

NAHRPP COUNTRY REPORT

SPAIN

NAHRPP - New Approaches in Harm Reduction Policies and Practices
Project co-financed by the European Union



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1. Research period

The investigation was carried out over a period of 8 months. It began with two pilot interviews in December 2017 and the analysis was finished in early July 2018. The first 7 months were spent finding participants, doing the interviews and transcribing them. Once all the interviews were done and transcribed, the analysis and conclusive report were finalized over a 1 month period.

2. Description of the sample

- Number

Individual	<input type="checkbox"/>	n=8 (50%)
CSC	<input type="checkbox"/>	n=8 (50%)

- Gender

Male	<input type="checkbox"/>	n=8 (50%)
Female	<input type="checkbox"/>	n= 8 (50%)

- Age

Mean	<input type="checkbox"/>	39,06
Median	<input type="checkbox"/>	39

- Educational level

Less 8 years	n=0 (0%)
9-13 years	n=5 (31,25%)
14-18 years	n=2 (12,5%)
More than 18 years	n=9 (56,25%)

- Marital status

Single	n=5 (31,25%)
Couple	n=3 (18,75%)
Married	n=1 (6,25%)
Not answered	n=7 (43,75%)

- Job position

Nurse assistant	n=2 (12,5%)
Makeup artist and painter	n=1 (6,25%)
Researcher	n=1 (6,25%)
Shopkeeper	n=2 (12,5%)
Hospitality worker	n=1 (6,25%)
Community educator	n=1 (6,25%)
Manager	n=4 (25%)
Commercial agent	n=2 (12,5%)
Unemployed	n=2 (12,5%)

- Years of cannabis use

Less than 10 years	n=0 (0%)
10-15 years of use	n=4 (25%)
More than 15 years	n=10 (75%)

<u>Descriptive table</u>	CSC		Individual	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
<u>20-29 years</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 25 years • Single • + 18 years education • Nursing assistant • 10-15 years of use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 26 years • Single • + 18 years of education • makeup artist painter • 10-15 years of use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 27 years • Couple • + 18 years of education • Nursing assistant • 10-15 years of use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 24 years • Couple • + 18 years of education • Researcher • 10-15 years of use
<u>30-39 years</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 30 year • Couple • 9-13 years of education • Shopkeeper • + 15 years of use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 34 years • +18 years of education • Restaurant manager • +15 years of use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 39 years • +18 years of education • Community educator • +15 years of use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 39 years • 9-13 years of education • Product manager • +15 years of use
<u>40-49 years</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 41 years • Single • + 18 years of education • Commercial agent • +15 years of use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 43 years • Married • 14-18 years of education • Commercial agent • +15 years of use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 49 years • 9-13 years of education • Lottery shop owner • +15 years of use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 46 years • +18 years of education • Unemployed • +15 years of use
<u>50-60 years</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 52 years • Single • 14-18 years of education • Project manager • +15 years of use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 56 years • Single • 9-13 years of education • Hospitality worker • +15 years of use 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 56 years • 9-13 years of education • Unemployed • +15 years of use

3. Recruitment method

The snowball method was used to recruit participants. Researchers turned to nearby consumers or nearby social consumer circles. In addition, to find CSC members, we contacted CSC leaders who kindly allowed us access to their electronic social groups, thus we offered their members the possibility to participate in the research.

Analysis Report

Use trajectories

Reasons for moderate use

- **Social activity**

[6SPmCSC] “Spending Saturdays with family, not going out so much... Also cutting friends off a little, you don't hang out with them as much, you have mainly domestic relations.”

- **Health**

[3SPfCSC] “It was actually because I suffered a depressive episode when I was 24/25 years old, due to work issues. I was taking medication for a while and that's when I tried to quit.”

[10SPmCSC] “A moderate consumption because of surgery, a moderate consumption for health reasons.”

[16SPfInd] “Well I went to talk to my naturopath when I got pregnant (...) He suggested that I cut down consumption and smoked the good stuff. So I followed his instructions to the letter.”

- **Information**

[1SPmCSC] “Now the fact that I am such a light smoker is mostly because I work in healthcare, in psychiatry.”

- **Consumption of other substances**

[8SPmCSC] “Well I think I was also smoking tobacco and so marijuana at the same time as tobacco..., I mean, I consumed cigarettes and joints with marijuana. I like smoking and during half the day I was smoking one product and the other half I was smoking the other product.”

[11SPfCSC] “As I introduced the other substances, cannabis wasn't the first any longer. I mean, it was never the first but, from the age of 21 to the age of 26 I tried all substances I hadn't tried before.”

- **Controlled use moments**

[6SPmCSC] “It has always been when I finished work. I have been with my partner all this time, my partner also smoked and we always got together to smoke.”

- **Socio-economic stability**

[6SPmCSC] “So, actually, life and pace of life were very stable too. I had a very demanding job. I had my two children. I had just bought a flat. I had a partner.”

[5SPfInd] “my life got stable, so I guess my cannabis consumption got stable too.”

- **Focusing on responsibilities**

[6SPmCSC] “You cut down consumption because, as we say, you are busy most of the time. You have children; during this time I have started lots of business, lots of work. I had little time to have fun.”

[10SPmInd] “I quit to get my brain a little clearer and faster to study and work.”

- **Difficulty in getting cannabis**

[6SPmCSC] “When you stop relating with others... Before you had to go to the dealer to get it, or you had the contact of that friend who “damn so take my call!”. When you lose this relationship and it is harder to find, it really limits your consumption because you are afraid and have to ask for favours to get it.”

[1SPmCSC] “During the student stage consumption is lower because you don't work, there's not much money, that's why consumption is low.”

Heavy use factors (Peaks)

- **Disease**

[14SPmInd] “And it's true that my last use peak was also slightly induced by the illness I had, a splenic lymphoma, and with the issue of chemotherapy there were people... everybody was telling me that marijuana eases side effects, and it was like an excuse.”

- **Recreation**

[10SPmInd] “Party. The years of enjoying parties the most, of going out, of being more nocturnal. So if I am more nocturnal and I am living at night I smoke more.”

[15SPfInd] “As I said before, I was really idle... From the age of 14 to the age of 18, if I had gone to high school regularly... but as I was a little bit naughty, I missed classes all the time, so I had all the time in the world.”

- **Social environment**

[11SPfCSC] “When I was 16 I entered a hard awkward age, I started hanging out with people older than me, who had higher consumptions, I only spent time with kids who smoked a lot, I was like the little girl, they said: “learn how to roll them right”... you get into other social dynamics.”

[12SPfInd] “Since my partner, and this is a key point, also smoked, like it or not... He had the joint on his lips all day long, I didn't, I just did it after lunch... So, then, I was smoking more, the doses... I could smoke 6.”

- ***Consumption alone***

[10SPmInd] “Aside from the shared ones, I also [consumed] alone.”

- ***Easily obtained***

[4SPmInd] “Since I had no control and weed was easily available for me, working, with money, it is easier and is always a larger amount.”

[8SPmCSC] “I started seeing somebody who made it easy for me to access marijuana. Until last year I grew it in my house, I am close to marijuana all the time.”

- ***Freedom***

[4SPmInd] “The first circumstance was that, even if I was not living alone, I had left home. So that gives you more freedom and, as you don't have any controls over you, consumption rises quite a lot.”

[10SPmInd] “When I entered college there was an exponential rise also marked by the fact that I had left home and became independent.”

- ***Use of other substances***

[13SPmInd] “Using other substances has to do with it. Stimulant substances that, of course, you had to cut down their effects sometimes, and the way to do that was using indica strains or extractions, hash, it comes back to a state which is not so... stimulating... you chill out a bit!”

- ***Stop using other substances***

[2SPmCSC] “From this point on, I think it helped me to quit that life I was living. At that stage, consuming more cannabis than I was consuming (...) helped me to say: “smoke more, be more at home, calm, smoke, smoke, smoke, and push the party desire away from you”.”

[4SPmInd] “When I was 27 I pushed my consumption up because, after a whole trajectory of consumption, poly-consumption... I quit other drugs, so... what happens then? It rises.”

- ***Evasion***

[1SPmCSC] “As I said, I smoked to punish myself and, well, to escape from reality and, for that end, you smoke playfully.”

[2SPmCSC] “If something fails you at the end and you try to replace it with another thing, and that other thing is trying to

escape, then you got stoned, because at that time you got stoned! You didn't look for anything but getting stoned.”

- ***Socio-economic crisis***

[6SPmCSC] “Becoming homeless, being on the streets and having to move in with my sister.”

[2SPmCSC] “Here stress. I would place it on economic instability. I believe that's one of the things that influences everybody the most.”

- ***Depression/stress/anxiety/dissatisfaction***

[6SPmCSC] “I had strong renal colic, I was hospitalised for a week and they found a cancerous tumor in my bladder, I had to undergo surgery (...) I sank into a severe depression and, above all, I had nothing to do.”

[4SPmInd] “The dissatisfaction that I felt as I didn't find anything that motivated me. I had been smoking for a long time, so it's like this motivation for doing something, hobbies or whatever, disappears and you change it for the marijuana.”

- ***Spare time***

[5SPfInd] “I repeated my final year in high school and, as I had a lot of spare time I spent a lot of time with friends and we smoked much more.”

[14SPmInd] “The main increasing [reason] has been monotony, boredom, the fact that if I have nothing to do I smoke a joint, and, later on, if I have nothing to do I smoke another one, and after that I smoke another one...”

- ***Tolerance***

[7SPfCSC] “Of course smoking daily makes you, every day... well, not every day but you must increase the amount, to be the way I am.”

[13SPmInd] “I think tolerance over all, because you smoke more and higher quality, so you need a bigger amount to be in that state.”

- ***Daily consumption***

[5SPfInd] “So yes, I basically smoked all day and even more on feast days.”

- ***Cannabis quality***

[12SPfInd] “Raw material is awesome and its flavour quality, its high and the general state it gets you into.”

Abstinence periods

Reasons for change

- ***Problems with emotional ties***

[14SPmInd] “Basically, everything came from a problem with my partner, a problem with friends. And I was stuck, I felt really stuck and I realized...”

- ***Self-control test***

[12SPfInd] “So I took it a little like a personal challenge, I mean, “who is actually going to win, joints or me?” Well, for the time being, I am continuing to do that.”

- ***Focusing on studies and work***

[10SPmInd] “First of all it was an exam issue. As I had to study I needed to have a clearer, faster and more functioning mind (...) Secondly, a job issue. It's the same, as more time was taken up and there were periods when I studied and worked at the same time and I was living with my partner... That meant I quit the volume of consumption.”

[12SPfInd] “I repeated a drop to zero, in this case because I changed my job and I started a new job where I was in charge of a place, with more people and... well, the time and so on and... well, it was time to focus a little on what I was doing.”

- ***Health***

[7SPfCSC] “I quit smoking for 3 months just because I was pregnant.”

[14SPmInd] “The doctor also said that I couldn't smoke, that I had scars on my bronchi.”

- ***Change of environment***

[12SPfInd] “When I got married and I had to come back to my parent's house it was a whole other thing. Control, my mother used to monitor me a lot.”

- ***Dissatisfaction***

[4SPmInd] “Because I realized I was spending a lot of money on that and I got nothing out of it.”

- ***Difficulty to get cannabis***

[10SPmInd] “I had to get by on my own or call friends who might be on vacation... so you think, what a hassle.”

- ***Ideology***

[2SPmCSC] “Well, because of politics and kind of darkish ideologies, ok? And yes, yes, at the end...well... I chose the anti-drug option almost overnight.”

- ***Emotional support***

[9SPfCSC] “I stopped at the age of 22 to help my partner in those days. He decided to quit for various reasons and I wanted to support that.”

- ***Competitiveness in sports***

[6SPmCSC] “From the age of 16 to the age of 20 I took sports really seriously so I didn’t consume anything.”

- ***Bad experience***

[1SPmCSC] “As I practiced so much sport and cut down consumption drastically, I greened out with just one joint.”

Turning points

Reasons for a change

- ***Moods***

[13SPmInd] “Of course, absolutely, those changes have to do with different changes in personal moods, in this case in mine.”

- ***Environmental changes***

[5SPfInd] “It was just a matter of circumstances. I wasn’t with friends who smoked as much anymore, I spent much more time at college, I spent less time with friends and I just cut down consumption.”

- ***Trying self-control***

[13SPfCSC] “it was a little bit of self-control, of thinking “am I really hooked on this? Am I not hooked?” And it was my own choice, there wasn’t any special reason.”

- ***Responsibilities***

[2SPmCSC] “I have tended to reduce because I thought I had a great responsibility in my hands, because it wasn’t just a store. A client’s success or failure was often in my hands.”

Influencing factors

- ***Lifestyle change***

[16SPfInd] “I quit my job after twenty-something years and started a different life in another place. So I thought that it was a good moment to see how I functioned without consuming.”

- ***Having a partner***

[4SPmInd] “the other one is that I met her.”

- ***Start practicing sports***

[2SPmCSC] “Starting practicing sports was one thing that helped me.”

- ***Socio-economic stability***

[6SPmCSC] “I've gone from squatting in a room to having a job, living with my two kids, and the truth is that it has changed a shitload.”

[3SPfCSC] “Yes, it was more because of a job I thought it would be a springboard to my stable life.”

- ***Health improvement***

[6SPmCSC] “The fact that I passed the medical tests and everything has gotten better.”

Persons of influence

- ***Professionals***

[4SPmInd] “And my psychologist.”

- ***Partner***

[4SPmInd] “So my partner”

- ***Parents***

[3SPfCSC] “The first time it was forced both domestically and socially, it was then when I said: “social pressure, I have to quit.”

- ***Friendships***

[1SPmCSC] “He told me: dude, you are getting stoned too much, do something about it. He was very present at the time.

And the two of us said, let's go, he made me realize it, and I said: ok man, look, you are right.”

- **Children**

[6SPmCSC] “After that, I cut down consumption when I had my first child, just a joint at night to go to sleep, until the kids were a little bit older.”

Feelings

- **Dissatisfaction**

[4SPmInd] “You realize that, as you can't change the world, change yourself, after all you realize that the only thing that matters is yourself and that's what you must change.”

- **Tempus fugit**

[1SPmCSC] “An idea came to mind, the idea of: man, what are you doing? You know, for someone as young as you, you are here, wasting the afternoon, smoking a joint, and you have always ridden a bicycle and so on, and now you are here acting like an idiot.”

- **Dependency**

[9SPfCSC] “When I found myself dependent, I thought: no! Besides, it neither works for me on an economic level... let's say that this, which was intended for that, I wanted it for other things, and that's tying me, is forcing me, I don't want it, there's already plenty of obligations, so I said: stop.”

[16SPfInd] “During those years I couldn't handle it, it made me very introverted, and that made relationships difficult, it undermined me, so i quit consumption.”

- **Empathy with partner**

[9SPfCSC] “The feeling of love for the partner, of empathy with the partner.”

Resources to reduce consumption

- **Self control**

[15SPfInd] “I say so, I quit... and I quit... little by little and all that stuff, and I quit.”

- **Keeping oneself busy and/or hampering consumption**

[6SPmCSC] “In fact, when I don't want to smoke I force myself to do things, going outside, going here, going there... to

avoid smoking.”

- ***Not mixing***

[13SPmInd] “Smoking just weed was also another method to cut down.”

- ***Information***

[13SPmInd] “Information and knowing different ways of consumption and varieties...”

- ***Not possessing the substance.***

[10SPmCSC] “Not buying”

[12SPfInd] “Giving it away, besides, I decided it like: “c'mon, you have to start.” I decided it on the 30th of April and I said: “So, c'mon, the 1st of May you must start” and I said: “Ok. And what do I do with this, this and that?” And I got all of it and gave it away.”

- ***Friends support***

[1SPmCSC] “With the help of a friend, who consumes more or less as much as I do, and both of us said: “ok c'mon, the two of us want to focus and we will help each other a little, that's it, we will help each other cut down consumption.”

- ***Deliberate decision***

[4SPmInd] “It was an overnight decision.”

- ***Consumption of other substances***

[2SPmCSC] “Lots of tobacco. If I wanted to smoke a joint... tobacco. I wanted... tobacco or bar, beer. Beer, beer, beer, it was a time when I drank heaps of alcohol.”

[14SPmInd] “20 days of those when I was smoking nothing, I smoked so much tobacco...”

Cannabis use

- ***Emotional control***

[13SPfInd] “Actually, I have always started smoking again because I thought, and I think, that it works for me and that those moments were like a sort of meditation or connection.”

- ***Sociability***

[9SPfCSC] “I also like the more-sativa varieties for thinking more, better, for my stories, for a good talk.”

- ***Substitute (for medications or other drugs)***

[9SPfCSC] “When my mother... consumption was daily already, it was due to sleep problems, what I didn't want were medicines.”

Controlled/uncontrolled use perception

Controlled use perception

- ***Tolerance***

[14SPmInd] “Now I know that I am in control, because now joints stone me and I only smoke when I want to.”

- ***Information***

[12SPfInd] “Because of my work and my working position since I am in an on-going contact with all this stuff, with the subject matter, and the perception is great because it is not as bad as they instilled in us when we were little.”

- ***Well-being***

[15SPfInd] “Then I started smoking a little bit more and that's when... I felt very comfortable smoking in that way, every day a couple of joints, it was fucking great...”

- ***Occasional use***

[11SPfCSC] “From the age of 13 to the age of 16 I already knew that I had it under control, I had very sporadic consumption, so there was absolute control.”

- ***Facility to reduce consumption***

[10SPmInd] “Another factor which justifies my lack of anxiety is that, when I ran out of it, I wouldn't go right away to buy it, the idea was that I was out of it so I was out of it. Another day I would score some and that was it, I have never suffered from anxiety.”

- ***No consumption***

[5SPfInd] “Therefore consumption should be 0. Tobacco, marijuana and all drugs. It is not good, at all.”

[13SPmInd] “Of course, when you have those descending peaks the sense of control over it is complete, right? When you don't consume, this sensation.”

- **Consumption awareness**

[3SPfCSC] “There was a period when I was in control because it is when you start to know what you do. Basically, when you start to know what you smoke, how much you smoke, what it does, this time of knowledge.

[8SPmCSC] “I control the indica ones, the sativa ones, if it is hash, if it is not, if I am mixing it with tobacco, if I smoke more, less... Now I got consumption controlled, I think.”

- **Accessibility ≠ (+) consumption**

[6SPmCSC] “I have had easy access to it and I could have been smoking for a long time, all day long if I had wanted to, and I hadn't done so.”

- **Awareness of limits**

[6SPmCSC] “It has a lot to do with the education you receive at home, not with formal education but the one within the household, about respect, about not breaking harmony because of a nonsense, because it is about having fun, after all. I think that this has set boundaries for me, to know how far I could go.”

[7SPfCSC] “The time I'm talking to you about, I was pregnant, I quit smoking because that was what I had to do.”

- **No conditioning**

[12SPfInd] “As I wasn't often in touch with it, it didn't affect my study either, so I was passing my grades.”

Uncontrolled use perceptions

- **Prioritizing substance possession**

[14SPmInd] “When I was 17-18 years old I was very addicted and having a drug to smoke was the most important thing for me.”

- **Bad feelings**

[8SPmCSC] “As I told you, after 3 years, tachycardia, a more agitated day, or anxiety, or things like that, because maybe I had raised consumption or I was smoking a stronger weed... that is when I started getting worried.”

[14SPmInd] “It is altering your train of thought, the way you treat people and your way of being, so fuck it and take control over the substance, and in fact it was just right for me.”

- **Smoked consumption**

“You can take THC and it must benefit you. But smoking is always bad, so consumption should always be 0.”

- ***Sense of apathy***

[4SPmInd] “As I cannot change the world and I can do nothing, I abandon myself and smoke. Because it makes me forget, it prevents me from thinking and makes you lazy.”

- ***Consumption habit***

[5SPfInd] “Maybe smoking very sparingly causes no harm, but the habit of smoking tobacco as well as marijuana, like the habit of drinking too much, is bad.”

- ***High consumption***

[1SPmCSC] “This is getting me lost. So we're gonna quit one more time or at least cut down because consumption was pretty high.”

[4SPmCSC] “So, control is like: the more I smoke, the greater my sense of control is. But you have less control because you can't stop.”

- ***Irresponsible consumption***

[1SPmCSC] “Smoking while I was studying was no problem at all, the problem was that, well, I allowed myself to go to class when I had consumed. So I slowed down, first of all because I thought it was kind of disrespectful.”

- ***Need for consumption***

[9SPfCSC] “This is tying me, it's forcing me, I don't want to, there's plenty of obligations, so I said: stop.”

- ***Smoking constantly***

[6SPmCSC] “If you relax, you roll one, “damn I'm so comfortable, I'm going to roll another one”, and you go on smoking... The way I control it is this: when I see that... Hey, stop!”

[14SPmInd] “I hit rock bottom when I said I can't stop smoking joints, I don't hang out with friends because I'm smoking all day long.”

Control strategies

- ***Knowledge***

[13SPmInd] “Plant knowledge, absolutely, and then self-knowledge, too, of course.”

- ***Setting uses***

[12SPfInd] “What I used to do was, at night or during the afternoon, from 8:00, I had my little things and then... to sleep,

when it makes me feel better.”

Avoiding mixing with other substances

[7SPfCSC] “I used to lose it, the next day I didn't remember anything I had done... Smoking and drinking... In fact I quit drinking because of this.”

[11SPfCSC] “What I did was to try all substances I hadn't tried before. And lots of them weren't compatible with joints.”

- ***Practicing abstinence periods***

[7SPfCSC] “From time to time, I set myself challenges: until that day I will be... and I mark my calendar, I will be a week without smoking, not a week because it is too much, just a day. I do it because of tolerance.”

[13SPmInd] “Then, I must say that, during this time there have been stops, occasional stops, maybe 3 months, 4 months, just one month another time, like a little Ramadan that I set for myself, mostly to make changes.”

- ***Quitting tobacco***

[2SPmCSC] “From smoking 10 grams per day and easily smoking 15 grams per day during weekends, together with tobacco (I smoked very little tobacco but I smoked it), to quitting tobacco and, the next day, the next week, next weeks, I was practically smoking 2 grams per day.”

- ***Having self-control***

[9SPfCSC] “At the end it was about myself, my self-control. I want to control what I take. The reason was mine, I don't want to depend on anything.”

- ***Consumption and quality control***

[6SPmCSC] “Now I'm already controlling it with the bag. If at first a bag would last 7 days and now it lasts 5, something is happening.”

- ***Cannabis variety and quality***

[9SPfCSC] “To sleep I always take indica ones, but if I was in meetings over the weekend or if I smoke in the morning or whatever, then, more sativa ones.”

- ***Improving consumption method***

[11SPfCSC] “The big difference between here and there has been the process of rolling joints, how I roll them. I have been through all the stages, from tobacco filter... Quitting industrial tobacco was very important for me.”

Informal rules

Individual rules

- ***Having eaten***

[8SPmCSC] “If I smoke just half a joint is because I have only had a coffee, for example. If I smoke a whole joint is because I have had breakfast or I am having breakfast, and that really worries me.”

- ***Changes in no-control moments***

[8SPmCSC] “As I told you, after 3 years, tachycardia, a more agitated day, or anxiety, or things like that because maybe I had raised consumption or I was smoking a stronger weed... that is when I started getting worried. Maybe I cut down consumption a little bit, I change weed or other things...”

- ***Limiting consumption***

[7SPfCSC] “Sometimes I set rules for myself, for example, I say: now I will go 3 days without smoking.”

- ***Setting when and what***

[6SPmCSC] “I save cannabis for fun moments, of course, if I am having fun I am not focused on what I am doing” (...) now that everything is done, now I relax and smoke the goodnight joint or the before-dinner one.”

[8SPfCSC] “When I go to sleep I smoke my indica joints, or if somebody has brought me some hash then a hash one, and I fall asleep in bed or on the sofa with half of those joints.”

- ***Consuming quality product***

[8SPmCSC] “It doesn't affect me in my job, neither in this one nor in physical jobs, nor in catering, nor in any job I have done. (*It was not a problem*) for taking care of, for controlling, for controlling myself... As I told you, improving product quality, things like that.”

Group rules

- ***Control at home***

[5SPfInd] “So I didn't smoke at home, or I smoked far less. In this respect, I was under my parent's stricter control.”

[10SPmInd] “My parents knew that I smoked but we had the explicit ban on smoking at home, so I didn't arrive home stoned, either.”

Social Cannabis Club (CSC)

- **Consumption limit**

[6SPmCSC] “It helps you a lot and, above all, the fact that they limit your consumption when you join in (...) if you go too far, they alert you.”

Users expectations about self-regulation and what they would need in times when control is reduced.

- **Information**

[2SPmCSC] “If one day there is a professional who can set some scientific guidelines, about how, when and how much.”

[13SPmInd] “I must say that maybe with better information and a higher quality product, consumption would be lower.

- **Cannabis quality**

[9SPfCSC] “In order to quit, consuming high quality marijuana helped me a lot.”

- **Change of consumption method**

[9SPfCSC] “Lately, I am getting interested in vaping, to quit tobacco altogether.”

Benefits provided by Cannabis Social Clubs

Substance information

- **Quality**

[7SPfCSC] “In the past we didn't know what we were taking or what they were selling. Now there is at least one quality control, right? (fungi, bugs, heavy metals...) As exact as you want it, fertilizers, chemicals... We know what we smoke in here.”

- **Amounts**

[6SPmCSC] “Here (in CSC) you know how many grams from a particular variety they have, you know the amount of grams, how long it lasts, because you know the amount of each joint, more or less .”

Collecting

- ***Stability***

[6SPmCSC] “The fact of being able to come, withdraw 20 and, if I need to, I will come back when I run out of it. You don't have the anxiety that came when you bought from a dealer some good stuff, that you had to buy a big amount because, when it's over, it doesn't come back.”

[7SPfCSC] “When I came back to Barcelona there was a long period where I didn't find marijuana, until I got to know MACA (**cannabis social club**). From then on, it has been great.”

Legal

- ***Tranquillity***

[7SPfCSC] “I got so tired of that, that it is the peace of saying: I will never go again with that stuff.”

Observations

We can conclude with a series of hypotheses about each of the most relevant topics.

Regarding the cannabis use models, interviewees seem to link “moderated consumption” with social consumption of cannabis (not alone) and having difficulties in obtaining cannabis, such as lack of sources/dealers to obtain cannabis. The economic resource factor has different meanings depending on the interviewee. For some, an economic crisis or job loss means an increase in their consumption; for others the opposite. Finally, a reduction in consumption levels is linked to pregnancy cycles or to some “high work stress periods” as well.

Referring to intensive consumption, participants have responded that the social environment, the cessation of other substances, having a socioeconomic crisis, suffering depression / stress / anxiety / dissatisfaction and enjoying too much free time are some of the reasons why they increased their consumption. These last three are strongly correlated.

Emotional control is an important reason for the interviewees when using cannabis. Some have used it as a substitute for more harmful illicit drugs or medications, the latter especially with those who use it to help fall asleep.

In periods of abstinence, the most important factor for why participants have reduced their level of consumption to zero is due to health issues. Speaking of the turning points in general, the factors of greatest influence have been the changing social environment, obtaining greater responsibilities, having high responsibility jobs and experiencing feelings of discomfort.

The most used resource to reduce consumption is to do it deliberately. This was related by many respondents who answered that their biggest strategy to regulate consumption is their own self-control.

The following was present in the entire sample, but seems to be more prevalent in CSC members: Interviewees said that within their strategy to reduce consumption was the control of the quantity and importance of the type and quality of cannabis. In this way, they established when and what type of cannabis they consumed. Many of them only used it once they had finished all of their daily responsibilities. In addition, many of them wish the vaporized method could be improved and be more economical because they believe that it will help them a lot to regulate and have a healthier consumption as it is not mixed with tobacco and the smoke is less harmful. CSC members are more close to the cannabis culture, so harm reduction methods or basic information about the plant seems to be more available.

The indicators that the interviewees use to identify when they have control over consumption are: having a good level of personal well being, being able to reduce consumption and always being aware of what is consumed. On the other hand, the interviewees believe that they have lost control when they carry out their consumption at times when they have responsibilities and when they suffer bad sensations such as paranoia, bad thoughts, etc.

Finally, CSC partner participants value these establishments very positively, especially for their stability in obtaining cannabis and the feeling of being less stressed because of the law and more confident and worthy than when their supply was the non-regulated market.

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