

20th Meeting of the Legal and Policy Correspondents of the European Legal Database on Drugs

Alternatives to coercive sanctions (ACS) for drug-using offenders: Barriers and facilitators

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### What we'll cover...

- Context of current work
- Findings from recent EMCDDA and other research
- Some thoughts on how to facilitate greater use of ACS
- Input from Legal & Policy Correspondents



European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction

can in turn affect the few evaluations carried the laws (to treat or to punish these offenders can also have unintended effects on the outcomes. Clarity on these issues should as development and implementation of more successful measures in the future

Recommended citation: Furnises Monitoring Centre Drugs and Drug Addiction (2015), Alternatives to punis for drug-using offenders, EMCDDA Papers, Public



Study on alternatives to coercive sanctions as response to drug law offences and drugrelated crimes

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### Definitions of ACS

"...rehabilitative measures of treating, educating or reintegrating drug users as alternatives or additions to conviction or punishment..." (EMCDDA, 2015: 1).

"...measures that had some rehabilitative element or that constituted a nonintervention (for example, deciding not to charge or prosecute), as well as those used instead of prison or other punishment (for example, a suspended sentence with drug treatment)" (Kruithof et al., 2016: iii).







## Context (1)

- Prisons across Europe are typically operating at or near capacity. One in four countries experienced overcrowding within their prison systems in 2014. Convictions for drugs offences were a significant driver of these populations (Council of Europe, 2015).
- Similar trends have been observed in a number of regions across the globe (Walmsley, 2016).
- Pressures persist despite legislation and policy existing in many jurisdictions which enables the diversion of drug-using detainees, defendants and convicted offenders, at different stages of the criminal justice process, to various forms of education and treatment.







## Context (2)

- There are European and international targets to increase the use of alternatives to punishment or coercive sanctions (ACS) for drug-using offenders, where appropriate.
- Recent studies have confirmed that, while it helps to have such alternatives available in the law, a range of factors, such as limitations within the law, the way they are set up, or the attitudes of key groups, can be **barriers to their use**.
- This session will discuss the content of an upcoming EMCDDA short report for policymakers on these barriers
   and corresponding facilitators and how this information might be used by countries seeking to increase the use
   of these measures.
- <u>Particular focus</u> on mapping the **domains of a diagnostic tool** to help better identify and address existing barriers to ACS use.







### The use of ACS by EU Member States

#### RAND Europe's (2016) study found that:

- All 28 MS reported having *at least one ACS available*, and most had more than one. The most commonly occurring ACS was a drug treatment order (17 MS).
- While there were considerable *differences between MS in their use of ACS*, most forms were *under utilised* across the CJS.
- ACS appeared to be mainly offered at the end (court and sentencing) stages of the CJS.
   There is considerable scope to expand availability through diversion from arrest,
   prosecution or investigation.
- Though *limited in scale* and *quality*, there is a *developing body of evidence* about features that might make ACS more effective (though limited to drugs courts and US evidence).







# Barriers to/facilitators of ACS use by EU Member States (1)

The research identified common themes regarding why ACS were/were not used in practice:

- Use strongly influenced by the individual beliefs of those responsible for imposing ACS,
   such as prosecutors and judges:
  - o benefits of treatment over incarceration;
  - a perceived lack of clarity around intervention objectives (What does success look like?)
  - the relapsing nature of drug use and motivations of drug users;
  - awareness about what ACS options are available (and their relative effectiveness)
- Use of ACS shaped by factors that can be changed by policy makers:
  - Legislative measures both increased (in the case of laws mandating use in certain circumstances) and decreased (where legislation imposed restrictive conditions) the use of ACS.







## Barriers to/facilitators of ACS use by EU Member States (2)

- **Practical** and **administrative** factors were also reported to affect the extent to which ACS are used:
  - Availability of financial resources to fund treatment.
  - Where ACS involves lengthy and/or bureaucratic procedures.
  - Levels of partnership working within and between systems.
  - Extent to which there is feedback from those delivering treatment (for example, health professionals) to those monitoring compliance (such as judges).
  - Without this, those imposing ACS may lack confidence in the quality, content and effectiveness of support, which may serve as a barrier to use.
  - Unintended consequences of broader changes to policy or practice.







## Barriers identified in other jurisdictions

### Key **barriers** include:

- Absence of a full spectrum of programmes
- Changes in drug trends & policing capacity
- Narrow eligibility criteria
- Lack of treatment access
- Cultural resistance among (some) police sources



DRUG POLICY MODELLING PROGRAM

MONOGRAPH 27

CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESPONSES RELATING
TO PERSONAL USE AND POSSESSION OF
ILLICIT DRUGS: THE REACH OF
AUSTRALIAN DRUG DIVERSION PROGRAMS
AND BARRIERS AND FACILITATORS TO
EXPANSION

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## Facilitators identified in other jurisdictions

### Key **facilitators** thought to include:

- Establishing diversion options for *all illicit drugs* in *all states* and *territories*
- Considering *newer models* of diversion delivery
- Streamlining referral systems for police
- Increasing feedback mechanisms to police about drug diversion
- Adding drug diversion into police performance monitoring systems
- Evidence on what works and the reach of drug diversion
- Introducing a legislative or hybrid *legislative requirement to divert* eligible offenders
- A *supportive national policy* framework







# So how do we develop appropriate responses to facilitate greater use of ACS?

There are at least six ways in which work in this area might progress:

- Identify and address existing barriers to ACS use
- Improve awareness and understanding
- Increase resourcing and capacity for ACS
- Enhance co-ordination between systems and services
- Ensure adherence to best practice principles
- Develop, disseminate and use the evidence base

1. System Level

2. Provider Level

3. Client Level

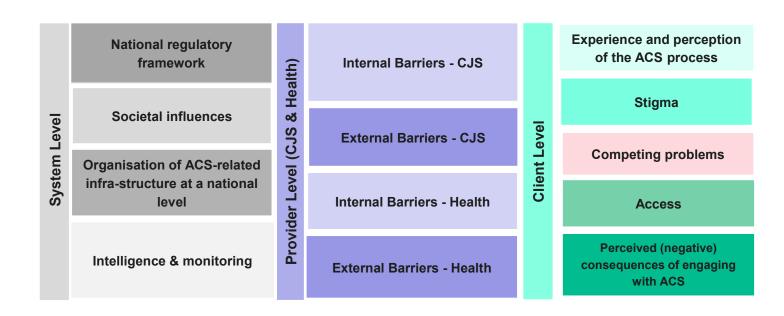






## Identify and address existing barriers to ACS use

Develop a 'tool' to support a review of ACS in a given country through the identification of internal and external implementation barriers and areas for action to improve their utilisation in that country.



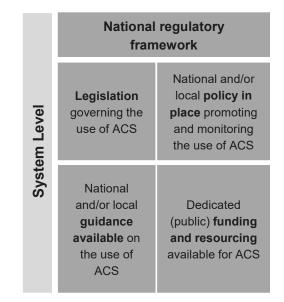






# Consider system-level factors: e.g. National regulatory frameworks

- Is there legislation in place which facilitates the use of ACS?
- Is there a national/local strategy in place promoting and monitoring the use of ACS?
- Is there evidence-based national/local **guidance** available on how to implement & deliver ACS?
- Does this guidance attend to best practice principles?
- Is there dedicated funding and/or resourcing available for ACS?
- Any other system-level factors linked to regulatory frameworks?



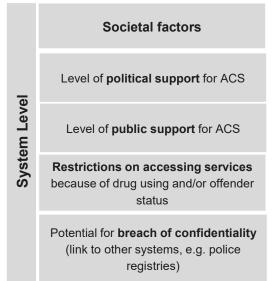






### Consider system-level factors: Societal influences

- Is there political support for the use of ACS?
- Is there public support for the use of ACS?
- Are there restrictions in place on accessing services or support because of drug using and/or offender status e.g. workplaces or public institutions?
- Is there potential for **breach of confidentiality** arising from involvement in ACS e.g. auto-enrolment on an administrative system e.g. police registries or child protection services?
- Other system-level variables linked to societal factors?









## System-level factors: Organisation of ACS-related infrastructure

#### **Organisation of ACS-related** infrastructure at a national level **ACS ACS** provision **System Level** provision at available arrest/bail/pr poste-sentence sentence Capacity within the Capacity health within the /treatment CJS to system to deliver ACS deliver ACS

- Is there currently ACS provision available at arrest/bail/presentence stages?
- Is there currently ACS provision available post-sentence?
- Is there sufficient capacity within the CJS to deliver ACS?
- Is there sufficient capacity with the health/treatment system to deliver ACS?
- Any other system-level variables linked to organisational factors?







## System-level factors: Intelligence & monitoring

### Intelligence & monitoring

Evaluation and monitoring of indicators relating to drug users coming into contact with the CJS

**System Level** 

Drug use prevalence data within the CJS

- Is there any monitoring or evaluation of indicators relating to illicit drug users coming into contact with the criminal justice system (CJS)
- Is there reliable data available on **illicit drug use prevalence** among suspects, defendants and convicted offenders?
- Any other system-level variables linked to intelligence & monitoring?

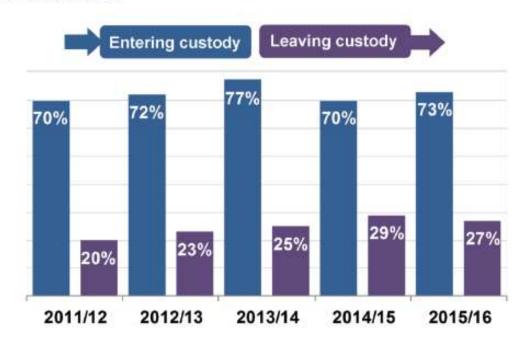






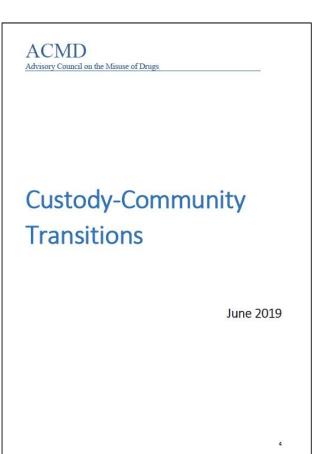
# An example of effective intelligence & monitoring from Scottish prisons

Figure 12: Percentage of prisoners testing positive for illegal drugs when entering and leaving custody by year.



Source: SPS Addiction Prevalence Testing statistics. Available at ScotPHO.









## CJS providers: Internal barriers

#### Potential considerations:

Internal Barriers - CJS

Provider Level - CJS

Levels of ACS-related **knowledge** among CJS staff

Capacity among CJS staff to deliver ACS

Commitment of CJS staff to ACS objectives

**Assumption by staff**: ACS is 'soft option'/too complicated/won't work

CJS unable to **respond constructively** to lapses/non-compliance

- Is there sufficient knowledge and understanding of ACSrelated issues among CJS staff?
- Is there sufficient capacity among CJS staff to deliver ACS?
- Are CJS staff committed to ACS objectives (e.g. ACS not perceived as an area of responsibility for CJS staff)?
- Attitudes & assumptions: Do CJS staff consider ACS processes to be inappropriate, too complicated or ineffective?
- Is the CJS sufficiently **flexible to respond constructively** to lapses/non-compliance?
- Any other CJS provider-level variables linked to internal barriers?







## CJS providers: External barriers

Provider Level - CJS	External Barriers - CJS	
	Ways of working with health and social care partners	Availability and range of health services
	Accessibility of health services	Clarify around intervention objectives
	Consensus around treatment settings and philosophy	Referral and care pathways
	Lack of <b>collaboration</b> with health and social care	Information sharing

- On what basis will the ACS intervention be **commissioned** and **delivered** (e.g. have health services been contracted specifically for this role)? Is there **clarity** around respective roles and responsibilities?
- Is there an **appropriate range of services available** to meet the needs of different service users (based on demographics, social circumstances, drug-using profile)?
- Can these services be accessed in a timely manner?
- Is there agreement with health partners around ACS intervention objectives?
- Is there consensus with health partners around treatment settings and philosophy for delivering ACS?
- Are referral and care pathways sufficiently developed?
- Is there a proven track record of collaborative working with health and social care agencies?
- Are there protocols and procedures in place relating to information sharing with health partners?
- Any other CJS provider-level variables linked to external barriers?







#### **Internal Barriers - Health**

Levels of ACS-related **knowledge** among health staff

Capacity among health staff to deliver ACS

**Commitment** of health staff to ACS objectives

Attitudes & assumptions of staff: ACS is 'coercive'/unethical/ineffective

'Chronic relapsing' nature of dependency incompatible with ACS approaches

- Is there sufficient knowledge and understanding of ACSrelated issues among health staff?
- Is there sufficient capacity among health staff to deliver ACS?
- Are health staff committed to ACS objectives (e.g. crime reduction is not a priority for public health; health priorities are subordinate to CJS ones)?
- Attitudes/assumptions: Do health staff consider ACS processes to be 'coercive', unethical, or ineffective?
- Is ACS incompatible with public health understanding of the 'chronic relapsing' nature of dependency?
- Any other health provider-level variables linked to internal barriers?







### Health providers: External barriers

#### **External Barriers - Health** Availability and range Ways of working with CJS partners of health services **Accessibility** of health Clarify around intervention objectives services Consensus around Referral and care treatment settings and pathways philosophy Information Lack of collaboration sharing/client with CJS confidentiality

- On what basis will the ACS intervention be **commissioned** and **delivered** (e.g. have health services been contracted specifically for this role)? Is there **clarity** around respective roles and responsibilities?
- Is there an appropriate **range of services** available to meet the needs of different service users (based on demographics, social circumstances, drugusing profile)?
- Can these services be accessed in a timely manner?
- Is there agreement with CJS partners around ACS intervention objectives?
- Is there consensus with CJS partners around treatment settings and philosophy for delivering ACS?
- Are referral and care pathways sufficiently developed?
- Is there a proven track record of collaborative working with CJS agencies?
- Are there protocols and procedures in place relating to information sharing with CJS partners?
- Any other health provider-level variables linked to external barriers?







# Client-level barriers: Experience and perception of the ACS process

## Experience and perception of the ACS process

ACS is experienced as coercive

Client Level

ACS is experienced as disproportionate

Uncertainty about ACS requirements

Previous negative experience of treatment/ACS

- Are ACS options experienced as coercive by participants?
- Is informed consent required of participants?
- Are ACS options experienced as disproportionate or excessive by participants?
- Do participants understand ACS processes and requirements?
- Is prior negative **experience of treatment/ACS** a factor when considering suitability?
- Other client-level variables linked to experiences and perceptions of ACS?







# Client-level barriers: The impact of stigma and other competing problems

### **Stigma** Fear/stigma/shame if referred to treatment/ACS Stigma/shame of being labelled a user or misuser of illicit drugs Stigma/shame of acquiring **Client Level** a conviction Competing problems Other health problems (e.g. mental health) Housing need Finances Domestic violence

- Is the **fear of stigma** a concern for participants referred to treatment/ACS?
- Do participants experience stigma/shame from being labelled a user or misuser of illicit drugs?
- Do participants experience stigma/shame at the prospect of acquiring a conviction?
- To what extent might other health problems act as a barrier to engagement with ACS?
- To what extent might needs around housing/finances/literacy/DV/mixing with other users impact upon participants' ability to engage with ACS?
- Any other client-level variables linked to stigma and/or competing problems?





# Client-level barriers: Problems linked to ACS accessibility

#### Access

Time taken to access/complete ACS

Accessibility of ACS support (location, transport links)

**Slient Level** 

Convenience of ACS support (childcare or working responsibilities)

Language/cultural barrier

Appropriateness of ACS support (gender, age, MH status)

- Do participants express concerns about the **time taken to** access/complete ACS?
- Are ACS services **accessible to participants** (in terms of their location, being serviced by appropriate transport links)?
- What provision is made for those ACS participants who have childcare or work commitments?
- Is ACS provision suitably responsive to participants experiencing language/cultural barriers?
- Is ACS support appropriate for a range of participant groups (e.g. based on gender, age, mental health status, drug-using profile)?
- Any other client-level variables linked to access problems?







# Client-level barriers: Perceived (negative) consequences of engaging with ACS

### (Negative) Consequences of engaging with ACS Fear of addressing any underlying issues Fear of losing children (to child services) Client Level Fear of deportation (for migrants) Fear of losing housing; implications for any ETE Fear of failing to comply with **ACS**

#### Potential considerations:

- Are participants adequately supported through ACS in addressing issues underlying drug use/offending behaviours?
- Are participants assured that they will not lose their child(ren) if they engage with ACS?
- Are participants assured that they will not be deported if they engage with ACS?
- Are participants assured that they will not lose their housing if they engage with ACS?
- Are participants adequately supported in addressing any implications for education, training and/or employment arising from their involvement in ACS?
- Are participants supported to identify and minimise any risks associated with breaching ACS conditions?
- Any other client-level variables linked to consequences of engaging with ACS?

Excellence



# Important that best practice principles for diverting DUOs are adhered to (e.g. Bull, 2005)

roles-responsibilities

eligibility

reintegration

monitoring-evaluation

client rights

judicial review partnership working funding

training

programme objectives

documentation

treatment philosophy

management & communication







## Input from the Legal and Policy Correspondents

- 1) How much are alternatives to coercive sanctions used in your country? (There may be more than one). Are there easily accessible records of use rates, completion rates?
- 2) Has there been research or evaluation on the situation, at national or even local level, commissioned or published since 2016?
- 3) Were barriers to implementation identified, such as those above or others? Are you aware of any such barriers?
- 4) Was action taken to reduce the barriers or otherwise to increase/facilitate use of the alternatives? Did they appear to have the desired effect, or could they be further improved? What could or should be done to ease them?







## Any questions, comments or observations?







