drugs or are in possession of illicit substances.

One informant pointed out that all abusers are informed on- and offered contact with the care alternatives and that notice is taken on if there are children in the household which then leads to contact of the social services for further investigations.

Supply reduction

One informant stated that the best situation would be that in an early state reach the persons higher up in the drug chain and the pushers, in order to get rid of the drugs from the street. Then the work should be towards the abusers on the streets. He pointed out that the abusers often have narcotics on them when they get in contact with the police, irrespective of errand. Regarding the police's responsibility, one informant pointed out that, the police's responsibility is the police's responsibility but as well the society's in its whole. One informant pointed out that the general public could help a lot with information on what they've seen or heard. Another informant developed this with the statement that information sometimes is given from the general public in situations when someone feels scared, unsafe or just irritated on high people in their vicinity.

To handle or use narcotics is a crime and the police should prevent criminality and take legal proceedings against the criminals, was the perspective from one of the informants. Through this perspective, he meant that it is exceedingly the police's responsibility to prevent criminality together with the Customs and the regional public prosecution office. In reducing the supply one informant states that the responsibility is big within the police, both regarding

legal precautions but as well to get abusers in to treatment through informing them of their alternatives. Once again, pointed out is that the work on the streets are the important faze as they could reach possessions and get further on with reaching the persons higher up in the chain. All officers work with this and education on narcotic substances and courses in recognizing abusive behavior is given. Usually it is practiced through the meeting of a high person or observation of a buy. Besides the confiscations, a house search could be done in order to find the “stock”. He points out the specific groups within the police who work more intensively with this. Another informant further states that “it is about showing yourself on the streets.. in order to control young people on their way to an abusive behavior, if they show signs of abuse we make them leave tests”.

International Cooperation

One informant points out the relation between the globalization and the technology of today and that this makes cross border communication easier. He means that this could lead to people ordering drugs on the internet and get it sent to whatever address they wish. “As the world has become smaller there are possibilities of larger supplies than were possible before the technological development”. He continues with saying that this phenomenon is well attended to within the Police, but it is not evident in the practical work of a constable officer.

Another informant doesn't think that the globalized effects on the drug traffic is noticed among the constable police officers, and says that it is not evidently through their work at all. One informant stresses this but means that globalization is evident for certain groups of policemen in drug control.

Knowledge

One informant says that “The abuser is hard to describe these days. It's not like 20 years ago. If you say the word abuser most people get a picture of who that person are, and how this person looks.” This picture doesn't correspond to entertainers, actors and sportsmen who have been noticed in drug related situations he says. “This knowledge is hard to reach but could it relate to information.. Information is something that could streamline the police's work”. During the police education knowledge is given in narcotic substances and their effects but not around the abuser as a phenomenon as this person could have different shapes, he says.

One informant means that this knowledge is absolutely meaningful and necessary in discovering and works effectively against narcotics and to make it in a safe and effective way. “All new officers get drug related education when starting in a local police authority and has before that received education in the police academy” he says. “Besides this it’s is possible to get voluntary education and information on developments in substances and of the phenomenon for the officers who gets in contact with abusers in their fields of work” he continues. Another informant stresses the importance of information and means that it is meaningful the reach the user before he becomes an abuser, in this he points out the cooperation with the schools.

Human rights

One informant points out that the human rights are legislated and the legislation is taught out during the police education but says that any continuous information or directives are not given. He develops this with that they instead have the laws as framework for their work which should include the human rights.

Human rights are thought in the law courses in the police academy another informant points out. He continues with that the protection of the society as well as the abuser is of importance. “From the beginning it’s about protecting the society but in the long term it reaches the abuser as well.” He says, and develops this through “The police do in many cases try to influence the abuser to choose treatment and care.” Another informant means that the human rights are particularly evident in the police work through: “yes, absolutely. The human rights always come first”. He means that through protecting the abuser they protect the society as well and points out that drug abuse leads to other criminality which hurt both the society and other individuals.

“A Drug-Free Society”

One informant states “protecting the society is my main priority” and that the protection of the abuser is a secondary priority. Through protection of the society they might protect the abuser as well as he is a part of that society, he means. He points out that they can’t treat the abuser, just take legal proceedings on the same. “These legal proceedings could then lead to treatment on the other hand”. Pointed out is that abusers could commit other criminal acts in order to afford the drugs which hit the society and is a side effect of the narcotics.

The work with information on narcotics and its effects, together with the work against criminality is the practical work in reaching the goal of a drug-free society one informant points out. He believes that this objective is good through a democratic perspective but says: “no I don’t think it is realistic”. He points out the zero vision within traffic related mortality, “it is not reached but at least we have the ambition and something to aim”.

One informant says that the police practically work towards a drug free society in many ways, through legislation etc. and he believes that this goal exists in the back of all officers head when being in contact with people. He though believes that the goal is “distant and far away at the moment” and specifies this with “in relation to existing resources in practicing drug control”. The problem is visible in all classes of the society and “it seems to have become more ‘legitimate’ to use drugs among young people today. Many people equalize smoking hashish with being drunk”. One informant says that they work practically towards a society free from drugs but states: “NO, It’s not realistic”.

7. ANALYTICAL DISCUSSION

The Swedish drug control is well harmonized with the international drug control, in the term of law in books, and the international control documents are in theory fully implemented in the national legal framework. But as the drug related problems are growing in the Swedish society, corresponding with the increased control policies, the focus of the strategies within these policies should be illuminated. The first part of the analytical discussion will treat of the harmonization between the international and national drug control based on the results presented. Further on, in the last part of this chapter, the overall research question will be specifically answered through the conclusions of the level of harmonization and the theoretical framework.

That the supply of narcotics, doping, alcohol and tobacco should decrease through limited access and availability is an aim throughout all drug control. This should be reached through an effective crime-busting of illegal traffic in order to decrease new recruits and abuse. This focus on illicit traffic in order to limit the organized and big-scaled criminality through an effective control of illegal sale via digital media with surveillance of the internet traffic and further priority in classification of new substances is stated in both the EU and in the UN convention of 1988. The EU control mechanisms, built on the UN conventions, with the

objectives of reduction in demand and supply, points out that these two overall goals within all drug policies should be met through efforts directed towards decrease in drug use, drug addiction and drug related- health and social risks which overall is corresponding with the Swedish strategies. The international control documents do point out specific efforts directed towards production, illicit trade, and traffic and decreasing demand through restraining people from start using, preventing experimental use from becoming a habit, with early intervention, and the offering treatment programs etc. with the aim of decreasing the harm on health and social damages caused by narcotics. Within the Swedish drug strategies, this aim is attended to through the police authorities and it hasn't been achieved. As the informants stated, it's their assignment to tell the abusers of the care and treatment alternatives, which they said often led to that they were rejected. This could relate to the relationship between the perspective of the drug abuser as a criminal and the police as a crime-busting authority. Persons with abuse or addiction shall have increased accessibility to care and support in good quality which in Sweden to some extent is put in the hands of the police. As both the action plan states and what the informants said, the possibility of care and treatment are communicated by the police. But in relation to what was revealed in the evaluation reports from BRÅ and FHI many abusers chose to not take this possibility, possibly with the idea of their addiction as criminal. Communicated by the police, the problem is criminal and not care related like longed for in the international control documents.

A functioning local and regional cooperation and coordination between ANDT- preventive and crime preventive work is concretized in the EU strategies as well. Its close connection to the situation of the children and youths which is prioritized in the Swedish policies, are as well mentioned in both the UN and European control documents. Sweden put a lot of focus on the police's role in this work through the cooperation between different authorities in order to reach the youth population which is showed both in the action plan and in the interviews. The goal of gradually decreasing the level of children and young people starting to use narcotics or doping or debut early with alcohol or tobacco seems to be well prioritized as sought after in the European control. The police are important in this work within the Swedish policies with changing behaviors and norms. This should be met through the cooperation among different levels and through increased efforts to create an acceptance for the restrictive policies with changed attitudes and norms. Within international drug control, these efforts are on the other hand thought to rely improving the consciousness of the public concerning the risks on health and harm. Within the Swedish policies these health related

issues seem to be concerning alcohol and tobacco and that the problem of drugs should be communicated through the police. With this communication, it's the crime preventive measures that breakthrough and not the health related. Related to this the Swedish policies have the objective of increasing the consciousness within the whole population of ANDT-use effects on the health. Communication with the population is aimed at to reach this objective but as stated above, the action plan put this effort at the hand of the police which the informants commented on as well.

To reduce new recruits in drug- and doping abuse through cooperative efforts between the police and other authorities, in order to discover abusive behavior at an early stage should be locally strengthened. In relation to the global objective of reducing supply, this is well corresponding. Development to follow the marketing of drugs on the internet and increased knowledge of certain groups or areas and to follow the effects of preventing and crime-busting efforts through cooperation between police and other authorities to coordinate around meeting the abuse at an early stage is pointed out both in the UN conventions and the European drug policies. That the level of persons that develop a harmful use, abuse or addiction of alcohol, narcotics, doping or tobacco shall gradually decrease through early discover and support change harmful and risky habits for positive societal development relates to these strategies.

The level of dead and hurt because of their own or others use of alcohol, narcotics, doping or tobacco shall decrease through directed efforts towards youth environments through developed cooperation between the police and the entertainments business. Mortality among youths and young adults because of alcohol poisoning and experimenting with drugs shall be decreased through deepened knowledge around deaths and internet traffic. These are all goals harmonizing with the aim of the international control in reducing the harm for the human beings and increasing their welfare. But as it is the police that have the largest role in preventing these problems in the Swedish policies, maybe the focus on the police has become too strong. The police are a crime-busting authority and their preventive actions prevent the criminal tendencies of the problem. As there is a public health based and restrictive view of ANDT within the EU and internationally, the problem from theory to practice in this case seems to be that the Swedish strategies are shaped around reducing criminality while the international drug control cares for the human being. This in turn calls for another perspective if Sweden should be able to challenge the national aspect of the global drug problem.

The Swedish policies concludes that they are dependent on and influenced by the world outside, and should therefore actually work for their policies within the EU and internationally. To further on actively act for the UN conventions on the drug area to be observed is also said to be made through increased measures by the police. As the UN conventions and the EU strategy and action plan are based on aims for the health and welfare of the human being, the Swedish policies has showed to be policies working against these aims through their focus on the police which Träskman means has to stop. As FHI states that Sweden is farther away from reaching any of the objectives in the former action plan, and that the problem rather shows tendencies towards an increase on all levels, the continued restrictive policies with focus on the police are hard to justify. As the article 39 of the 1961 convention UN states that a Party shouldn't be precluded from pursuing politics and control more restrictive than the one recommended by the UN if the state have a clear reason for this, the Swedish development shows on other intentions of the strategies as they continue to follow a political aim that counteract its own purpose and is referred to as unrealistic by Träskman. Further interesting is, like Tham mentioned, that the aim of a society free from drugs has been kept supported by the Swedish position as a low rate country, and through that perspective there wouldn't be a clear reason to keep policies that has shown to result in an up going trend in numbers of drug related problems and that the strategies actually hasn't reached any of the goals they've been aiming for as both Träskman and Tham points out. Resolution III of the 1961 convention recommends the parties to do everything in their power to combat the spread of illicit use of drugs which harmonize with the Swedish strategies on control measures. Related to the reports of BRÅ and FHI, this is necessary in order to combat the drug related criminality. But as Article 23, in the 1971 convention states that a Party *may* adopt more strict or severe measures of control if these are desirable or necessary for the protection of the public health and welfare, the results based on the FHI and BRÅ reports shows that the restrictive tendencies in the control policies have led to an increase of harm on the drug abuser, with decreased welfare and unhealthy living habits, increased drug related deaths etc. which in turn shows that the strategies doesn't harmonize with international drug control in practice.

The parties of the 1971 convention cares for combat against the use and illicit traffic, where the parties of the 1988 convention are recognizing the criminal tendencies of narcotic substances and that the combat against the illicit traffic do have criminal preventive aims. The 1988 convention further on relates to *resolution III* of 1961 convention through

resolution I and recommends that the widest possible use should be made by the police authorities of the records and communications system of the International Criminal Police Organization in achieving the goals of this convention. Stated is, throughout all control documents, that developed international cooperation is crucial for an effective control. The long-term objectives seem to harmonize well with the aim of international drug control, but the overall goal of drug-free society problematizes their corresponsive abilities. International control can't aim for a drug-free world and in a same time be built on the principle sovereign states, containing both restrictive and liberal policies. On the other hand, the norm of "a society free from drugs" does in itself, regarding its objectives, aim for the same thing as the international drug control. Even though, it seems to operate towards the individual abuser through increased focus on the criminal tendencies of the problem. With Foucault in mind, the criminal tendencies of the restrictive policies in "a society free from drugs" need mechanisms of discipline in order to normalize. But the global status of the drug problem would need a more liberal form of governmentality which isn't possible in the global society as this is built upon the principle of sovereignty. Sovereignty do give the states that kind of freedom that they would need as objects under power, but in relation to the global drug problem it's the drug abuser that is the object, an object that the international drug control can't control. Through this perspective the power is acted out by the states, even if they don't possess this power they have the strategically positions, through sovereignty, to use the power within drug control in order to normalize. Reality here is that fewer efforts have been put on reducing the harm for the human being in order to increase their welfare in the national drug control. Less effort is through that perspective put on combating the problem in itself. Both the Swedish policies and International drug control fights the evil of drug related problems, but it seems like international drug control sees the evil as the substances, and "a society free from drugs" sees the evil as the abuser.

Could then the strategies of the norm of "a society free from drugs" be rational in a globalized world? As shown through the increased efforts put within the police in order to fight the growing problem of narcotics and their position as a normalizing authority, they have been working against the overall objective and are farther away from fulfilling its purpose than ever before. The increased control policies within the norm of "a society free from drugs" seems to be close connected to the intentions of a disciplined power. The laws are here tools in the practicing of a disciplined power normalizing, as instruments of governmental decisions as Tadros suggested. The complexity of Foucault's concept of law

like Hunt and Wickham stressed is not of importance through this perspective. Rather the disciplined tendencies of the restrictive Swedish drug control, operating to manipulate the population, controlling them and differentiating them in order to marginalize the drug abuser. This kind of power is challenged by the globalization, where the problem needs to be combated by a universal control. In the international control documents it is stated that such universal action calls for cooperation guided by the same principles and aimed at common objectives, through an international apparatus of coordinated and cooperated actions. This isn't the case when different states aim towards different goals through differently directed measures. The modern power needs to be a power with strategies of governmentality, controlling the objects of power in relation to their liberal status. The power is no longer centered at the nation state as Fraser suggested but works as a multileveled structure of governmentality. In relation to the differences among the sovereign states on the global map, with liberal drug policies meeting restrictive, this problematize the Swedish norm in a global context.

The norm of "a society free from drugs" needs the disciplinary power which isn't possible in a global culture and it requires a power that isn't possible within international drug control. Even if the international drug control mechanisms would accept the Swedish strategies taken, they could never empower the national laws, which are demanded in the Swedish model of criminalization and the international drug control based on the human rights could neither ever include marginalizing policies with health negative consequences. As both BRÅ and FHI shows on the negative development and an increased national problem of drugs corresponding with the sharpened restrictive policies and increased measures by the police, they still state that these policies are effective. In contrast to this, the evaluations done shows on that the national drug problem is moving towards further increase. Through this development the norm of "a society free from drugs" counteract its own purpose. The intentions of the power are to chase after the individual, the drug abuser. To further sharpen the control political strategies in these restrictive policies doesn't seem to have any efficiency and clear purpose. This governmentality doesn't work through rational strategies and the norm of "a society free from drugs" is therefore not rational in the global context as it doesn't operate towards what it's aiming for. Even if the importance of knowledge around the substances and the abusers is a harmonizing aim within both national and international control they could never reach the knowledge in order to possess power over these objects as the problem in itself is global.

The norm of “a society free from drugs” is through the new action plan continuing with strengthened control policies focused on police efforts towards the drug abuser. It’s unwilling to give up an unrealistic goal and aim for something that them who practice it doesn’t believe in as the informants affirmed. It could from my perspective never be rational to aim towards an unrealistic goal as it only leads to political frustration. The strategies can’t keep up with the globalization and the challenges this development brings on the drug related criminality and problems. The world could never reach the goal of a “drug-free world” if this doesn’t constitute a global norm or a hegemonic discourse as Brand, Manokha, Risse and Sikkink referred to in the human rights discussion. International drug control prerequisites global cooperation through a universal approach and a restrictive policy like this can’t operate globally, and like Porcelli and Zhai stated, as there could never be a unification of law. The Swedish state doesn’t have a monolith power and as power needs the knowledge of the individuals in order to normalize, there is no way that a mosaic world of sovereign states should be able to apply to the Swedish restrictive norm of “a society free from drugs”. The evidence shows on an increase in drug related problems which makes it rather hard to call this norm rational, neither national nor global.

7.1. Conclusion

Concluded could then be that the Swedish drug control strategies harmonize with the international and European drug control in theory. The international control documents are well implemented in law and doesn’t restrain Sweden from being even more restrictive. Even though, the focus on the criminal aspect of drug related problems and the front position of the police, tear this harmonization apart when the strategies are practiced. It’s the power relation on the global arena that doesn’t operate through governmentality. The international control doesn’t have the strength to discipline the states and it doesn’t have the power to discipline the individual. The states have power through the principle of sovereignty and can therefore possess power in their own territory, but not globally, and as the problem of drugs is global this needs a global solution. The restrictive policies on the other hand chase after the individual drug abuser who then is an object out of reach for the international control. It turns to a situation of different levels of power with no clear objects to control. Further on, international drug control cares for the health of the individual drug abuser and the national drug control criminalize the abuser and thereafter haunts the same. It’s the same strategies, same goals but with different objects of interests which is well illuminated through the choice of continuing on a strategy that counteract its own purpose. Through this perspective the

strategies of “a society free from drugs” aren’t rational, and they could never face the challenges of drugs in a globalized world if the aim isn’t changed. Through cooperation and coordination under an international control with states aiming for the same goal, with the same interests, through the same measures, the drug related problems could be challenged and the individual drug abuser could reach help.

"global war on drugs has failed, with devastating consequences for individuals and societies around the world.. Political leaders and public figures should have the courage to articulate publicly what many of them acknowledge privately: that the evidence overwhelmingly demonstrates that repressive strategies will not solve the drug problem, and that the war on drugs has not, and cannot, be won," (www.guardian.co.uk).

7.2. Final Comments

Further development of this research could be done through looking at all parts of the Swedish control policies which include e.g. the customs, which are of huge importance in board control. Another attractive perspective would be to compare different countries in their main intentions behind- and practiced implementation of the international drug control, in order to emphasize their efficiency and consequences on the abuser. With a research of that kind it would also be interesting to illuminate different forms of power and the power relations on the global map. As the globalization develops, the drug market does as well, and therefore the drug related problems continues to increase around the world. Through this perspective the area of drug control welcomes research, on all areas and in most disciplines, in order to get solved. The world might never become drug-free, but it should be free from drug related harm on human beings.

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APPENDIX 1.

Coordination & Cooperation

- How is the coordination with other national authorities practiced around drug control?
- How do you experience the European coordination around drug control?

Demand reduction

- With what measures do you practically control the demand of drugs?
- What focus is directed towards the abusers within this work?

Supply reduction

- Related to supply reduction, what measurements are taken in the practical police work on this area?
- How do you apprehend the level of the police’s responsibility in this work?

International Cooperation

- Are the effects of globalization on the extension of narcotics a factor of attention within the police?
- If this is the case, how do you encounter this development in your work?
- Is the international cooperation apparent in the police work you practice?

Knowledge

- Do you believe that knowledge of the drug abuser as a phenomenon renders your work?
- Is continuous information or education given, when it comes to the drug abuser?

Human rights

- Do you get education or direction on the Human Rights?
- In your opinion, is your work built on protection of the society or the health of the abuser?

“A Drug-free Society”

- Do you work practically towards a drug-free society?
- Do you believe this goal to be realistic?

Samordning- på Europeisk och nationell nivå

- Hur praktiserar ni samordningen med andra nationella myndigheter kring bekämpningen av narkotika?
- Hur upplever ni den europeiska samordningen kring narkotikakontroll?
Minskning av efterfrågan på narkotika
- Hur åtgärdar ni praktiskt kontroll av efterfrågan på narkotika?
- Vilken fokus läggs direkt på missbrukaren i detta arbete?
Minskning av utbudet av narkotika
- Vad gäller minskning av narkotika utbudet, hur åtgärdas detta i praktiskt polisarbete?
- Hur uppfattar ni nivån av polisens ansvar i detta arbete?
Internationellt samarbete
- Är globaliseringens inverkan på narkotika utbredningen en uppmärksammas faktor inom polisen?
- Om så är fallet, Hur möter ni denna utveckling i ert arbete?
- Är det internationella samarbetet påtagligt i det praktiska polisarbetet du utför?
Kunskap
- Anser du att kunskap om missbrukaren som fenomen effektiviserar ditt arbete?
- Ges kontinuerlig information eller utbildning ut, vad gäller narkotika missbrukaren?
Mänskliga rättigheter
- Får ni utbildning eller direktiv runt de mänskliga rättigheterna?

- Enligt din uppfattning, Bygger ert arbete på att skydda samhället eller missbrukarens hälsa?

Det narkotikapolitiska målet

- Arbetar ni praktiskt mot ett narkotikafritt samhälle?
- Anser ni detta mål vara realistiskt?