

DRUG CONTROL POLICIES: THE CASES OF COLOMBIA AND THE UNITED STATES

by

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ABSTRACT

MARTHA BOTTIA NOGUERA. Drug Control Policies: The Cases of Colombia and the United States (Under direction of PAUL C. FRIDAY)

The consumption, production and trafficking of illicit drugs is one of the major problems facing nearly all societies today. Unfortunately, illicit drugs have the ability to disintegrate persons, families and, in some extreme cases, entire societies. The globalization of the industry of drugs has transformed the illicit drug business from a geographically focused issue to one of the most important global matters. Although drug control policies are abundant throughout the globe, the rates of drug production and consumption do not seem to be affected.

This dissertation analyzes the main international drug control policies of two major illicit drug producer/consumer countries representing opposite market perspectives: Colombia embodies the supply side of the drug market, and the United States characterizes the demand side for the particular case of cocaine. Based on relevant behavioral economic theory, social support and strain criminal justice theories, among others, and keeping in mind the guidelines provided by the United Nations, the document describes and critiques current policies. The methodology consists of process evaluations of particularly important strategies against drug production in Colombia (The Alternative Development Strategy (AD)) and drug consumption in the US (The Stopping Initiation Campaign-Prevention (SI)), utilizing data and results from previous existent evaluations. Through policy evaluation and analysis, which utilizes mainly document analysis plus some descriptive quantitative analysis, this document studies if there are major implementation failures in the delivery of the services of the selected drug control strategies?

The general findings show that although drug control policies in Colombia and the United States are consistent with the United Nation's guidelines, they are not always theoretically grounded. Particular findings, based on the limited information accessible to the author, suggest

that although the Alternative Development strategy and the Stopping Initiation Campaign policies appear to be focused on the appropriate target population and seem to be providing appropriate services, there are some recognizable implementation failures that limit the effectiveness of these drug control strategies. In addition, the scarcity of publicly available good quality theoretical and empirical reports and evaluation, regarding the conceptualization and processes through which the AD and SI programs are implemented, complicate any assessment of how these drug control policies work.

Policy implications call for greater clarity and more cohesiveness in the structure of the programs within the countries. Additionally, better accountability of these programs is required. There is also an urgent need to emphasize the crucial importance of the implementation of theoretically sound policies in order to achieve the intended goals. Lastly, Colombia and the United States need to design complementary strategies that recognize that market forces – demand and supply - work together and therefore need to be addressed simultaneously. With so much money invested, so much at stake, and given the worldwide epidemic of illicit drug use, it is an imperative necessity to design and implement efficient and comprehensive drug control programs.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

There is no doubt that the use of illicit drugs is a global problem. Not only have they affected nearly every country in the world but also people of all ages (NIDA, 2007). The focus of many countries has been, for years, on the fight to control production, consumption or trafficking of drugs. Illicit drugs not only affect individuals who are directly involved in these processes, they also indirectly affect the economies, institutions, social fabric and even the environmental conditions of countries.

Despite the multiple efforts to fight against the production and consumption of drugs around the world the illicit drug business continues to be one of the main issues that affect international society. The purpose of this dissertation is to analyze the main international drug control policies against the consumption, production and trafficking of illicit drugs of Colombia and the United States. There are two foci: policies of a country that produce drugs and policies of a country that is a primary consumer of drugs. These cases present two countries that represent opposite market perspectives. Colombia embodies the supply side of the drug market as major producers of cocaine and the United States characterize the demand side as major consumer.

This dissertation starts with an introductory section that discusses the magnitude of the drug problem worldwide, with the purpose of offering a framework to discuss the importance of efficient drug control policies around the world. The second chapter offers a description of relevant criminal justice and economic theories applicable to drug control strategies. In addition, it discusses previously published research on the topic. Given that the United Nations is the entity in charge of drug control internationally, the third chapter starts with a detailed explanation of the United Nation's guidelines for the War on Drugs. Next this document proceeds to describe

in a general manner drug control policies and programs that are utilized in Colombia and the US, countries with a particularly important role in the illicit drug industry. The fourth chapter includes detailed process evaluations of two of the major strategies in the drug control policies in Colombia and the United States, the Alternative Development and the Stopping Initiation Campaign, with the purpose of identifying important implementation failures. The fifth chapter provides the findings of the process evaluations, and a more general conclusion of the drug control policy situation in Colombia and the US. Finally, the sixth chapter proposes policy recommendations and proposals for future.

The questions to be answered

- 1) What are the main drug control policies utilized in Colombia and the United States?
- 2) Are the policies following the UN guidelines?
- 3) Based on economic and criminal justice theories, are these policies targeting the problem in a theoretically sound way?
- 4) In practice, are the drug control strategies utilized in Colombia and the United States showing signs of implementation failures? If so, which are these?
- 5) What are some possible recommendations to efficiently address the production and consumption of illicit drugs in these countries?

1.1) The Drug Problem Worldwide and why it is important?

The world today is facing a number of major problems including a global economic crisis, poverty, inequality, war, genocide, overpopulation, massive consumption of energy, global warming/environmental issues, and AIDS, among many others. In September 2000, at the dawn of a new millennium, all of the countries in the world and all of the world's leading development institutions recognized ending poverty and hunger, universal education, gender equality, child

health, maternal health, combating HIV/AIDS, environmental sustainability and global partnership as the Millennium Development Goals, goals which are indispensable foundations of a more peaceful, successful and just world (United Nations, 2008)

Interestingly, all of these important objectives share common ground with the globalized business of illicit drug consumption, production and trafficking. The world's drug problem not only affects the physical and mental health of individuals who consume drugs, but also deteriorates families and societies, therefore generating poverty and hunger; it also limits the access to education, causing an endless number of consequences on family health (NIDA, 2007). In addition, the use of illicit drugs serves as one mechanism to spread HIV/AIDS; the revenues generated by this illegal business deteriorate the morals and values of individuals in society by extortion and exploitation by giving extreme importance to money. Drug trafficking is one of the biggest global businesses, at some \$322 billion (UN World Drug Report 2007). The significant value of drug trafficking is a consequence of the fact that the drug supply is consumed each year and is, therefore, in need of continued replenishment. In addition, the profits from the illicit drugs business reach a wide range of actors, from poor rural farmers to rich urban dealers (UN World Drug Report, 2007, pp.170), and eradication programs to attack illicit crop production can have horrendous effects on the environment. Based on this information, it is reasonable to state that the illicit drug epidemic lies at the base of the major problems that the international community faces today.

The importance of studying the illicit drug business derives from the high social and political prices it imposes to mainly producer and trafficking countries. The United Nations mentions in its 1998 "Economic and Social Consequences of Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking" reports costs such as: the disintegration of the family which appears to be related, in some way, to problems of substance abuse; health problems that primarily affect the drug abuser, and indirectly affect society in general (by giving rise to higher health-care costs, the links between drug

addiction, needle-sharing, prostitution, AIDS and other diseases); reduction of cognitive efficiency which leads to poor academic performance and a resulting reduction of self-esteem¹. Environmental damage is caused in producing countries by the clearing of forests, growing crops as monocultures, processing of harvested plants into drugs and the use of environmentally dangerous chemicals without the necessary precautions being taken.

In addition to the environmental damages caused by the improper disposal of toxic wastes created during the processing of plant material into a form of consumable drug, and the environmental impact of herbicides used to eradicate illicit drug cultivation, drugs also increase the likelihood of many kinds of criminal activity (Mumola and Karberg, 2006). As a consequence, violent conflicts among trafficking groups competing for increased market share and of the need of drug consumers to finance their addiction through theft and prostitution appear. The connection between illicit drug-trafficking organizations and terrorism/insurgent groups in terms of financing operations, gaining political support or undermining an existing government is another important effect of the illicit drug business on the society. Lastly, there is empirical evidence of the negative effects that illegal drug use has on the labor market, and therefore on the economy (Zarkin, Mroz, Bray and French, 1998; Ringel, Ellickson & Collins, 2006).

To understand the importance of studying drug control policies it is also necessary to have a grasp of how grave is the illicit drug situation worldwide. From Chile to Denmark, and from Canada to New Zealand, every country in the world suffers in one way or another, the terrible consequences of drug consumption, production and/or drug trafficking. The number of people consuming drugs in the world is astonishing; however illicit drug consumption is very age-specific. Most individuals who start using drugs do so between ages 15 and 25; and according to Van Ours and Pudney (2006) the likelihood that someone who has not started to use

¹ This contributes to instability in an individual's sense of identity which, in turn, is likely to contribute to further drug consumption, thus creating a vicious circle.

by age 25 will do so at a later age is very small. Approximately 208 million people aged 15 to 64 reported using drugs in the past year in 2006; of these, 26 million (12.5% of these) are classified as problem users according to the latest UN World Report (UN World Drug Report, 2008). According to self report data, nearly 3.9% of the world's adult population (165.6 million) consumes cannabis, 0.2% (9 million) consumes ecstasy, 0.4% (16 million), consumes cocaine, and 0.3% (12.0 million) consumes heroin (See Table1). The number of people affected by drugs multiplies when taking into account all of the direct and indirect consequences this business involves.

TABLE 1: Extent of Drug Use estimates 2006/7

	Cannabis	Cocaine	Heroin
Number of abusers (in millions)	165.6	16	12
in % of global population age 15-64	3.90%	0.4%	0.3%

* Annual prevalence is a measure of the number/percentage of people who have consumed an illicit drug at least once in the 12 month-period preceding this assessment.

Source: World Drug Report 2008

Based on consumption numbers cocaine appears to be most popular in the Americas, cannabis in Africa, heroin in Asia, and ecstasy in Western Europe (UN World Drug Report, 2007, Statistical Annex-Consumption, pp.241-253). Drugs are consumed in every country of every continent of the globe. Cocaine consumption has shown some decrease in the US, but steady increases in South America, Western Europe and West Africa (UN World Drug Report 2008). Although the demand of opium has been relatively stable at the global level, the countries near Afghanistan continue to experience increasing levels of use. Cannabis use showed increases in South America, West and Central Africa, and decreases in Oceania. Regardless of the incredible

consumption rates of illicit drugs, drug treatments remain under resourced or nonexistent in most of the world (UN World Drug Report 2008, pp. 31).

The statistics regarding drug production are shocking as well. The supply side shows a surge in the supply of illicit drugs in 2007²; in addition, the development of new trafficking routes (mostly through Africa) has helped to strengthen the demand in places where it already exists and has created some new markets for illicit drugs. Regardless of the many programs trying to reduce illicit drugs production (mainly coca cultivation), in 2007 cultivation increases for both coca and opiates were reported (UN World Drug Report 2008) There were coca cultivation increases in Bolivia, Peru and Colombia; and opium cultivation increases in Afghanistan and Myanmar that caused an increase to 235,700 hectares cultivated in 2007 (very close to the 1998 record of 238,000 hectares). On the other hand, global cannabis resin production estimates fell around 10% to 6,000 metric tons in 2006 (UN World Drug Report 2008); and ecstasy production also reported decline from 113mt in 2005 to 103mt in 2006.

These statistics evidence that although, according to the UN the consumption and production of drugs has been stabilized, the market for illicit drugs is expanding around the world and therefore more kinds of drugs are becoming more available in more places than ever before. In fact, the past 10 years have evidenced the development of a substantial market for synthetic drugs in many of the former communist countries³, many other European countries, Australia, Southeast Asian and the United States. Indeed, the United Nations Development Corporation (UNDC) reports that the worldwide number of users of amphetamine-type stimulants (ATS) is higher than the combined number of heroin and cocaine users. The expansion of the business of synthetic and non-synthetic illicit drugs has been accompanied by a diverse number of direct and indirect effects on society.

² This happened as a consequence of Afghanistan's doubling of opium harvest and the increase of coca cultivation in the Andean region (UN Drug Report 2008).

³ Countries such as Czech and Slovak Republics, Hungary, and Poland all of which report the growing use of illicitly produced amphetamines and illicitly diverted pharmaceutical drugs (Stares, 1996).

Elliot, Csete, Wood and Kerr (2005) point to the huge problem that exists due to the link between consumption of illegal drugs and HIV/AIDS, and the violation of human rights caused by policies against illicit drugs. The authors make reference to an estimate of 10% of HIV infections around the globe caused by intravenous drug use. In 2005, there were over 13 million people injecting illicit drugs in the world⁴ and with an increasing risk of spreading the HIV virus. In addition, law enforcement initiatives against drugs displace drug users into less safe environments and increases violence among users and dealers. It also can undermine users' access to health services and their chances of seeking medical assistance during or following an overdose, which becomes in the human right challenge of promoting health and health care services to a now stigmatized and underground population (Deany, 2000).

A portion of society places emphasis on the "benefits" the industry of illicit drugs bring to producing countries through increases in employment and in the increased resources to meet basic need (UNRISD, 1994). Nevertheless, although the illicit drug industry in fact has provided employment and subsistence to many in the principal source countries, its overall effect on their economic development is widely considered to have been detrimental because these countries are ill prepared and institutionally too weak to resist the drug traffickers' dangerous violations (Stares, 1996).

But, why is it that individuals are motivated to use and/or produce drugs if the consequences of the drug business are clearly detrimental to individuals, societies, and the world as a whole? Stares (1996) affirms that the main causes of increases in consumption of illicit drugs are a greater number of individuals in adult age, the explosive growth in the world's population and globalization⁵. In addition, the availability and accessibility, low prices, weak or absent formal and informal social controls facilitate drug consumption. Kleiman (1992)

⁴ Injection of drugs is a high-risk behavior because of sharing injection equipment.

⁵ Due to the globalization the drug trade, has increasingly become a transnational phenomenon, driven and fashioned in critical ways by transnational forces and transnational actors.

questioned if the consumption of drugs⁶ was really a rational choice. If so, why do so few adults chose to consume them? He describes most drug use as harmless and even beneficial⁷. The real problematic part of drug consumption is drug abuse, because although drug abusers are a small minority among consumers of any given drug, these individuals lose control of their behaviors when they are under the influence. This group of people includes “addicts” who constitute the majority of the drug problem given that they use drugs more frequently (and therefore search for money to buy drugs often), consume greater quantities of drugs, and they foster the violence and disorder of the illicit markets of drugs.

Regarding why people produce drugs, Stares (1996) comments on the strong economic incentives to cultivate and manufacture drugs in key producing areas of the world due to the alternate source of revenue they generate in regions where very few additional economic options exist. In fact, the enormous amounts of profits that the illicit drug habit generates, motivates individuals to sustain and extend this business (especially drug-trafficker organizations). Additionally, there are a number of opportunities to produce illicit crops that help explain why people engage in illicit drug production: the ease of growth, processing, and manufacturing together with the weak or absent state controls and the presence of suitable resources - such as abundant land, abundant labor, materials and chemicals- facilitate the production of coca, poppy, marijuana and other illicit drugs.

The mixture of the great number of profits that illegal drugs generate, the simplicity of the illicit drug production, together with high levels of poverty, stress, anxiety, the lack of formal and informal controls in the nowadays global society, and the lack of consistent and coherent policies to address both targets, consumption and production, at the same time, could explain why the illicit drug business is so common these days.⁸

⁶ He refers to tobacco as a legal drug that raises these concerns.

⁷ Kleiman argues that harmless pleasure and relaxation count as benefits.

⁸ It also explains why efforts such as interdiction and eradication are as vague as drug control policies.

1.2) Drug Control Policies then and now

Currently implemented drug control policies in the world have its basic foundations on more informal controls utilized throughout history. The history of drug control policies date from long ago⁹. During the 17th century the use of tobacco and alcohol was prohibited in countries such as Russia, Germany and England¹⁰. In fact, in 1661 the penalty for smoking tobacco in Lunenburg, Germany was death. The 18th century brought even more prohibition towards drugs. In 1792 the first prohibitory laws against opium in China was promulgated, punishing opium storage with strangulation. Meanwhile, during the 1800s Napoleon introduced in France the use of cannabis. Between 1839 and 1842 the first Opium War started, where the British imposed upon China the trade in opium, a trade the Chinese had declared illegal years ago. The second Opium War followed in 1856 and here the French helped the British to distribute opium in China. In the meantime laws against alcohol consumption were enforced in New York, (in 1884 laws were enacted to make anti-alcohol teaching compulsory in public schools).

At the beginnings of the 1900s the US Senate forbided the sale by American traders of opium and alcohol "to aboriginal tribes and uncivilized races." These was later extended to address also "uncivilized elements in America itself and in its territories, such as Indians, Alaskans, the inhabitants of Hawaii, railroad workers, and immigrants at ports of entry." (Sinclair, op.cit. p.33). Later in 1906 the first Pure Food and Drug Act became law and with it came the prohibition of buying in stores or by mail medicines that contained morphine, cocaine, or heroin, and without their being so labeled. 1909 was the year when the importation of smoking opium was prohibited in the United States. All of these prohibitionist measures were later supported by the Harrison Narcotic Act, in 1914, which controlled the sale of opium/opium derivatives and cocaine. As well the first international Opium Convention met at the Hague in 1912,

⁹ All of the following historical references were obtained from the Appendix of *Ceremonial Chemistry* by Thomas Szasz, published by Doubleday/Anchor, Garden City, New York, 1975.

¹⁰ In 1690 the "Act for the Encouraging of the Distillation of Brandy and Spirits from Corn" was enacted in England.

recommending different measures for the international control of the trade of opium. Subsequent Opium Conventions were held in 1913 and 1914. Besides the prohibition of opium and cocaine, the use of alcohol was prohibited in the US between 1920 and 1933, and cigarettes were considered illegal in many of the states of the US in 1921. The prohibition of alcohol was accompanied by very high crime rates that led the US to an extremely violent period of time.

An important number of policies controlling drugs appeared in the following years. In 1924 the manufacture of heroin was prohibited in the United States. This was accompanied by the formation of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics in 1930. In addition, the The Marijuana Tax Act was enacted in 1937. Around the world prohibitionist measures against drugs continued to happen. In the early 1940's and mid 1950's measures prohibiting poppy/opium appeared in China and Iran¹¹. More drug control policies appeared in the later years. In 1961 the United Nations' "Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs of 10 March 1961" was ratified. During 1966 the US Congress enacts the "Narcotics Addict Rehabilitation Act, inaugurating a federal civil commitment program for addicts. Drug abuse became in the early 1970s America's Public Enemy number 1 as stated by President Nixon. Among the oldest institutions in the U.S. to address the use of illicit drugs appears the old Opium Advisory Committee, which was replaced by the Commission on Narcotic Drugs created in 1946 and which extended the coverage to other addiction forming drugs (Stares, 1996).

Colombia's drug control policies became more intense during the 1980's with the existence of the drug cartels. During this time great interdiction operations happened (Lozano, 1985), and a great number of operations to capture drug lords took good part of the time and energy of the drug control policy. An important component of the policy against drugs was the extradition of drug lords to the U.S (Nuevo Herald 1990) which had as a consequence intense violence in the Colombian territory. At the end of the 1990's the Plan Colombia was launched and

¹¹ The prohibition creates a flourishing illicit market in opium.

with it started the joint efforts between Colombia and the U.S. to reduce the supply of drugs. This strategy is mainly based on dealing with drug traffickin and with strengthening the military opearitions (Johnson, 2001).

The current system of global drug control is regulated by three international conventions: the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic substances, and the 1988 Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances (“Vienna Convention”). All of these conventions represent the consolidation of nine international drug control treaties negotiated between 1912 and 1953 (Sinha, 2001) which are focused mainly on programs against drug production¹², and to a lesser extent in strategies to attack drug consumption. Bewley-Taylor (2003) consider that the conventions are major limitations to the introduction of progressive and pragmatic drug control policies in individual countries that on the contrary promote unrealistic goals such as the “complete eradication” of all illegal use in the world.

Three international bodies administer the treaties: (1) The UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND) consists of 53 UN member states and is the central policy making body within the UN system in relation to drug control, with the authority to bring forward amendments to existing treaties or propose new treaties. (2) The UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) “assists UN member states in their struggle against illicit drugs, crime and terrorism.” And (3) The International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) is the “independent and quasi-judicial control organ for the implementation of the United Nations drug conventions,” with the “responsibility to promote government compliance with the provisions of the drug control treaties.”

The previously mentioned treaties require participant states to take various measures to criminalize drug-related activities such as cultivation, production, manufacture, export, import,

¹² The UN convention has also focused disproportionately on reducing the supplies of illegal drugs, primarily through efforts in developing countries.

distribution, trading, and possession of controlled substances except for “medical and scientific purposes.” The 1998 Convention specifically requires the criminalization of possession for personal consumption, labeling drug users as criminals. Current international law on drug control is not entirely hostile toward reduction of harms suffered by people addicted to drugs¹³. However, as Elliot Csete, Wood and Kerr (2005, pg.14) state “it is hardly satisfactory that any of these measures rely upon exceptions, caveats, or particular interpretations of treaties whose overriding purpose is prohibition.”

Due to the considerable costs illicit drugs inflict on society, government, at all levels, have made drug control an important policy (Saffer and Chaloupka, 1999). Drug control policies have been subject to considerable criticism, mostly because the grand majority of these are focused exclusively on addressing supply in poor developing countries, instead of drug addiction and abuse in the main consuming countries, particularly the United States. Elliot et al. (2005) described the dominant national and international approach to control drug use as the attempt to reduce or prevent the supply and use of controlled substances through legal prohibitions on their cultivation, production, transport, distribution, and possession. However the available evidence suggests that drug law enforcement has not produced the expected results. Toynbee (2002), states that: “poor countries cannot and should not be expected to bear the brunt of rich countries’ internal social failures. Colombia and a growing number of other countries are being politically destabilized and destroyed as crime takes over due to the Western market that simultaneously demands drugs and outlaws them.” The drug control policy situation could be described by quoting one historian who wrote: “Paradoxical though it may seem, much of the history of

¹³ According to Elliot, Csete, Wood and Kerr (2005) in some cases prohibition actually fuels risky injection and drug storage practices, increasing the risk of overdose, viral and bacterial disease transmission, and other harms. Policies of prohibition have prompted some drug users to switch to drug injection from other practices.

national and international narcotics control can be written without reference to addicts or addiction.¹⁴

Stares (1996) identifies a variety of possible negative and positive drug control measures. Among the negative control measures there are: forcible eradication, chemical controls, destruction of processing centers concerning controlling the production of illicit drugs; laws and legal sanctions, policing, and mandatory drug testing to control illicit drug consumption; and there is interdiction and the disablement of trafficking networks to negatively address illicit drug trafficking.

The positive control measures consist of: crop substitution and alternative development to address illicit drug production; drug prevention education, mass media campaign, drug treatment programs, drug-free zones and harm reduction techniques to control drug consumption; and mechanisms such as legal amnesty and clemency, alternative employment, trade and industry cooperation to combat trafficking.

Reuter (2008) describes in detail the most popular supply drug control strategies that have been frequently used in the “war against drugs”. These policies are targeted at producing and trafficking nations and are concentrated in three types of programs to reduce source drug production: eradication, alternative development and in-country enforcement. The goal of eradication is to limit the quantity of the drug available, to therefore raise the cost of producing these drugs, and consequently discourage farmers from growing them. It involves aerial spraying eradication (which can cause environmental damage) and voluntary types of eradication (that mix coercion and financial incentives). Evidence does not support the effectiveness of eradication strategies (Cardoso, Gaviria & Zedillo, 2003).

¹⁴ Cited by Jack Donnelly, “The United Nations and the Global Drug Control Regime” in Smith, ed., *Drug Policy in the Americas*, p.285.

The “alternative development” program is a softer version of production controls which, by increasing earning of legitimate crops, seeks to encourage farmers growing illicit crops to switch to legitimate crops (Reuter, 2001). The program consists in introducing new crops, facilitating the transportation of these crops to the market, and providing several marketing and subsidies that will attract farmers. Although this strategy is politically attractive, a recent report by the Independent Evaluation Unit of the UNODC(2005) showed that there is scarce empirical evidence that rural development components of the” alternative development” strategy on their own reduce the amount of drug crops cultivated. It seems that the incentives put forth by the market conditions of the illicit drug trade are too strong to be efficiently counterbalanced by the agriculture, economic and social interventions that compose the “alternative development” strategy. Where reduction in drug cropping occurs it seems other factors, including general economic growth, policing, etc., can be identified as contributors to the change that takes place (UNODC, 2005).

It is not possible to believe that the strategies of alternative development and eradication will reduce the global production of these drugs, although certainly it is possible that well oriented eradication and alternative development programs could reduce illicit crop production in specific countries (Falco, 1996). In fact, as illicit drug production decreases in one country, incentives are generated for other nations to assume the role of production center supply (however, geographical restrictions limit which countries can grow the drugs).

A third type of strategy against supply of illicit drugs is in-country enforcement. This enforcement consists of military and equipment training, strengthening of the judiciary system and improving extradition processes that will continue increasing the costs to drug producers and traffickers. In addition, interdiction operations against the smuggling of illicit drugs to wealthy nations are also applied to increase the costs of drug productions.

Scholars have identified as an important problem; the fact that current drug control policies are focused on controlling illicit drug production and not consumption, thereby ignoring the basic laws of supply and demand that state that as long as demand exists for anything (in this case illegal drugs), a supply will always exist to meet it. A number of scholars believe that the best way to reduce the illicit drug business is to reduce the demand for illegal drugs through drug abuse treatment programs, and indirectly reduce the supply that exists to meet it. In fact, the National Drug Control Policy Report of 1995, written by the Office of National Drug Control Policy affirmed that: “Studies and statistics indicate that the fastest and more cost effective way to reduce the demand for illicit drugs is to treat chronic hard drug users.” Authors such as Elliot et al. (2005) focused on the human rights of people who use illicit drugs, state that there is a need to shift global drug control policy away from prohibition to a more rational, health promoting framework that is pragmatic and ethical. And the way to do such thing is to propose a more health-friendly interpretation and implementation of the existing drug control treaties, and by designing complementary strategies for reforming them.

Morgan’s (1991) article deals with those few strategies that are focused on the illicit drug consumption. He recognizes that a strategy that attacks consumption by concentrating criminal justice interventions towards disenfranchised, less fortunate populations is not enough because there is no one simple solution to the drug use problems. The drug consumption problem relates to a diverse population, and to a wide range of drugs that hold varied consequences, and therefore the recommended strategy is to promote a harm reduction strategy as a priority of illicit drug use policies.

1.3) Why these specific countries?

Statistics documenting the annual prevalence of abuse as percentage of the population aged 15-64 (United Nations, 2007) reported that Ghana is one of the major consumers of cannabis with 21.5% of their population reporting to have consumed cannabis in the past 12 months¹⁵, and that the United States is the major consumer of cocaine in the world with 2.8% of the population reporting to have consumed cocaine in the past 12 months¹⁶. In addition, this document also reported that Iran (Islamic Republic) was the world's main consumer of opiates (including heroin) with 2.8% of the population reporting to have consumed opiates in the past 12 months, and that in the Czech Republic 3.5% of the population between 18-64 reported to have consumed ecstasy, giving it one of the highest consumption rates of ecstasy in the world¹⁷.

On the production side, Morocco produced most of the cannabis resin (hashish) in the world with 76,400 hectares cultivated in 2005, which had the capacity to produce 1510 metric tones of cannabis resin. Colombia produced most of the cocaine in the world with 78,000 hectares of coca leaf cultivated in 2006, which implies a potential manufacture of cocaine of 610 metric tons. Afghanistan produced around 92% of the world's heroin (from poppies that grow in Afghanistan) due to the approximately 165,000 hectares cultivated with poppy in 2006. Lastly, the production of ecstasy was reported to be concentrated in Europe, with more than a third of the reporting countries (35% of the Member States of the United Nations) mentioning the Netherlands as the main source country¹⁸.

Given the importance of Colombia as major producer of cocaine and the United States as a major consumer of this drug, this dissertation focuses in these two countries. Both countries were selected based on the critical case sampling criteria (Patton, 1987) which states that to study

¹⁵ The consumption rates for Papua New Guinea (29.5) and Micronesia Fed. State (29.1) were higher than the rate in Ghana but were more dated.

¹⁶ In 2005 the country with the highest consumption rate of cocaine was Spain with a 3% of their 15-64 years population reporting consumption of cocaine. Nevertheless, the United States have historically been the major consumer of cocaine in the world.

¹⁷ Australia reported in 2004 a consumption rate of ecstasy in their 15-64 years population of 4%.

¹⁸ Between 2000-2005 the largest number of ecstasy labs were dismantled in the Netherlands (111).

a problem it is useful to select particularly important cases that could allow for generalization. Thus, the inclusion criteria for U.S. and Colombia are inclusive of both countries being of central importance to the purpose of evaluating drug control policies due to (1) Colombia holds the highest cocaine production rate in the world¹⁹, (2) the U. S. has one of the highest cocaine consumption rates in the world²⁰. Additionally, both countries have available to the public information about their programs and this data has some level of detail, therefore becoming information-rich cases perfect for study in depth.

¹⁹ Colombia also ranks 2nd in heroin production rate worldwide (World Drug Report 2007).

²⁰ United States has one of the highest marijuana consumption rates in the world as well (World Drug Report 2007).

CHAPTER 2: THEORIES OF DRUG CONTROL STRATEGIES

2.1) Relevant Economic Theories and Prior Research on the Topic

Economic theory has a lot to offer to a thorough study of drug control policies. The whole idea of consumption and production sides of the illicit drug business market comes from the microeconomic theory of markets. The idea is that transactions that happen in a market are the ones that determine prices and quantities traded (Mankiw, 2008); therefore mechanisms to modify prices and quantities negotiated require policies that address supply and demand. In addition, research based on economic theory utilizes the basic conceptual apparatus of choice, market structure, decision-making under uncertainty and externalities to explain issues commonly missing in non-economic research (Van Ours and Pudney, 2006).

Classical and neo-classical economics describe the concept of market as any structure that allows sellers and buyers to exchange goods, services and information usually for money. Supply and demand are considered the basic market forces which determine the prices and quantities sold in a competitive equilibrium market. In this competitive market price will work to equalize the quantity demanded by consumers, and the quantity supplied by producers, which are the economic equilibrium price and quantity. In this type of market sellers and buyers are all quantity-fixers and price-takers, and each of these decides to trade the quantity that maximizes his/her profits and which he/she has the resource to handle. Because of this, high prices to sellers in one market sector will result in bigger efforts to supply that sector. Likewise, low prices to buyers will cause greater demand for those goods therefore shifting resources appropriately (Pindyck and Rubinfeld, 1992).

In the specific market of illicit drugs the idea is that illicit drug supply and demand determines amounts and prices of drugs dealt. Countries will be motivated to supply drugs as long as they realize there is a supply to be met, that will help them maximize their profits. As well, low prices will motivate consumer countries to increase their use therefore increasing demand for a higher supply. As a consequence an appropriate approach to control illicit drugs must address both illicit drug supply and demand. If the efforts to attack supply are greater than those to combat the demand, then basic economic theory would predict that there will still exist an opportunity to make higher profits and consequently incentives for producer countries to enter the business, regardless of the costs.

Although illicit drugs are produced, distributed and sold through markets, it is not accurate to suggest that illicit drugs markets are similar to conventional markets (Caulkins and Reuter, 2006). Characteristics such as the price- inelasticity of illegal drugs, the huge costs associated with providing a supply of illicit drugs, the fact that many of the sellers are the same consumers, among others, complicate the application of economic theory to the case of illicit drugs. The conceptualization of the illicit drug market turns to be even more complicated given that demand and supply of illicit drugs are not commonly generated within the same country. Production is prevalent in underdeveloped nations, such as Colombia, and consumption (abuse of illicit drugs) is very common in developed nations, such as the United States (UN World Drug Report, 2007).

Behavioral economics provides valuable insight to the study of the illicit drugs business. This branch of economics focuses on the allocation of behavior within a system of constraints (Bickel, Green and Vuchinich, 1995) and examines conditions that influence the consumption of goods, including drug dependence. It gives particular attention to the elasticity of demand that refers to the proportional change in consumption resulting from a proportional change in price

(Bickel, Madden and Petry, 1998) and to the differences between inelastic²¹ and elastic consumption²². The consumption of illicit drugs by drug-dependent individuals has been shown in a limited number of studies to be more inelastic (less sensitive to price) relative to other commodities (Petry and Bickel, 1998; Bickel and Madden, 1999; Jacobs and Bickel, 1999).

Roy (2005) tried to explain the consumption of illicit drugs by analyzing them as inferior goods. An inferior good is one which consumption decreases as income increases, therefore more common among people with lower income. The author finds a significant and negative effect for both marijuana and cocaine, which indicates a case of income inferiority for illegal drug consumption; and suggests that income distribution policies might be effective in controlling drug consumption. Nevertheless, the study finds that marijuana and cocaine consumption are normal goods for students. These results can be utilized as indirect evidence towards rational addiction. Given that students are mostly in their teens and/or early years of their lives, they should tend to have higher rates of time preference than the rest of the sample. This idea is consistent with Becker and Murphy's (1988) rational addiction model that states that individuals take into account the inter-temporal nature of addiction.

Ibanez 2007 and 2008 are one of the very few articles that try to explain why people produce drugs. The author studies the particular case of 293 household of farmers that cultivate coca in Colombia and concludes that coca cultivation decisions are explained by the impossibility of making a living from legal forms of agriculture as well as moral considerations (Ibanez, 2007) and later adds that "social norms and acceptance to the law influence the decision to cultivate coca suggesting that alternative policies can be used to control coca cultivation (Ibanez, 2008 pp. abstract)".

²¹Inelastic consumption refers to decreases in consumption that are proportionally less than increases in price. If the demand for drugs is inelastic, then drugs' demand would not respond to changes in prices.

²²Elastic consumption refers to decreases in consumption that are proportionally greater than increases in price. If the demand for drugs is elastic, then changes in prices would cause changes in quantities of drugs in the market.

While the understanding of basic microeconomic principles is essential to understand the rationale behind drug control policies around the world this dissertation analyzes the issue from a country perspective (not an individual one). Economic literature that follows approaches the topic from a macro view, discussing what previous economists have said regarding the consequences of illicit drug consumption/production on the labor market and the policies designed to address these issues. Following Morgan's call (1991) who advocates on moving away from the individualistic focus of the problem and linking the problematic consequences of illicit drug use to the material and social environments in which they occur.

De Simone (2002) analyzed the cases of marijuana and cocaine use and their effect on the labor market. They found that the consumption of these illegal drugs reduced earnings and increased public assistance receipt²³ according to 1984 and 1988 data. Results show that the effects for cocaine consumption exceed those of marijuana; employment probabilities are reduced 15-17 percentage points by marijuana use and 23-32 points by cocaine use. MacDonald and Pudney (2000) studied illegal drug use and the labor market and conclude that past and current hard drug use has a significant positive association with current unemployment, but that there is no significant association between past hard or soft drug use and occupational attainment.

Van Ours and Pudney (2006) show, based on economic arguments, that regardless of the great number of efforts against drugs the global problem of illicit drugs is still strong. These authors discuss that in the past 20 or 30 years, there has been a clear downward trend in drug prices and upward trend in indicators of consumption in most developed countries, suggesting that the enforcement/interdiction strategy has not been very successful (Van Ours and Pudney, 2006).

Arguments to explain failures of these strategies appear in a report written by the United Nations (1998), "Economic and Social Consequences of Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking",

²³The reduction of earnings of drug consumers and the provision of public assistance to these individuals could represent a large cost to drug users and society.

which stated that prices of illicit drugs, in contrast to those of other commodities, mainly reflect the perceived level of risk involved in manufacturing and trafficking. Prices and profits in the illicit drug industry are not proportional to factor costs, but seem to be related proportionately to the risks and the degree of monopoly at each stage of production and marketing. Reuter (1997, pp.266-267) argues that “this failure of cocaine and heroin prices to rise with tougher enforcement is a major analytic and policy puzzle” and the factors which can explain it are declining demand, reduced labor market opportunities for aging drug users/sellers, a decline in violence engendered by few new entrants and lower margins, but none has been subject to systematic examination”. Poret (2002) reports the problem resides in the fact that the increasing toughness on control measures against illicit drugs has not reached its immediate objectives of raising price and reducing availability, probably because drug policy analysts usually consider only the direct effect of a tougher law enforcement policy, that is, a decrease of the supply. But that traffickers and retailers react strategically to a harsher law enforcement policy by taking costs related to the law enforcement into account and adapting the quantity exchanged at the time of a transaction or the number of transactions they make. Reuter (1997) and Poret (2002) emphasize in the importance of reducing social costs associated with the production, distribution, consumption and control of these goods if the objective is to have effective drug control policies.

With their desire to provide a useful approach to the illicit drug market and key concepts in the design of policies to combat consumption and production of drugs, Becker, Murphy and Grossman (2005) wrote a paper discussing the importance of the elasticity of demand for an illegal good²⁴ in understanding the effects of punishment to producers on the overall cost of supplying and consuming that good. For the specific case of demand for drugs, the authors assume that it depends on the market price of drugs that is affected by the costs imposed through punishment and enforcement, and also on the costs imposed by the government on users. Their

²⁴ Illicit drugs are an illegal good.

main point is that if the demand for drugs is inelastic, total resources used to increase punishment and are actually drawn into the drug business as enforcement reduces drug consumption. Therefore, if demand is inelastic it is not useful to enforce any prohibition. Becker et al. (2004) conclude that the extent of the effect of punishment (enforcement) on consumption depends on the elasticity of demand: the more inelastic the demand, the smaller the effect is going to be. Because, in fact, the demand for drugs appears to have a very small elasticity, the authors suggest other policy instruments to reduce consumption such as expenditures on “education,” “advertising,” and “persuasion” that reduce demand for these goods; and mechanisms of persuasion which could become an effective instrument of government policy not only by reducing demand for illegal goods, but also by raising the efficiency of enforcement through raising the elasticity of demand for these goods.

The illegality of the drug business generates additional obstacles to a proper understanding of the problem and of the possibilities of effective public policy. According to Van Ours and Pudney (2006) the illegality of the market for hard drugs and the cultural shame attached to it complicates the task of collecting reliable data, and therefore makes extremely difficult the role of developing strong and rigorous empirical analysis that can guide policies. Furthermore, it also imposes multiple social constraints on active policy experimentation. Due to this, it sounds coherent to affirm that control policy on illicit drugs is more frequently driven by emotions than by evidence-based evaluation alternative. In addition, Godfrey (2006) also, recognizes that reliable and valid evidence base for illicit drug policies will always present problems. He states that data will always be difficult to compile given the illegal nature of the markets. Indeed, the most problematic users, with the highest social costs, are difficult to capture in population surveys. Stating this, Godfrey (2006) acknowledges that there is a role for economic modeling even in areas where data are limited, and states that both theoretical and simulation models of interventions can provide useful guidance. Lastly, he emphasizes on the

importance of the context and value systems in the application of economic evaluation techniques to drug policy.

Godfrey (2006) makes a thorough analysis of drug control policy interventions, the different types, costs and consequences associated with them, the crucial problems in designing successful strategies, and lastly examines the potential contribution of economic evaluation techniques in the design of appropriate drug control policies. The author starts by mentioning the traditional drug policies supply controls and demand controls. Supply controls include legal frameworks and enforcement activity to implement legal controls; such controls imply that consumers face additional costs when seeking to consume illicit drugs. Demand controls are those that cover prevention, treatment and harm minimization policies. All of these drug policy interventions have potential costs and consequences. Godfrey (2006) emphasizes on the difficulties present when compiling data related to illicit drugs given the illegal nature of the markets; indeed, the most problematic users, who have the highest social costs, are difficult to capture in population surveys. As a consequence, the task of designing and implementing drug control strategies based on reliable data is complicated even more. However, the author recognizes the important role for theoretical and simulation models of interventions that can provide useful guidance. Godfrey (2006) finalizes his article by stating that an appropriate application of economic evaluation techniques to drug policy must make reference to context and value systems.

Besides pointing to the inefficiencies of the actual drug control policies, another group of economists have devoted efforts in proposing alternatives of more effective ways to invest resources towards illicit drug control. Grossman and Mejia (2008) developed a calibration model trying to find a more appropriate allocation of the money spent by the United States in the supply control policy, The Plan Colombia, they finance in Colombia. Results showed that providing larger subsidies to the Colombian armed forces to fight the conflict over control of arable land

and smaller subsidies to eradication and interdiction efforts would have turned out to be more efficient.

In a recent study DeSimone (2006) analyzes the relationship between illegal drug prices at the retail user and seller levels. The findings of this paper strongly support an additive model in which the difference between these prices is constant; and therefore suggest that the usefulness of policies aimed at raising wholesale prices are reduced, given that retail price responses, and thus potential drug demand deterrence, would be substantially smaller than commonly assumed.

Van Ours and Pudney (2006) address a gap on the economic literature concerning the study of illicit drugs. They state that the supply market structures are “disgustingly under-researched”, probably as a result of the difficulty of observing the organization and activity of drug suppliers. They also recognize two distinctive features of drugs that differentiate them from other goods: the fact that they are illegal, which affects their prices and availability, and the fact that they are often addictive which affects the modeling of demand. Manski, Pepper and Petrie (2001) address the same point and state that it is particularly interesting the absence of research on the effectiveness of programs such as enforcement of prohibitions on selling drugs, which are the principal class of programs used in most of the Western developed nations

Calvani, Guia and Lemahieu (1997) wrote an article with the purpose of identifying the problems with the current drug control programs in the particular context of each of the countries, and developed a mechanism to measure the country’s capacity to resist illegal drugs. The authors start by recognizing the lack of adequate monitoring of the actual impact of drug control and interdiction campaigns²⁵. And these authors later acknowledge the importance of understanding particular conditions in countries which make some countries more vulnerable to the illicit drug business (production, consumption and trafficking). Most importantly, they address the

²⁵The few evaluations of the extent of drug abuse are based on few and very elementary measures indicators (hectares of illicit crops, number of seizures, number of drug addicts, drug-related crime, etc.), or by more advanced efforts that measure drug abuse by the degree to which society reacts to it (size of police forces, size and complexity of intelligence agencies, amount of resources committed to law enforcement and education, etc.).

flexibility of the illicit drugs market which allows drug production to easily be relocated and permits the easy rerouting of the drug traffic business.

When analyzing the conditions of a country the authors look at the magnitude of the country's drug problem, the extent of the government's response to it and also to culture, geography, and economic situation. These socioeconomic characteristics have been overlooked in most discussions and according to Calvani, Guia, and Lemahieu (1997) it is crucial to include factors that determine country's ability to resist drugs such as: intrinsic idiosyncrasies having to do with society's moral values and cultural and political traditions; characteristics associated with the current social political and economic environment; and measure of the current status of illegal drug activity in the country or region under consideration compared to a previous point in the past. The purpose of such mechanisms is to determine which countries are at greater risk to get involved in the drug business and consequently better define the appropriate strategy for each case, one that takes into account the specific social, cultural, economic, legal and political situation of each country. Mechanisms designed to improve current drug control policies are of urgent need, mainly because the illegal drug trade business has taken strong steps towards the expansion of consumption destinations, production sources, diversification of activities and, most alarmingly, towards raising political power in countries around the world, with the goal of safeguarding the physical, technological, and financial infrastructure that supports its operations (Calvani, Guia, and Lemahieu, 1997).

A report by the World Bank Development Research Development Group written by Paul Reuter in 2008 focuses on answering the question of: Can production and trafficking of illicit drugs be reduced or merely shifted? This report states that efforts to reduce drug production and trafficking have not been subject to consistent evaluation and that the few results that can be obtained show minimal effect of programs such as interdiction, crop eradication, "alternative development", etc. on the quantities produced or trafficked. It also addresses the issue of lack of

data, differences in estimation methodologies across different countries, and the biases governments bring to the levels they report of drug consumption in their countries present in the UNODC survey responses, main source of information regarding illicit drug consumption.

Reuter (2008) discusses the huge problem that emerges when although rich countries accept that the main problem for rich countries is their inability to control domestic demand for drugs, they still focus their efforts in attacking drug production by aiding and coercing poor producer nations. According to Reuter, many policymakers erroneously believe that because coca and opium production is concentrated in a few developing countries, eliminating the production in these countries will successfully end up with the drug industry worldwide. This belief is problematic because although drug production may be concentrated nowadays in few countries, (1) many other nations are capable of producing each drug, (2) technically it is possible to produce cocaine or heroin in industrialized nations, and many developing countries that neighbor coca and opium producers are not or have not been major producers, although they might be involved in trafficking.

But, what is it besides cheap labor, plentiful land, corruption and weak governments that facilitate the business of coca or opium production in these nations? According to Thoumi (2003) there are certain non-economic factors that are most likely to affect national participation in the drug trade, which include: geography, the amount of immigrants in the destination country who are from the producing and trafficking countries who have better knowledge of potential sellers and corruption opportunities, ability to conceal drugs in a flow of legitimate commerce and traffic, etc.

Reuter (2008) stated that the design of appropriate drug control policies should consider that the cost of production is an insignificant share of the final price. The vast majority of retail prices come from the domestic distribution in the consumer country. Additionally, Reuter (2008) proposes some non-traditional drug control methods that although controversial expose a new

dimension with probability of success to the illicit drug control policies. These are: (1) de facto legalization of trafficking (PROS: it might lead to minimal corruption around the trade, it reduces political tension since the government is not seen as opposed to interests of small producers, and it increases earnings of peasant farmers in that nation since it may induce a rise in their share of world production; CONS: retaliation from international assistance, no availability to tax the industry, ambivalence in the role of the state in enforcing agreed upon norms), (2) buying up the crop (PROS: by making supply more difficult to obtain might drive many addicts into treatment or lead them to desist the use; CONS: it would be impossible to make this pre-emptive purchase discreetly, the sudden rise in prices might lead another nation to enter the market, thus spreading the problem and eliminating one of the attributes that make pre-emptive purchase possible), (3) choosing a strategic location to allow production for the global market: idea that by raising the prices consumption will be reduced BUT elasticity of retail price with respect to price of cocaine and heroin is so low that it will only cause a modest decline in consumption. Control efforts will result in shifts in location rather than reductions in the volume of production.

2.2) Relevant Criminal Justice Theories and Prior Research on the Topic

Criminal justice theory is another area of study that offers a number of possibilities to approach the design and evaluation of drug control policies. Through a mixture of social, psychological and economic theories authors in the Criminal Justice literature have explored a broad notion of alternatives to explain the causes of crime and ways to decrease it. Two main ideologies dominate this theory: the Classical School and the Positive School (Cole & Smith, 2008). The Classical Criminology is based on the assumption that crime is a rational choice and that is result of human's free will. On the other hand, the Positivist Criminology has a more deterministic approximation that believes that behavior is not fully chosen, and therefore there are factors beyond control that determine humans' behavior; then crime is the result of biological,

psychological, social and societal factors. Although these two major schools of theories of crime propose two different ideas, these ideas not necessarily need to be exclusive of one another.

The application of criminal justice theories to the particular cases of countries that produce and consume illicit drugs is complex, given that the vast majority of criminal justice theories are focused at the micro level and not at the macro one²⁶. Most of these theories try to determine the characteristics that increase the chances of an individual committing a crime instead of explaining, as a whole, what causes an entire society to be more prone to crime than others. Given the need to approach crime as a societal induced conduct, for the purposes of this dissertation, the application of criminal justice theory to the case of drug control policies will be based on ideas discussed almost entirely by the Positivist School of Criminology that have a macro perspective of crime.

The majority of macro-level theories of crime belong to either the “motivational” or the “opportunity” categories of theories. The “motivational” theories stress the importance of social and cultural conditions that may increase crime across macro-social units (Gartner, et al., 1990). Motivational theories include Merton’s (1938) strain approach and the absolute and relative deprivation/conflict discussed by Bonger (1969), Chambliss and Seidman (1971), Chamlin (1989), Turner (1978), Blau and Blau (1982) and Currie (1997). The “opportunity” theories center on showing how the collapse of social institutions debilitates the ability of communities to make use of control over citizens’ behavior. This category includes social disorganization theory by Shaw and McCay.

The particular topic of drug production, distribution and consumption has been mainly analyzed from the Strain-Anomie and Social Disorganization theories, Institutional Anomie Theory (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2002) and Social Altruism-Social Support Theory (Chamlin and

²⁶ Pratt and Cullen (2005) state that one of the reason of why most of criminal justice literature focuses at the individual level could be given the practical advantages of studying crime at the individual level, given the existence of self-reported scales.

Cochran, 1997) are relatively modern approaches that also provide pertinent insight about what conditions in a country make them more suitable to hold crime and how to address these issues as a country.

Merton's and Agnew's Strain theory argue that societies are not in balance and that is the reason why people fight to get to the top. The problem resides in the flaws existent in the social structure and the state of anomie that resides in our current society, which values more the goals of economic success than the means to achieve them. Anomie refers to the state where the rules have no emphasis (Durkheim, 1979). Strain Theories were initially proposed by Merton (1968) who discussed that many of the appetites of individuals are not "natural", but rather originate in the "culture" of American society²⁷. Merton suggested that certain aspects of the social structure limit the possibility of particular groups of individuals to satisfy those appetites. This contradiction between the goals established by culture and the opportunities available within the social structure of society is what he defines as anomie. Merton discussed five possible adaptations to the strain induced by the American "culture" which are: conformity, innovation, rejection, retreatism, and rebellion²⁸.

Messner and Rosenfeld (2002) develop a structured approach of how to apply the Anomie theory to explain crime as a societal product in their Institutional Anomie Theory (IAT). IAT reinforces the importance of institutions in the development of a society. Institutions refer to the social structures (which include the economy, polity, family and education) that control human behavior and provide important components that determine how society "meets the basic

²⁷ The Western capitalistic view of the world that predominates in America is well accepted around most countries (especially the so-called "democracies") of the world.

²⁸ Conformity is acceptance of both the culture goal and the institutionalized means; Innovation refers to those figure out new methods to acquire wealth; Rejection consists of rejecting the possibility of ever achieving wealth, but still believing in the norms of honesty and so; Retreatism involves dropping out, neither pursuing the cultural goals nor acting accordingly to the institutionalized means; and Rebellion pertains to those who responds to his frustrations by replacing the values of society with new ones.

needs of a society²⁹” (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2002, p.65). Education and the family are in charge of the appropriate socialization of its members, the economy is responsible for providing material necessities of human beings, and the polity has as task mobilizing and distributing the power to achieve collective goals. IAT states that crime thrives in societies where the institutional balance is biased toward the economy instead of holding equality between institutions.

IAT focus its discussion in what Messner and Rossenfeld call the “American Dream”. The American dream consists of four cultural values: achievement, individualism (refers to the cultural pressure to succeed without any type of assistance or help), universalism (achievement is expected of all members of society, regardless of race, sex, or creed), and fetishism of money. The problem with the American culture resides in its strong achievement orientation, achievement defined as economic success given the existent fetishism of money in this society. As a consequence individuals now are valued based on the amount of money they hold instead of what he or she has accomplished in any other realm. Because of this, the accumulation of wealth becomes the status maker by which individuals are measured. This causes individuals to focus on reaching the goal without being careful of their means to their goals. Crime could be one of these mechanisms to achieve monetary success whose illegitimate status is tacitly undermined by the urgent need to reach the success standards defined by the American society. IAT provides a strong explanation of crime in societies that place and exaggerated emphasis on economic success and share many of the traits of the American culture. In addition, it also reveals complex theoretical relationships between institutions, cultural values, and crime.

The Social Disorganization Theory of Crime (SDT) offers another macro level explanation of crime. This theory analyzes how crime rates vary by ecological units, such as

²⁹ Basic needs include the “(1) adaptation to the environment, (2) mobilization and deployment of resources for the achievement of collective goals, and (3) the socialization of members to accept the society’s fundamental normative patterns” (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2001, p. 65).

countries, states, cities, etc, and focus on finding characteristics of geographical areas, such as whether they are disorganized, that influence crime rates (Cullen and Agnew, 1999). SDT is based on the idea that the key to understanding crime lay not in studying the traits of individuals but in studying the traits of neighborhoods. Shaw and McKay (1942) developed this well known theory that assumes that the cause of crime is not within the person but instead it is founded in the environment. Social disorganization states that lack of cohesion and lack of consensus in values³⁰ are the real causes of crime. Groves and Sampson (1989) tested SDT and found that in communities marked by heterogeneity, poverty, residential transiency, and family disruption, controls and informal relations are weakened. Weakened social controls led to the inability of communities to solve problems, which, later, led to crime.

In general, SDT believes that neighborhoods lacking organization lack the necessary social controls and therefore are unable to provide essential services. This leads to an inability of the community to control its public, which is why “one way to define social disorganization is to view such places as unable to maintain public order through informal means” (Mustaine et al., 2006, p. 332). The mixture of disorganization in a community and the lack of public order lead to high crime rates. In fact, “defined in terms of the absence or breakdown of certain types of relationships among people,” social disorganization theory “is intimately tied to conceptions of those properties of relationships that are indicative of social or communal ‘organization’” (Jensen, 2003, p. 1).

The essence of Social Disorganization Theory states that strong communities can act to control disorder while communities weakened by structural problems will be fruitful soil for the growth of crime. Individuals are certainly enmeshed in a complex net of social relations that increase or decrease one’s power to influence what happens in the geographical area. Actually,

³⁰ This includes poverty, racial and ethnic heterogeneity, residential mobility which impact crime by causing a lack of cohesion and of consensus in values.

the vitality and efficacy of community relations and life are very important and must be included in any analysis of the uneven distribution of crime around the world (Cullen and Agnew, 1999).

Social Support-Social Altruism theory³¹ proposes another macro perspective of the causes of crime that is useful in providing an explanation of crime when using the country as unit of analysis. This theory is based on the premise that social aggregates (such as countries) vary in the degree of support, shared values, cohesiveness, and desire to come to help those in need and these level of social support are related to variations in crime (Barrear and Lee, 1996; Sampson et al., 1997; Timko and Moos, 1996; Wilson, 1987; Pratt and Godsey (2002)). Social aggregates with higher levels of social support help reduce criminal involvement through multiple mechanisms³² such as: better parenting practices (Currie, 1985; Stouthamer-Loeber, 1986), facilitates earlier criminal desistance patterns over the life course, and helps in the pro-social adaptation to criminogenic strains, among others. According to Cullen (1994) “across nations and across communities, crime rates vary inversely with the level of social support (Cullen 1994, pp. 537).” Social support refers to the process of transmitting various forms of capital—human, cultural, social, and material (Cullen et al. 1999 p.18).

Empirical application of criminal justice theories to the particular topic of illicit drugs has two big flaws. On the one hand, most of the existent literature is focused on explaining the consumption and distribution phenomenon, therefore practically ignoring providing an explanation of the production (cultivation) activity. In addition, the majority of this literature offers analysis from an individual level instead of discussing particularities of the illicit drug problem at an aggregate level.

As stated before, great part of the existent empirical research on criminal justice that deals with illicit drugs is focused on identifying the causes of individual drug consumption or

³¹ Social support/altruism theory derives mainly from the work of :Braithwaite's (1989) theory of reintegrative shaming, Coleman's (1990) discussion of social capital, Cullen's (1994) development of social support as an organizing concept for criminology, Messner and Rosenfeld's (1997a) institutional anomie theory, and Chamlin and Cochran's (1997) “social altruism” theory.

³² Cullen (1994)

selling/distribution. For example: Marcos, Bahr and Johnson (2001) perform an interesting test of the integration of Hirschi's (1969) Social Control and Sutherland's Differential Association theories explain adolescent drug use. Dull (1983) tests the application of the differential association theory to the adult population, and finds that the influence of friends is very important in understanding adult drug behavior. Little and Steinberg (2006) examined a model of the simultaneous and interactive influences of psychosocial attitudes, social context, and individual maturity on the prediction of urban adolescent drug dealing. Authors refer to Strain theorists ideas that the search of illicit market income for youth is predicted by a tacit acknowledgement of the limits of their socioeconomic position (Little and Steinberg, 2007: pp.361). They found five main determinant factors of the increase of adolescents' opportunity for drug selling: low parental monitoring, poor neighborhood conditions, low neighborhood job opportunity, parental substance use or abuse, and high levels of group deviance. Reuter, MacCoun, and Murphy (1990), affirm that the primary motivation of illicit drug selling is the potential attainment of an income that is typically unattainable for youth in impoverished neighborhoods. Similarly, Li et al. (1996) found that the valuing of external rewards of dealing and perceptions of respect for criminal activities were significant predictors of adolescents' intentions to sell drugs.

Esbensen and Huizinga (1990) investigate variables mediating between social disorganization and adolescent drug use. Although they find no difference in drug use rates in three different socially disorganized areas they do find "mediating factors" that seem to operate in the three distinct communities.

Maume and Lee (2003) tested institutional anomie theory to predict crime rates across counties in the United States. Through analysis of data from the Supplementary Homicide Reports and several censuses they found that measures of noneconomic institutions explain well different types of homicides because they mediate the impact of economic pressures to commit instrumental violence. Maume & Lee (2003) conclude that Institutional Anomie Theory is

applicable in the case of explaining homicide rates across macro social units, and could be well suited for integration with other macro level theories like social disorganization theory (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993). In fact, the authors state that this integration may help have policy implications at the macro level, besides leading to a more comprehensive structural explanation of crime.

Lastly, one of the few articles that do provide a macro-approach to the problem of crime is Pratt and Godsey (2002). The authors utilize data for 46 nations coming from the World Health Organization (2000) and the United Nations Statistics Division (2000) to test the Social Support Theory across nations and find that, net of statistical controls, the indicator of social support is inversely and significantly related to rates of violent crime (measured by homicides). In addition, the authors demonstrate how social support, institutional anomie and macrolevel general strain theories can be integrated with success, by showing the existent significant relationships among social support, inequality and crime rates. Lastly, the authors also emphasize on Cullen, Wright and Chamlin's (1999) idea that the only effective approach to crime prevention "requires doing something TO a person rather than FOR a person" (p.189).

2.3) Synopsis and Future Research

As previously stated, economic theory explores thoroughly the multiple causes of illicit drug consumption and addiction. Its main purpose has been to reconcile the basic principles of neoclassical economics with behaviors such as demand for illicit drugs, addiction, and drug dependence. This literature addressed the direct and indirect consequences of drug consumption on the economy, mainly in the labor market, and also devoted time to the analyses of the current drug control policies, trying to understand the ineffectiveness of most drug control strategies and aiming to identify the main flaws of these. In addition, economists have also proposed different

alternatives to design and implement more efficient drug control strategies, mostly based on the need to attack drug consumption and not only drug production.

Criminal Justice Theory explores, as well, issues related to the crime of consuming, selling/distributing and producing illicit drugs. The great majority of this research analyzes these phenomena at an individual level, and only a small part of it focuses on analyzing illicit drugs at an aggregate level. As stated in Pratt and Cullen (2005: “criminologists chose to focus predominantly on the micro-level question of why individuals break the law. Indeed, most of the major criminological theories covered in books, edited volumes, and introductory-level textbooks are theories of individual criminal behavior (Akers 1999; Siegel 2000; Lilly, Cullen, and Ball 2002)”. Most of the macro level theories of crime center importance on building strong institutions, social support systems, and order in communities to be able to combat crime as a whole. As with the economic literature, the topic of drug production at an individual or an aggregate level is practically ignored by Criminal Justice literature. The vast majority of existent articles focus on the relationship between illicit drugs and crime, and the determinants of illegal drugs, instead of explaining and finding correlates of the criminal activity of producing illicit drugs. The questions of: why certain countries³³ produce or consume large amounts of illicit drugs has not been approached from a criminal justice perspective. Other questions that remain unanswered are: Is it caused by individuals need for income? Or is it caused by deep social deficiencies in certain communities? Is it a rational choice cost benefit analysis or is it the consequence of inequalities within these societies? Is the presence of illegal armed groups a consequence or the cause of this?

The previous section discusses how most of the economic and criminal justice research on illicit drugs is focused on drug consumption, and incongruently most of the policies designed and implemented are focused toward drug production. This puts in the spotlight a huge flaw

³³ Countries such as Afghanistan and Colombia.

which is the inconsistency between research and design in this area. The correct design of drug control policies requires appropriate research on drug production that gives theoretical bases to the policies currently implemented to address the issue. As well, the abundant research on drug consumption should be accompanied with empirical strategies that have the purpose of reducing addiction. It is also imperative to produce more research on the causes of drug production and in innovative ways to appropriately address the problems of drug production and consumption. Lastly, all researchers, not only the ones native to the affected producing countries, should engage in finding a theoretically and empirically sound explanation of why certain countries produce illicit drugs and in discovering ways to efficiently address this problem. A more thorough, theoretically based exploration of what lies behind illicit drug production would offer necessary guidelines of how best to combat illicit drug production.

CHAPTER 3: DESCRIPTION OF THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICIES

3.1) United Nation's guidelines for the War on Drugs

Due to the important role the United Nations has in the international drug control policies, it is essential to refer to them as the basis where the processes of drug control of most of the countries is based. For the particular purposes of this research, guidelines and goals stated by the UN will be the point of reference to measure success or failure of specific policies. The United Nations (UN) is an international organization whose goals are to facilitate co-operation in international security, international law, economic development, human rights and social progress (United Nations, 2005). It exists as UN since 1945 but it is really the extension of the League of Nations established in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles "to promote cooperation and to achieve peace and security" (United Nations, 2005). This organization is the center of global efforts to solve problems that affect humanity. The UN promotes respect for human rights, fights against diseases and poverty, promotes the environment, among many other tasks where we find the leading of international campaigns against drug trafficking and terrorism. Because of the huge relevance the fight against drugs have in the context of achieving UN's ideals there is a specific division specifically focused on these issues.

The Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) is the one particularly interested in the international control of production, consumption and trafficking of illicit drugs. It is an organization that operates in most regions of the world, funded mostly from governments (90% of its budget), that stands as the global leader in the fight against international crime, illicit drugs, and terrorism. It was established in 1997 through a merger between the United Nations Drug

Control Programme and the Centre for International Crime Prevention, with the purpose of assisting all of the member states in their fight against crime, terrorism, and illicit drugs, and allowing the UN to focus and enhance its capacity to address the interrelated issues of drug control, crime prevention and international terrorism in all forms, in the context of sustainable development and human security.

The UNODC is divided into four different divisions: the operations, treaty affairs, policy analysis and public affairs, and management division. Its work is guided by an ample variety of internationally limiting instruments and a set of United Nations norms and standards on criminal justice and crime prevention. These are the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC), United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC), the International legal framework on drug control, the International legal framework against terrorism and the United Nations standards and norms in crime prevention and criminal justice. The International legal framework on drug control is composed by three major international drug control treaties which are mutually supportive and complementary: the 1988 Convention against the Illicit Trafficking in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances, and the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs. These treaties codify internationally applicable control measures to ensure the availability of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances for medical and scientific purposes, and to prevent their use into illicit channels, and which provide general guidelines on illicit trafficking and drug abuse.

The work of the UNODC stands on the achievement of three pillars: a) enhance the capacity of member states to counteract illicit drugs, crime and terrorism, through field-based technical cooperation, b) increase knowledge and understanding of drugs and crime issues and expand the evidence-base for policy and operational decisions, utilizing research and analytical work, and c) the ratification and implementation of the international treaties, the development of domestic legislation on drugs, crime and terrorism, and the provision of secretariat and

substantive services to the treaty-based and governing bodies (UNODC , 2009) via normative work to assist states. The long term goals of this organization are to better equip governments across the world to handle drugs, crime, terrorism and corruption related issues, increase knowledge of governmental institutions and agencies on these issues and maximize the importance of these matters in a global, national, and community level. The UNODC makes efforts to integrate and center attention on the gender perspective, particularly in its projects for prevention and the provision of alternative livelihoods, as well as those against human trafficking. The size of this organization continues to increase as member states increasingly search multilateral partnerships to combat "problems without borders". Because of this and the globalization of the drugs, crime and terrorism problems, the role of the United Nations organization has gained extraordinary significance (UNODC, 2009).

The UNODC is the institution that manages the most important drug control strategies carried worldwide. It works to educate the world about the dangers of drug abuse and to take stronger international action against drug production, trafficking and drug-related crime through a variety of strategies that include illicit crop monitoring, alternative development and anti-money laundering programs. These programs are focused in counter narcotics and law enforcement (establish adequate, functional legal and institutional frameworks for drug control through effective implementation of international drug control conventions), drug prevention, treatment and rehabilitation (supporting projects implemented to prevent drug use, and publishing a toolkit on treatment and rehabilitation best practices), providing sustainable livelihoods (working with Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Afghanistan and Myanmar to develop alternative, sustainable livelihoods for farmers and others involved in drug production), conducting necessary research and analysis (publishing reports on drugs and crime, and producing the annual crop surveys in the main drug-producing countries, which provide international overviews of illicit drug trends), and

addressing HIV/AIDS issues³⁴(addressing the prevention and care among injecting drug users, and coordinating the global response to HIV/AIDS as it relates to people vulnerable to human trafficking) (UNOCD, 2007).

When dealing with the problem of drugs the UNODC takes a global approach. Recognizing that countries involved in the demand shared the responsibility of the drug problems with countries implicated in the supply. The supply and demand reductions are equally important and therefore strategies of drug controlled should be balanced. During the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Countering the World Drug Problem Together held in June 1998, the UN stated the guiding principles of drug demand reduction and measures to enhance international cooperation to counter the world drug problem. Among these we find the following: 1) a balanced approach between demand reduction and supply reduction, each reinforcing the other, 2) demand reduction policies should prevent the use of drugs, provide and encourage active and coordinated participation of individuals at the community level, be sensitive to gender and culture issues, and contribute towards developing and sustaining supportive environments (United Nations, 1998).

To achieve drug supply reduction the UNODC project seeks to limit the cultivation, production, trafficking and distribution of drugs. The main effort to reduce the supply of drugs is the “Alternative Development” project. The idea is to encourage people who cultivate illicit crops to switch to other profitable crops and alternative sources of income (UN, Drug Supply Reduction). Besides this project, there are also strategies that seek to broaden regional cooperation between the governments in order to reduce cross-border trafficking and strengthen border controls. These strategies are referred as Law Enforcement which is essential in fighting drug trafficking and transnational organized crime. What UNODC does is provide help in

³⁴ These actions are accompanied with strategies focused to combat human trafficking, terrorism, money laundering, corruption, and organized crime. All of these are closely linked with the production, consumption and trafficking of illicit drugs.

relation to investigation, prosecution and adjudication of serious crimes. In addition, they provide modern training techniques, assistance in legislative drafting and ways to improve information exchange between law enforcement agencies and border-control agencies (UN, 2009).

The efforts regarding the demand side are focused in prevention and treatment through rehabilitation and social integration. Particularly UN projects are interested in helping specific at-risk populations to avoid high-risk behavior and settings that promote a variety of problems, among which we find the use of drugs (UN, 2009). Most of the prevention activities focus on youth, although there are some directed towards others individuals in the community such as parents, religious leaders and people involved in the education, health, and recreation sectors.

In their document “International cooperation against the world drug problem” the UNODC restates their determination of overcoming the world drug problem through a “balanced application of national, regional and international strategies to reduce the illicit demand for, production of and trafficking in drugs” (UN, 1998). As well, in a 2008 declaration they stated similar drug control objectives for this year, focused in supply and demand strategies. Supply strategies will be focused in decreasing poppy cultivation, especially in Afghanistan, and continue declining coca cultivation. On the other hand, demand strategies will be oriented to restraining the number of drug users, particularly in developing countries, and in making emphasis on the prevention, treatment and reduction of the negative consequences of drug abuse.

The United Nations categorize the illicit drug problem into three different types: (1) those illicit drugs that are either produced or processed from natural plant producers such as opium poppy: opium, morphine and heroin; (2) synthetically produced illicit drugs, such as amphetamine; and (3) psychoactive pharmaceutical drugs that become illicit as a result of being diverted from licit uses or purposes (UN, 1998). According to the UNODC the gravity of the concern of the problem of drugs lies on the expansion of the drug problems, which are a threat to health, safety and well-being of mankind. In addition it also limits development, socio-economic

and political stability, put at risks democratic institutions, threatens national and international security, as well as the dignity and expectations of billions of people. Among the many problems caused by the illicit drugs business, lies the links of the business with criminal and terrorist groups which obtain resources from the drug-trafficking activities (United Nations, 1988). These causes increases in violence and goes against the ideal of achieving peace in the world (UN, 1988).

The importance of the task of the United Nations as a leader of the global control of illicit drugs is huge. Because of this, this dissertation will analyze current policies implemented across the world following the guidelines and recommendations provided by the UN. In addition, this research also intends to have a critical view of possible flaws of the strategies suggested and implemented by the UN across the globe. The drug control strategies implemented in Colombia and the United States, are perfect cases to determine if there is a cohesive, logical strategy between these countries to fight the drug problem. In addition, it will also help us identify gaps in the currently implemented policies which have limited possibilities of substantial reductions of the drug problem in the world.

3.2) Description of the Drug Control Policies

3.2.1) Colombia's illicit drugs situation

“Few countries in the world have suffered the adverse effects of illicit drugs trafficking as Colombia. The burden Colombia has carried in the fight against drugs is bigger than that of any other nation in the world” (Embassy of Colombia at Washington, 2007). Regardless of the 50% reduction in the hectares cultivated with illicit crops between 2000 and 2004³⁵, Colombia still produces more than 50% of the coca leaf and cocaine in the world (UN, 2005). In addition, Colombia is also one of the main produces of opium with a total area of poppy of 4,237 hectares.

³⁵ The hectares cultivated with coca leaf in 2000 were 163,300, and in 2004 this decreased to 80,000 hectares. In 2005, the amount had a slight increase of 6,000 hectares. Source: UNODC, Annual reports.

Most of the illicit crops cultivated in Colombia are localized in marginal areas with poor economic and social conditions. In particular, most of the illicit crop cultivation happens in three macro regions of the country: Meta-Guaviare, Pacifico-Nariño, and Putumayo-Caquetá³⁶. Although the production of coca leaf is not very profitable for peasants and collectors, in further steps of the production and trafficking of cocaine, it acquires an immense value. Interestingly, before the 1980's, the major role of Colombia regarding the production of cocaine was as processor of the coca leaf into cocaine powder. Since the late 1980's, when drug traffickers realized how productive the drug dealing business was, they decided to start cultivating coca in Colombian territory and they were able to integrate all steps of coca production in one territory. As a consequence, Colombia not only became the major processor of coca leaf but as well became the major producer of coca leaf in the world.

The history of coca production in Colombia is closely linked to the existence of the drug cartels, and to the presence of illegal armed organizations that act in Colombian territory and finance their activities mainly through the illicit drug production and drug trade business³⁷ (Bottia, 2003; Diaz and Sanchez, 2004). Probably the greatest negative effects of the production and trafficking of illicit drugs in Colombia have occurred since the 1980's to the present. Levels of violence reached unimaginable levels in the mid 80's when the drug-trafficking business was in its peak (Sanchez and Nunez, 2001). Later, when the cartels were practically dismantled, the illicit drug business evolved into becoming the main source of income to guerrilla groups acting in Colombia territory since the 1960's. As a result, coca production fueled the internal armed conflict existent in Colombia for more than four decades.

Not only has Colombian economic and social conditions been deteriorated because of the illicit drugs business, but recently the situation of many people living in the rural area has become

³⁶ In 2006, approximately 78,000kg of cocaine were reported and 72% of these were cultivated in these regions (SIMCI/UNODC).

³⁷ More than 40% of the Revolutionary armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) come from the drug trafficking business. Around 70% of the Self-Defenses Groups of Colombia (AUC also known as paramilitary forces) come from the production and traffic of illicit crops. Source: Embassy of Colombia

even more difficult due to the efforts of the government to fumigate and eradicate these illicit crops. Nowadays it seems that the remedy to fight the illicit crops production has become more destructive than productive. Multiple environmental and health issues have arise due to the utilization of chemicals to fumigate areas with coca and poppy cultivations (Vargas, 2002). In addition, many of the peasants in the rural areas are trapped in the dilemma of collaborating (in a willing or unwilling manner) with guerrilla groups in the cultivation of illegal crops, or eradicating coca and/or poppy crops with the forced support of the government. Both of these opposing alternatives put them at risk of being punished by either of the sides and have generated unimaginable levels of violence for peasants in the rural areas of the country (Asociación Campesina del Valle del Río Cimitarra, 2009).

Policies in Colombia have been focused in limiting the trade and the cultivation of illicit drugs. In the 1990's the main problem of the country was the existence of drug cartels (particularly the Medellin and the Cali cartel) which were very powerful criminal organizations whose main activity was the drug trafficking. As a consequence, in the late 80's and early 90's large amounts of money coming from the US were oriented to the interdiction of drug trafficking routes³⁸ (Bagley, 2001). The idea was to limit the availability of drug trafficking routes by the increase of drug enforcement. Unfortunately, drug traffickers found different routes and mechanisms to continue trafficking and this strategy was not very successful. At the end of the 1990s, the Colombian Air Force began to shoot down suspected drug smuggling aircraft as strategy to decrease drug trafficking. These two policies were evidence that during the 90's most of the drug control policies were focused on complicating the trafficking of illicit drugs. As a consequence of huge efforts from Colombia and the US, by the mid 1990's the cartels were practically defeated. Unfortunately this was the end of the cartels but not of the illicit drugs business (production and trafficking) in the country. After the decline of the drug cartels most of

³⁸ Washington spent two-thirds of its US\$17.8 billion 1999 anti-drug budget on interdiction and related activities to difficult the trafficking of drugs (Bagley, 2001).

the illicit drug business fell in hands of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the paramilitary forces (AUC)³⁹. Hence, policies to attack illicit drug production and trafficking now involved different tactics that focus on the fight against these illicit armed groups acting in Colombian territory.

Currently, Colombia spends approximately 1 billion dollars (1.2% of Colombia's GDP in 2005) every year on controlling the production of cocaine in Colombia (ONDCP, 2006; Alvarado and Lahuerta, 2005 in Ibanez, 2007). Despite this, between 1997 and 2004, the production of cocaine went from 230 tons to 340 tons (DNE, 2005). In recent years, Colombia has centered its efforts in the reduction of illicit crops by the fumigation with chemicals, eradication, and substitution of illicit crops (Diaz and Sanchez, 2004). A fundamental component of the current drug control policy is The Plan Colombia, a plan to fight against drug trafficking and political violence, which was launched in 1999 with the financial support of the United States^{40,41}. Other programs to attack the illicit drug business in Colombia include a variety of projects supported by the United Nations through the UNODC that help farmers give up coca cultivation and earn money legally (UN, 2009). These programs also helped the Colombian government implement a system that facilitates the evaluation of the impact of the coca eradication campaigns.

Colombia's current drug control institutional structure is formally composed by three different levels of territorial coordination – the Consejo Nacional de Estupefacientes (CNE) (National Council of Narcotics), the Consejos Seccionales de Estupefacientes (Sectional Councils of Narcotics), and the Comites Municipales de Prevencion (Municipal Councils of Prevention). The role of these entities is accompanied by the tasks of a group of institutions of national and regional dimensions that are in charge of the implementation of the variety of strategies included

³⁹ The National Planning Department estimates that 54% of the FARC's finances and 70% of the paramilitary's come from the drug business (DNP, Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2002-2006, pg.41).

⁴⁰ The United States grants the resources only if Colombia meets certain conditions. In fact, every year Colombia undergoes a process of certification by the U.S. government that certifies that the country is fully cooperating with the U.S. in the war of drugs.

⁴¹ The United States has also provided resources for training and equipment.

under the Plan Colombia⁴² and the Plan Nacional de Desarrollo (National Plan of Development⁴³). The Dirección Nacional de Estupefacientes (DNE) (National Direction of Narcotics) acts as Technical Secretary, and the Presidency of the Republic, the National Planning Department and the Ministry of Interior and Justice are in charge of the most important foundations of all this institutional set (Puyana and Jones, 2007). Additionally, The Observatory of Drugs of Colombia was created by the government in 2005, to keep track of all the information of Colombia's fight against drugs. The entire drug control scheme shows a great level of disarticulation, and sectorial and inter-institutional fragmentation, which causes a lack of communication between Ministries and decentralized institutions of social investment, and consequently makes the drug control policies less efficient.

In general, the Colombian government, under the guidance of the Ministry of Justice, works in support of the following drug control objectives: (a) a reduction in the supply (through the ministry of Defense), (b) a reduction of the demand (through the Ministry of Education and Health, Alternative Development and Environmental Policies through the Plan Colombia), (c) the strengthening of the Judiciary and Institutional sectors (through the Ministry of Interior and Justice) , (d) International Politics (through the Ministry of Exterior Relationships), and (e) the Laundering of Assets (through the Ministry of Interior).

These objectives are addressed through a set of drug control policies that have the following six objectives: (1) Supply reduction through interdiction, (2) Alternative Development, (3) Environmental Management, (4) Demand Reduction, (5) Exterior Policy and (6) Institutional Strengthening (Puyana and Jones, 2007). All of these are handled by more than 40 national public entities and 10 regional organizations. This broad organizational structure has a great level

⁴² The Ministry of Defense handles the military component of the Plan Colombia, and the Social Action entity handles the social component of this Plan.

⁴³ The National Plan of Development is the legal instrument through which the government of the current president of Colombia makes public the objectives of his government, therefore allowing the proper evaluation of the results (www.dnp.gov.co).

of sectorial and inter-institutional fragmentation and disarticulation, which results in an uncoordinated drug control strategy, although in recent years⁴⁴ things have changed because the national government has a new focus towards increasing “security”. This prioritization has caused the fusion of the strategies of “drug trafficking combat”, “fight against terrorism” and “development in the areas of conflict” under the common denominator of “security”.

During the first 4 years of presidency of Alvaro Uribe Velez 2002-2006 the central policy of the government was to build a Communitarian State able to offer security, sustainable economic growth, social equity and a more transparent and efficient public management for all citizens. The central component of this policy was the so called Democratic Security (Seguridad Democratica) which considered as the main challenge confronted by Colombia: the strategy against drug trafficking and organized crime. The new objective in these years is to “control the crops”, emphasizing in the reduction of the supply through the elimination of crops as a parameter to evaluate the results of the Plan Colombia and the Democratic Security Policy, leaving behind the previous policies of “alternative development with coca” undergone by the previous administration.

As stated before, the Drug control policies have four main components that can be analyzed as four different phases: I) control of the illicit crops (cultivation phase); II) control through interdiction (processing, transportation and commercialization phase; III) control of the economic benefits of drug trafficking and other crimes phase, and IV) demand reduction (consumption phase) (Departamento Nacional de Planeacion, 2006).

The cultivation phase is addressed through: Forced *eradication through chemical aerial aspersión* which is defined as the “dissuasive element of the policy towards the linking of the population in the cultivation and it is focused towards the focalized destruction of the areas that concentrate the production”. This strategy is highly criticized because of its inefficiency in terms

⁴⁴ These recent years refer to the period of presidency of Alvaro Uribe Velez, 2002-2006 and 2006-2010.

of results and due to its impact on the environment, the health and the peasant's economy⁴⁵. (b) *Forced manual eradication*, a program that is part of the Presidential Program against Illicit Drops (PCI) managed by the Presidential Agency for Social Action and International Cooperation (known as Social Action agency), used as a complement to the chemical aspersion program. The Mobile Groups of Eradication (GME) are the ones in charge of this component, giving priority to manual eradication in areas with natural parks and frontier zones, and in those zones where the illicit crops are localized in a very disperse manner⁴⁶. This is a very good strategy in an ecological sense that unluckily puts in great risk the peasants in charge of it⁴⁷. (c) *Voluntary eradication*, a complementary strategy to the forced eradication, with the purpose of "providing licit options to small farmers that stay out of the drug business" (Departamento Nacional de Planeacion, 2007 pp.43). The Voluntary Eradication strategy includes two main programs: the Productive Projects (Proyectos Productivos) program and the Forester Families programs (Familias Guardabosques). The first one is interested in establishing a solid economic local and regional base upon productive agricultural, agro industrial and forest productive activities, which offer legitimate and stable sources of jobs and income to communities that separate from the illegal economy of coca and poppy. The Forester families' project aims to help reduce and prevent illicit crops with the voluntary commitment of eradication activities by beneficiary families that will receive a conditional subsidy for \$1600 dollars a year⁴⁸ for three years.

The Interdiction Phase II is centered in the control and seizure of illicit substances, the destruction of laboratories, the control of air, water and land traffic, and the persecution to the

⁴⁵ The chemical aerial fumigation is the most controversial element of the drug control strategies. The main arguments against it are that it damages legal crops and has negative health effects upon those exposed to the herbicides.

⁴⁶ Estrategia Andina de Desarrollo Alternativo Integral y Sostenible, CADA, Capitulo Colombia, Bogota, 2004, pp.41.

⁴⁷ These risks are related to illegal armed forces attacking them to force them stop the eradication of illegal crops. In the operatives of the GME in Meta in February 2005 soldiers and peasants were killed (Puyana and Jones, 2007).

⁴⁸ The minimum wage in Colombia, as of 2008, was \$200 dollars a month (\$2400 dollars a year)(Ministry of Labor Colombia). Therefore a subsidy of \$1600 in rural areas (where wages are even lower) appeared to be a very competitive option.

networks, organizations and infrastructure that serve as support to the illicit drugs business. It also includes the extradition of national citizens that are involved with illicit drug dealing. This is one of the strategies that is emphasized the most and due to its importance, the technical and institutional strengthening of these control entities is one of the tasks that utilizes most of the resources that the State captures for antidrug policies⁴⁹.

Phase III is the control of the benefits obtained from drug trafficking and other crimes. This task is performed by implementing mechanisms intended to control the laundry of assets coming from fiscal evasion, contraband, extortion, kidnapping and activities related to the trafficking of illicit drugs. The final IV Phase, Demand reduction- consumption phase, has the objective of controlling licit and illicit consumption of drugs that generate dependence, and to offer individuals options of prevention, treatment, rehabilitation, etc. The coordination of this task is at charge of the Division of Public Health in the Ministry of Social Protection. Unfortunately, 14 different state institutions develop activities to reduce demand in a fragmented manner, which hardens strengthening the qualifications and continuity of these programs.

In addition to the previously mentioned strategies, *The Plan Colombia* is a parallel structure in the fight against drugs in Colombia. The term Plan Colombia is usually used to address US legislation with the purpose of fighting drug smuggling by providing support to different drug war activities in Colombia. Initially the Plan Colombia referred to the wider aid initiative (not limited only to the US legislation) originally proposed by Colombian ex-president Andres Pastrana Arango that had the goals of social and economic revitalization, ending the armed conflict and creating an anti-drug strategy.

The Plan Colombia has had three different versions. The first one, Plan Colombia I (1998-2000), was a national version of this policy that aimed to find development in the context

⁴⁹ Between 2002 and 2005, the 84% of the spending sent to technical and institutional strengthening; compared to a 16% that went to “alternative development programs”, 3% to reduction in the demand, 1% to environmental management, and 0% to international management.

of illicit drugs and a negotiated solution to the internal armed conflict. This proposed model was an integral intervention that mixed direct subsidies, focalized to vulnerable populations, with the strengthening of productive social capital and infrastructure that helped in the regional development. The second version of the plan, Plan Colombia II (2000-2006), changed drastically the drug control institutions by including the National Army (Armed Forces) in the fight against drugs, additional to the already existent central role of the National Police. In addition, the Fund of Investment for Peace (Fondo de Inversion para la Paz – FIP) and the Presidential Agency for Social Action and International Cooperation took now charge of the previous responsibilities of the Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Alternativo (PLANTE)⁵⁰, leader of the strategies of alternative development, which intensified the separation of the central and regional actors that plan the correct direction of these projects.

The most recent version of the Plan Colombia suggests certain rectifications. In 2007 the National Direction of Narcotics (Dirección Nacional de Estupefacientes –DNE) proposed the creation of an Administrative Department of the Fight against Illicit Drugs that takes a coordinator role, and the creation a Special Administrative Unit (Unidad Administrativa Especial) that becomes in charge of the operative functions. The general purpose of this proposal is to generate a stronger institutional coordination that synchronizes efforts of the different State institutions that are involved in the drug control policies. The Plan Colombia III proposes an integration of security and territorial control with the main arguments of solidarity and co-responsibility with the illicit drugs problem, threats towards the institutional stability, and economic growth⁵¹.

⁵⁰ The PLANTE was the Colombian government organization that in the past used to finance alternative development projects.

⁵¹ This new version of the Plan Colombia redistributes the budget among six main strategies: Integral Social Development (48%), Opening of Markets (27%), Terrorism and Drugs (14%), Human Rights and Justice (6%), Integral Attention to Displaced people (3%) and Demobilization and Reintegration (2%).

The future of the Plan Colombia is very uncertain after the most recent presidential election in the United States. President Barack Obama has indicated that he has reservations in dealing with Colombia due to ‘apparent’ violations of human rights from part of the government. Regardless the veracity of these allegations, the Colombian government is very uncertain about the future of the main component of its drug control strategy financed with resources of the American government (El Tiempo, 2009).

It is important to state that most of Colombia’s international relations with other countries are related in one way or another to the topic of illicit drugs, the strategies to control supply of narcotics and promote development. Although the main purpose when relating with other countries is to obtain solidarity, mutual cooperation and shared responsibility towards the fight against drugs, the international management approach is characterized by a strong alignment with the United States. As a consequence, the international policy prioritizes the reduction of the net supply –crops, laboratories, shipments, etc. – as the main task, instead of developing long term policies that will encourage the development of Colombia (Puyana and Jones, 2007).

The latest report to Congress in 2008 regarding the results of drug control strategies reported: The continuity of eradication policies, through manual eradication and aerial aspersion, reported a total of 97,893ha of coca, poppy and marijuana eradicated manually during 2002 - 2006. The aerial aspersion has been reduced, due to the commitment of the government to reduce the environmental impact of drug control policies, together with the nationalization of several components of the fight against drug trafficking related to the Plan Colombia. As a consequence, the strategy of manual eradication has become the privileged strategy in terms of eradication (Departamento Nacional de Planeacion, 2008). The government also promoted the task of complicating the trafficking of illicit drugs to the frontiers and the transportation of chemical inputs for illicit drug production through the immobilization and confiscation of aircrafts, ships and other types of vehicles utilized for drug trafficking. The national government also

implemented strategies that were focused toward the development of new licit lasting-jobs for families that live in areas with influence of narco-terrorism. This resulted in many more families signing the contracts offered by the Forester Families program which provides economic incentives and technical and social help to communities located in areas affected with the presence of illicit crops (Departamento Nacional de Planeacion, 2008).

Colombia's multiple efforts to reduce the supply of illicit drugs have been countered by illegal armed organizations desire for financial resources. Although Colombia has decreased substantially the hectares cultivated with coca⁵², Colombia seizes the most cocaine in the world (almost 188 metric tons), 32 percent of the world total (UN, Trends in World Drug Markets, 2009), and Colombia had record years in 2005 for eradication, interdiction, and extradition, Colombia continues to be lead the supply of drugs in the world. The drug production and trafficking in Colombia is so linked to the presence and expansion of illegal armed organizations (Diaz and Sanchez, 2004) that it makes it complicated to pursue an end to one without attacking the other. The issue now is what to attack first? The illegal armed organizations or the illicit crops? It seems that there is an endogenous relationship between these two which complicates even more the efforts of Colombia and the world to substantially decrease the supply of illicit drugs.

3.2.2) US's illicit drugs situation

Measures to address the huge illicit drug problem in the US have been going on for decades. The Anti-Drug Abuse act of 1988 established the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) with the purpose of determining policies, priorities, and objectives for

⁵² Not everyone believes that eradication campaigns have really been successful. There are some who believe that numbers are just make up by the Colombian and the U.S. government but that in the contrary, hectares cultivated with cocaine have increased since eradication started (http://stopthedrugwar.org/chronicle/596/colombia_coca_eradicators_killed#comment-50232). In fact, the Department of State of the United States showed that there was an increase from 104 thousand to 157 thousand has cultivated with coca regardless of the strong campaigns of chemical asperial aerial operations undergone with resources from the Plan Colombia.

the U.S.'s drug control program. This office's main goals are to reduce illicit drug use, manufacturing, and trafficking, drug-related crime and violence, and drug-related health consequences. In addition ONDCP also has the task of evaluating, coordinating, and overseeing both international and domestic anti-drug efforts of executive branch agencies and ensures that these efforts complement the State's and local anti-drug activities (Office of National Drug Control Policy).

The first National Drug Control Strategy (NDCS) was submitted by President George H. W. Bush in 1989. It was prepared by William J. Bennett, America's first drug czar. Its emphasis was on the "principle of user accountability—in law enforcement efforts focused on individual users; in decisions regarding sentencing and parole; in school, college, and university policies regarding the use of drugs by students and employees; in the workplace; and in treatment" (White House Fact Sheet on the National Drug Control Strategy, The White House, September 5, 1989)

Regardless of the existence of ONDCP and the implementation of several numbers of National Drug Control Strategies across the years the illicit drug demand problem in the United States remains huge. The World Drug Report (2008) published that 12.6% of the people aged between 15-64 years in the U.S. abused cannabis, 1.5% abused amphetamines, 1% ecstasy, and 2.8% cocaine; which positions the U.S. as one of the countries with greater percentages of abusers in almost all of the illicit drugs. The UNODC report of 2006 reported that the highest number of drug treatment slots per million inhabitants was found in North America (5,200)⁵³⁵⁴. Yet, the 2005 National Household Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH) stated that approximately 14% of America's population 12 or older reported use of drugs within the past year and 8% reported use of a drug within the past month. Recent SAMHSA 2008 report showed

⁵³ Although the US holds the highest drug treatment slots the UN (2008) reported that in general there were "insufficient prevention and treatment services provided by States Members" (pp.38). Wenzel SL, Burnam MA, Koegel P, Morton SC, et. al (2000) state that there "remains considerable unmet need for treatment in this population, and analyses suggest inequities in access to this health service"(pp.abstract).

⁵⁴ A report from the Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN) estimated that in 2005 nearly 1.4 million emergency department visits nationwide that were associated with drug misuses or abuses.

that almost 8.9% of the US population over age 12 was reported to have a diagnosable substance abuse disorder. Moreover, more than 22 million Americans met the medical definition of addicts or abusers of alcohol and illicit drugs (SAMHSA, 2008).

Although the United States is primarily a consumer of drugs more than it is a producer⁵⁵, its efforts against drug control have been directed in both attacking the supply (by helping/forcing other countries attack the supply of drugs) and, to a lesser extent, attacking the demand. This focus of US policies towards attacking the supply in producer countries, instead of centering their fight in the demand of illicit drugs in their own territory, has been subject to abundant critiques (Reuter, 2008). The argument behind the critique is that as long as the demand exists there will always be an incentive for someone to supply the desired product (and probably at a very high price).

The U.S. has concentrated lots of money and effort in the fight against drugs. For the efficient development of their drug control strategy, the US government utilizes 11 different drug control agencies, which vary in size and mission, to manage the totality of its programs. Among these agencies are: The Department of Education, Health and Human Services, and Veteran Affairs, mainly focused on prevention and treatment programs; the Department of Defense, Homeland Security, Justice, and State.

Contemporary Drug Control Policies in the United States

The following pages provide a brief description of the drug control policies, intended to fight illicit drug consumption, trafficking and production, currently implemented by the American government. All of the information comes from the National Drug Control Strategy report and budget provided by the US government for 2008. This drug control strategy is considered by the

⁵⁵ The United Nations Drug Report of 2004 communicated that although opiates are considered the major drug problem in the world, cocaine use continues to be one of the main issues and United States appeared to be the country with the higher consumption rates of cocaine.

US government “a balanced approach to drug control policy, where activities to reduce the demand for narcotics are augmented by efforts to stem their supply” (The White House, 2007).

The three main components of the National Drug Control Strategy in the United States are: (1) Stopping Use Before It Starts; (2) Intervening and Healing America’s Drug Users; and (3) Disrupting the Markets (National Drug Control Strategy, 2008).

(1) Stopping Drug Use Before It Starts (\$1.6 billion)

The Stopping Drug Use Before It Starts strategy is focused on youths, and is based on regular messages from parents, schools, the community and the government on the danger of illicit substances and of the long lasting consequences that drug can have in their lives. For the proper accomplishment of this strategy the government relies heavily on local communities. Among the strategies used to achieve this goal are:

(a) Student Random Drug Testing program (\$17.9 million): The program is managed by the Department of Education and it helps recognize substance abuse problems and also offers incentives to discourage illicit drug use. It creates a culture of disapproval towards drugs and makes safer school/workplace environments. Through this program, the federal government, makes available funds to schools interested in adopting random drug testing and offers regional summits on the development and operation of balanced and effective random testing programs.

(b) Research-Based Grant Assistance to Local Educational Agencies (LEAs) (\$59.0 million): The program is managed by the Department of Education and it grants resources to local educational agencies. The program requires that the LEAs (1) apply at least one drug prevention/school safety program, practice, or intervention that rigorous evaluation has proven to be effective, (2) develop a strict evaluation of potentially successful interventions, programs or practice to test its effectiveness and consequently enlarge the knowledge in the field.

(c) Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities State Grants (\$100.0 million): It is managed by the Department of Education and it proposes to focus the program on creating state capacity to

help school districts in the creation of safe, drug-free schools and secure school environments, through training, technical assistance, and the provision of key information.

(d) The Drug Free Communities Support Program (DFC) (\$90.0 million): It is managed by the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) in partnership with the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA). The program's objective is to help reduce youth substance abuse through the provision of Federal funding directly to local community⁵⁶ organizations that promote creative community solutions to the different ways drug problems may emerge in each of the different communities.

(e) The National Anti-Drug Youth Media Campaign (\$130.0 million): It is handled by the Office of National Drug Control Policy with the principal goal of establishing and reinforcing persistent anti-drug values. It utilizes a social marketing attempt (through television, radio, newspaper, internet, etc.) to educate and motivate youth to develop anti-drug beliefs and behaviors, therefore preventing and reducing youth illicit drug use by rising awareness of the consequences of drugs. This strategy also seeks to change youth attitudes toward drug use, and motivate adults to employ effective anti-drug strategies.

The "Stopping Drug Use before It Starts" component of the American drug control policy holds other programs such as: Combating Doping in Sports with the purpose of making the general public less tolerant of doping, and more aware and concerned about its consequences⁵⁷; Drug-Free Workplace, meant to maintain a drug-free workplace that improves worker's productivity, safety, and health⁵⁸; Community Partnerships to Protect Youth to raise awareness

⁵⁶ The belief is that local leaders are in the best position to understand the drug problem affecting their communities.

⁵⁷ This objective is pursued by fostering educational campaigns, research, and drug testing with meaningful sanctions, together with cooperation among domestic and international partners both public and private. An important component of this strategy is US's support and collaborative work with the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) which works to synchronize and coordinates an effective international program to detect, deter, and prevent doping.

⁵⁸ Efficient programs include policy statements, training for supervisors about their role in enforcing the policy, education for employees about the dangers of substance abuse, support for individuals who seek help for substance abuse problems, and testing for drug use. Other initiative, also included in this strategy, is the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) Division of Workplace Programs who manages a drug-free workplace Website that provides multiple e-briefings, presentations, best practices, how-to-guides, fact sheets, research and information on training and technical assistance for employers, employees, and their families.

about the challenges facing American youth and to motivate caring adults to connect with youth in three fundamental areas: family, school, and community; and the Educating Youth about the Dangers of Drug Use, intended to educate youth about the dangers of drug use and carried out through the Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment (SAPT) Block Grant Program that provides Federal funding for the support of local and State substance abuse prevention and treatment programs⁵⁹.

(2) Intervening and Healing America's Drug Users (\$3.0 Billion)

Given that more than 94% of the addicts in the US do not realize they need help and have not searched for treatment, the US government also has initiatives to support State and community efforts to deliver the treatment services needed to achieve and maintain recovery. These initiatives include the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration's Substance Abuse Prevention Treatment Block Grant, others discretionary grant programs and research sponsored by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA). Programs under this component are managed mainly by the Department of Health and Human Services, by the Department of Veteran Affairs, and by the Department of Justice. The main programs under this component are:

(a) Screening and Brief Intervention, Referral and Treatment (SBIRT) Activities (\$41.2 million):

The strategy wants to increase the percentage of people that search for treatment programs, enhance factors that increase overall health (including mental health), create improvements in employment and housing, reduce arrests that may help prevent further drug use, and help colleges and universities identify young adults at risk for mental health disorders and substance use.

(b) Healthcare Common Procedure Coding System (\$75.0 million): It is managed by the Department of Health and Human Services. It has the intention of approving two new Healthcare Common Procedure Coding System (HCPCS) codes for alcohol and drug screening, and brief

⁵⁹ 20% of the grant must be used for prevention activities, and education and information dissemination are among the required prevention strategies.

intervention (SBI) that help improve access to early intervention and treatment for substance abuse⁶⁰.

(c) Breaking the Cycle of Addiction- Maintaining Recovery (\$98.0 million): It is designed to provide services to underserved populations and to amplify the number of treatment slots, providers, and modalities

(d) Adult, Juvenile, and Family Drug Courts (Treating Substance Abusing Offenders) (\$31.8 million): It is managed by the Office of Justice Programs at the US Department of Justice. Through the provision of grants to fund the planning, implementation, and enhancement of juvenile, adult, family, and tribal drug treatment courts across the country, the program aims to effectively connect offenders with substance abuse treatment.

Other programs that also make part of the “Intervening and Healing” component of the Drug Control Strategy are: Detecting Drug Use Early Saves Lives which through brief interventions, nonjudgmental motivational conversations between doctors and patients aims to increase awareness and offer possible solutions to their addiction.; Medical Education on Substance Abuse that wants to increase the awareness of the importance of addressing substance use by incrementing support for screening and brief intervention within the medical community⁶¹; Treatment for Co-occurring Disorders designed to provide an integrated treatment to become successful in retaining individuals with co-occurring disorders in treatment, reducing substance abuse disorders, and improving symptoms of mental disorders. Through strategy the federal government required the VA to annually screen for depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, and substance abuse and to develop screening instruments that can be self-administered⁶²;

⁶⁰ Through the expansion of this tool a range of medical settings will enable clinicians to screen more patients for substance abuse disorders, prevent use and treat individuals, and lastly help reduce the burden of addictive disorders.

⁶¹ The end goal is to better understand substance abuse, how it is treated, and how treatment services are delivered through the adoption of screening and brief interventions

⁶² Whenever the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) system finds someone that screen positive for depression, he/she is referred to a Behavioral Health Lab (BHL) for further assessment. This BHL helps veterans gain access to care for misuse of prescription drugs or abuse of illicit drugs. This holistic approach gives a practical, low-cost method of assessing, monitoring, and treating patients identified in primary care as having mental health and substance abuse needs.

Understanding Addiction with the purpose of helping understand how drug abuse affect the brain and behavior, including the roles played by genetics, environment, age, gender, and other factors; and consequently in helping design more effective prevention and treatment strategies, through research. It is also searching to find an effective mechanism to prevent drugs from entering the brain⁶³, and therefore help with the huge problem of addiction. This strategy has the support of the National Institute on Drug Abuse's (NIDA) research that contributes in the advancement of treatment.

(3) Disrupting the Markets- The National Security Strategy: Tackling Transnational Threats (\$8.3 Billion)

US's international drug control policy and national security strategies are focused in reducing the flow of illicit drugs into the United States; disrupting and dismantling major drug trafficking organizations; strengthening the democratic and law enforcement institutions of partner nations threatened by illegal drugs; and reducing the financial and other support that drug trafficking provides to international terrorist organizations⁶⁴. The current National Drug Control Strategy is complementing and supporting the functions of the National Security Strategy. The Disrupting the Market for Illegal Drugs strategy intends to reduce the supply of illegal drugs in America by attacking all steps in the illegal drug supply chain (drug crop cultivation, imports of essential chemicals, trafficking the drugs, and repatriating billions of dollars in illegal profit). The "Disrupting the Market" strategy is carried out through the following programs:

(a) The Andean Counterdrug Initiative (ACI) (\$635.3 million): The program is managed by the Department of State, and has the purpose of stopping the flow of cocaine and heroin from the Andes (Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Peru, and Venezuela). The strategy includes support for law enforcement, border control, illicit crop reduction and alternative

⁶³ NIDA is supporting potential development of nicotine, cocaine and methamphetamine vaccines.

⁶⁴ According to the National Drug Control Strategy 2008, drug trade is a crucial factor in destabilizing regions of strategic importance such as Colombia (link between the FARC and drug trade), Afghanistan (link between the Taliban and opium trade), West Africa (drug trafficking in Guinea-Bissau) and Venezuela.

development, institution building and human rights programs in the Andes. The main strategy under this component is the Plan Colombia. The Plan Colombia started in 2000 and it consists of the provision of funds to the Colombian government to sponsor a comprehensive drug control strategy (which includes eradication, interdiction, organizational attack, judicial reform, broadening of the State's authority in areas previously controlled by illegal armed organizations, etc).

Currently, the Department of State invests \$237.8 million⁶⁵ in Colombia to be used in consolidating progress achieved under Plan Colombia, and also in supporting the transition of other counternarcotics programs to the Government of Colombia. US assistance wishes to enhance Colombian Government's ability to interdict drugs, and to support aviation programs that carry out eradication, interdiction, humanitarian, and high-value target operations, and allow the Colombian military and police the ability to operate in remote regions (ONDC, 2009).

(b) Afghanistan Counterdrug Support (\$327.6 million): It was launched by the US Government in 2007 and it is managed by the Department of State. It is focused on the central goals of public information, alternative development, poppy elimination and eradication, interdiction, and justice reform in Afghanistan.

(d) Domestic Enforcement (\$1,426.6 million): It is managed by the Department of Justice. It is intended to disrupt and/or dismantle organizations that control the illegal drug trade within the US's borders, and seize the profits and assets involved in these illegal activities. This tasks are performed by the joint work of the DEA, EPIC, ICE, US Customs and Border Protection (CBP), FBI, IRS Criminal Investigation Division, the Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) Department of State and Treasury, among many others.

(e) Border Security and Control between the Ports of Entry (\$456.3 million drug-related): It is handled by the Department of Homeland Security. It intends to prevent illicit drugs and other

⁶⁵ This shows a \$4.7 million decrease from FY 2009.

contraband to enter the United States. Operations are done through traffic check operations, canine teams, and membership in a number of interagency drug task forces and Border Patrol.

(f) CBP Office Air and Marine (\$429.6 million): It is handled by the Department of Homeland Security with the mission of securing US's borders, through integrated and coordinated force to detect, interdict, and prevent acts of terrorism, drug smuggling that originate from illegal movement of people and goods across the borders of the US.

(g) Byrne Public Safety and Protection Grants (\$140.4 million): It is a new competitive grant program managed by the Department of Justice, which focus assistance on those jurisdictions with significant criminal justice problems and assist local and state governments in handling important criminal justice concerns.

Other initiatives that are used to "Disrupt the Markets" are: Targeting Marijuana Cultivation in the US where Federal, State and local law enforcement agencies concentrate efforts to disrupt large, scale marijuana cultivation operations⁶⁶; Stemming the Flow of Drugs across the Southwest Border with the purpose of improving Federal counterdrug efforts in the areas of intelligence collection and information sharing, interdiction at and between ports of entry, aerial surveillance and interdiction of smuggling aircraft, investigations and prosecutions, countering financial crime, and cooperation with Mexico⁶⁷; State and Local Law Enforcement agencies strategy searches for the facilitation of cooperation among all different law enforcement agencies, and of an increase of investigative resources through multiagency taskforces and the expansion of the access to law enforcement information⁶⁸ and intelligence with a fundamental role in the

⁶⁶ There are several programs that target this objective: The Domestic Cannabis Eradication/Suppression Program (DCE/SP) works together with the ONDCP and Federal land management Agencies that target to the Mexican drug trafficking organizations that lead the marijuana cultivation in America.

⁶⁷ The National Southwest Border Counternarcotics Strategy was created to control the flow of drugs that enter the US through the border with Mexico. The Secure Border Initiative is another comprehensive multiyear plan managed by the Department of Homeland Security designed to secure America's borders.

⁶⁸ The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) provides technical support to enhance information sharing with State and local law enforcement partners.

success of illicit drugs market disruption⁶⁹; Taking Drugs off America's Roadways, with the goal of attacking the transportation of massive quantities of illicit drugs and cases on American roads and highways.; Working with Mexico and Central America with the purpose of reducing drug and drug related crimes in the region. ; Transit Zone Interdiction, performed mainly by US Customs, Border Protection, and the DEA (through the implementation of the Operation All Inclusive which are a series of maritime and land-based interdiction operations in the Caribbean, Eastern Pacific, Central America, and Mexico).

What has been said regarding Colombia's and U.S. Drug Control Policies?

Some authors have suggested multiple measures regarding Colombia and US drug control policies. Specifically, some suggest the legalization of drugs, others suggest the need to demand more from military or need to create more complex drug policy.

Maldonado (2006) develops a very interesting discussion around the anti-drug policies managed by Colombia and the U.S. The author's research discusses how a more effective strategy to minimize the illicit drug problem and indirectly help solve Colombia's armed conflict would be the legalization of drugs. The paper discusses four main alternatives to stop the drug business cycle and its impact which are: 1) reduction of drug demand by high income countries, 2) reduction of drug supply from low income countries, 3) a combination of these two options, and 4) drug business legalization. The idea is that "the political answer to the question is repression, but the scientific answer is regulated legalization" (Maldonado, 2006: 14). A country like Colombia requires of the help and approval of the U.S. for its economic development, therefore it is restricted in its options of acting, given that it is not in its best interest to contradict whatever is in the interest of American government. The main point is that by prohibiting the drug business

⁶⁹ Federally-supported task forces, such as those funded through the Office of National Drug Control Policy's (ONDCP's) High Intensity Drug Trafficking Areas (HIDTA) program and the Department of Justice's Organized Crime Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) initiative⁶⁹ have helped to close the gaps between agencies and jurisdictions through the facilitation of cooperation among all different law enforcement agencies.

the U.S. government maximizes its utilities; therefore Colombia must conform to these prohibitive policies that indirectly affect the development of its own armed conflict by maintaining the illegal drugs business very profitable due to its illegal character.

Becker, Murphy and Grossman (2004) illustrate why in certain cases policy makers support certain kinds of repression instead of a legalization process when dealing with drugs. The main point is that the legalization of drugs is almost impossible to achieve through the political process⁷⁰. It is not in the best interest of people with power (policy makers) to legalize drugs because this will translate in an increase in consumption by middle and high income people, who want to become policy makers. In the same line of thought, it is easier to punish the suppliers than the consumers, because most probably the supply involves poor people and the interests of people with power aren't affected. In other words, there is an international need to do something against drugs, but for policy makers it is easier and more beneficial to punish the supply side of the drug market instead of the demand. The conclusion of the paper is that drug legalization is an optimal policy according to the theory and evidence utilized in this research.

Sweig (2002) makes a tough critique of U.S. support to the way Colombia fights against drugs and illegal armed organizations. Her idea is that the U.S needs to be more demanding on Colombian military and political elite when providing help (financial and tactical) to this country if the U.S. doesn't want to relive past mistakes. As well the U.S. needs to focus more on how to decrease demand for drugs in the U.S. The author believes that the U.S. Andean counter drug policy has began to morph into a counterinsurgency and counter terror strategy due to the ineffectiveness of drug eradication in Colombia which was the centerpiece of American narcotics policy. She argues that the Alternative Development program has also failed, and as a result of these failures the U.S. government "mistakenly realized" that Colombia's fight against drugs

⁷⁰⁷⁰ An example of how difficult it can be is all of the complications that have appeared in the case of California and their intent to legalize the use of medicinal marijuana.

needs also a counter insurgency component⁷¹. In fact, “the Clinton administration shifted the emphasis of the policy from a comprehensive counter drug program involving economic, social and democratic development, to a policy that centered on the provision of military assistance and helicopters to eradicate coca production in FARC territory” (Sweig, 2002:126). Sweig’s argument can be interpreted as a need of a more structured and well designed campaign against drugs in Colombia, accompanied with more responsibility of the U.S. in their process of drug demand reduction in its streets.

“U.S. Drug Policy: Addicted to Failure” is the title of the paper written by Mathea Falco. In this research the author makes a very compelling point, providing treatment to U.S. addicts will do more to reduce drug consumption than trying to decrease drug production and trafficking on producing countries, or at the border. The big failure of U.S. drug policy lies in the popular view that “other countries are largely responsible for America’s drug problem” (Falco, 1996: 120). The misconception that the reduction of foreign supplies is the most effective way to reduce drug abuse in the W. S. is mistaken, although it seems easier and more convenient to stop foreign farmers from growing drug crops than curbing America’s appetite for drugs. The author argues that the supply side strategy is flawed for the following reasons: a) The economics of drug cultivation mitigate against sustained reductions in supply, b) The U.S. consumes only a portion of worldwide drug production, c) America’s annual drug demand can be supplied from a relatively small growing area and transported in airplanes, d) The price structure of the drug market severely limits the potential impact of interdiction and source-county programs. The main point of the paper is that after centuries of blaming other countries for being the source of America’s drug problem there is a need to recognize that the real and perdurable solutions lie at home. Falco cites a 1994 RAND study, *Controlling Cocaine: Supply Versus Demand Programs*,

⁷¹ The author cite critiques that state that if the U.S. wanted to reduce the huge amount of drugs coming from Colombia, a combination of demand reduction and decriminalization at home with sustainable, alternative development in Colombia would be a better way to spend U.S. money

which concludes that, is far more effective to provide treatment to addicts than either interdiction or source-country programs in reducing cocaine consumption. And although the US holds one of the highest treatment rates in the world (UNODC, 2006), it has not, by any means, been sufficient to meet all the needs of the drug addicted population.

Defending a similar argument Reuter (1992) presents an economic analysis where he finds that when account is taken of the structure of prices in the cocaine industry and the ability farmers and refiners to make behavioral adaptations, none of these programs has much hope for affecting the flow of cocaine to the United States. Reuter states that source-country programs (whether they are eradication, substitution or refinery destruction) have negligible prospects for reducing American cocaine consumption in the long run. He argues that forcing farmers to plant in smaller and less accessible fields would make an insignificant difference to the U.S. consumer. What these programs really do is redistribute coca production among the source countries. Although these programs do not have substantial effects in U.S. drug consumption they can have enormous effects on the source countries themselves; they may increase the power of guerrilla movements by increasing peasant hostility toward the central government, among other things. The U.S. must be attentive when choosing programs to fight crop production because many of these may cause harm overseas.

To finish the discussion of what has been said about drug control policies in Colombia and in the U.S., Thoumi's (2002) paper answers the question: Can the United Nations support "objective" and unhampered illicit drug policy research? His point is that there exists pressures on the United Nations from drug-policy setting countries, lack of independent funds for the UN drug policy agencies, the structure and internal dynamics of the UN bureaucracies, and the background of the involved UN staff, which limits the UN's capacity to search for a better anti-drug policy agenda that goes beyond the ineffective repressive anti-drug agenda. This is a fact which Thoumi considers unfortunate because the UN hold the largest amount of information

about illicit drugs anywhere in the world and could play an important role in designing more successful policies (that do not necessarily need to be so repressive). By telling his personal experience during his work with the UN and all the limitations he suffered to express his opinion and what he considered was a more objective reality of the drug problem, Thoumi explains the multiple limitations that arose from part of the UN based on the diplomatic and political body that composes the United Nations.

Thoumi recalls the fact that international conventions are by themselves important limitations. Because, many UN officers argue that the conventions have already settled important policy issues such as the criminalization of illegal drugs and crops, and therefore aren't willing to discuss different (and maybe more effective) options to fight against drugs. As well, the funding sources also impose restrictions. Those donors of contributions to the UN can control the use of their funds and can influence drug control policy through them. His main point is that policy effects depend on economic, social, anthropological, political and other dimensions of the problem. That's why policies such as the Alternative Development have so many "unintended consequences". According to Thoumi one of the biggest problems with drug related research performed by the UN is that the results of many studies are pre-determined by the values and morals of those doing/financing the research.

The declarations made by Thoumi along with the main points of all the previously discussed research lay out the need of a much more comprehensive drug control policy. Repressive policies against the use of drugs haven't been very successful in decreasing consumption of illegal goods (look at alcohol and tobacco history) (Kleiman, 2005). In addition, serious research has shown that drug control strategies mainly based on limiting the supply aren't the most effective. Instead very small decreases in the amount of illicit crops produced are accompanied with huge unintended social and economic consequences for these producing

countries. It is time to leave political interest behind and sincerely start working for an effective drug control policy that benefits the world overall (not only the ones in power).

CHAPTER 4: DATA AND METHODS- PROCESS EVALUATION OF COLOMBIA'S AND US'S DRUG CONTROL POLICIES

4.1) Consistency of Drug Strategy and UN guidelines and Consistency with Economic and Criminal Justice Literature

4.1.1) UN Guidelines and US/Colombia Drug Control Strategies

The United Nations recognizes three main program components as necessary in an efficient national drug control strategy (UN, 2009)⁷². These components are: a) counternarcotics and law enforcement operations; b) drug prevention, treatment and rehabilitation; and c) provision of sustainable livelihoods. The sum of these imparts, in an integral manner, should help reduce drug supply and demand in countries, as well as it can contribute to the reduction of the drug problem worldwide.

The purpose of the counternarcotics and law enforcement operations is to work towards drug control through the disruption of the markets, interdiction operations, and the like, thus controlling the supply of drugs available in the country. The drug prevention, treatment and rehabilitation component helps control the demand for drugs through the education, treatment and the increase of awareness of individuals affected or prone to suffer drug use or addiction. Last, the “providing sustainable” livelihoods component works to guarantee alternate legal options of survival to those in the community who used to participate or where at risk to contribute in the production of illegal drugs.

⁷² The UNODCP also propose as important components: conducting necessary research and analysis and addressing HIV/AIDS issues. (Making the world safer from crime, drugs and terrorism, UNOCD 2007).

The Colombian drug control strategy consists of seven different strategies that are consistent with the United Nation's guidelines. The strategies of *reduction of supply of illicit drugs* and *international policy* address the UN's counternarcotics and law enforcement portion. The *reduction of demands of users* would be the Colombian Policy that corresponds to the drug prevention, treatment and rehabilitation component. Lastly, the *Alternative Development* program is the one created to deal with the UN's providing sustainable livelihoods issue⁷³.

Similarly the United States' strategy is composed of three main parts that go hand in hand with the UN's recommendations. The *Disrupting the Markets* strategy corresponds to the UN's counternarcotics and law enforcement portion. The Stopping Drug Use Before it Starts and Intervening and Healing America's Drug Users go with the drug prevention, treatment and rehabilitation component suggested by the UN. To finish, the UN's providing sustainable livelihoods issue is addressed in the American drug control policy through the financing of strategies such as the Plan Colombia that provide funds to producing countries to implement Alternative Development programs.

After going over the theory of what the Colombian and the US's drug control strategies propose, it seems that both Colombia and the United States have strategies that are consistent with the recommendations given by the United Nations. Both countries address illicit drug supply and demand troubles through the direct or indirect use of counternarcotics and law enforcement operations/ drug prevention, treatment and rehabilitation/ provision of sustainable livelihoods.

After analyzing the description of the drug control policies in Colombia and the U.S. it appears that both of the countries follow the guidelines offered by the United Nations. Regardless, the production and consumption rates of illicit drugs in these countries remain very high. Consequently, the origin of the lack of success of the drug control policies of these

⁷³ Colombia's strategy also include the components of: Judiciary and institutional strengthening, environmental issues and Plan Colombia that directly and indirectly address the three main issues proposed by the UN.

countries must lie in either major flaws (incomplete/wrong) in the structure recommended by the UN, and/or by crucial flaws in the design and implementation of the policies against illicit drugs in Colombia and the U. S.

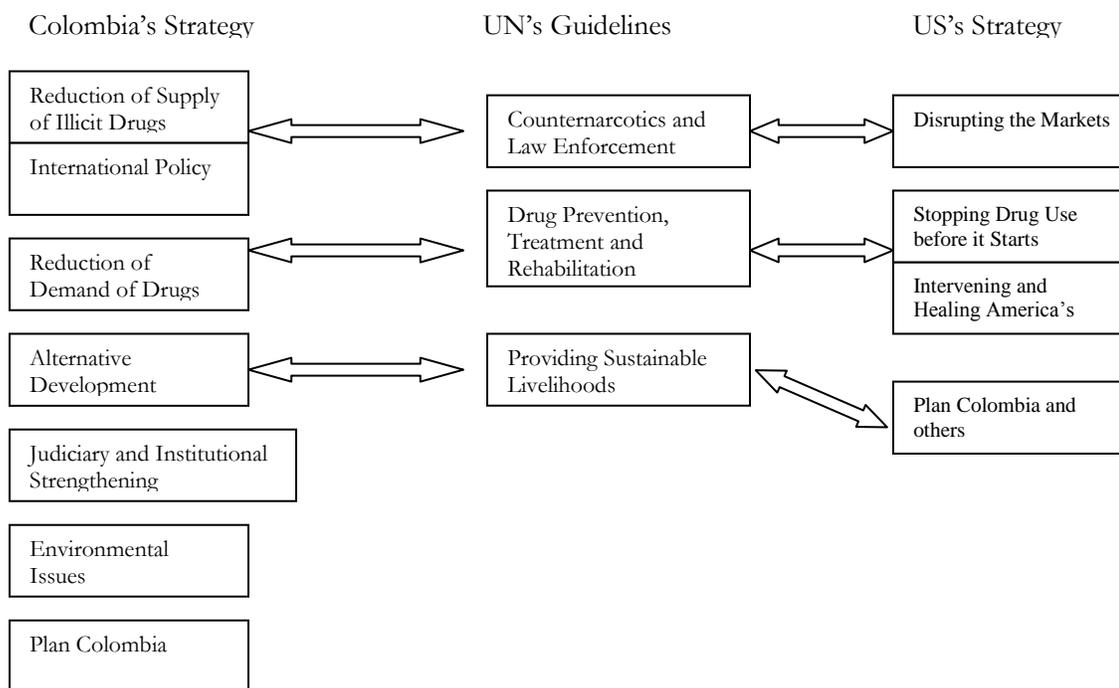


FIGURE 1- Consistency Colombia's and US's Drug Control Policies with UN's guidelines
Source: Data from Departamento Nacional de Planeacion, Colombia and ONDCP

4.1.2) Consistency with Economic and Criminal Justice literature

After offering a general overview of the drug control strategies in Colombia and the US, and before discussing the process evaluations of the selected programs within these policies, it is useful to briefly analyze how theoretically grounded seem to be strategies in both countries. Economic and criminal justice theories offer important recommendations regarding the way illicit drug production and consumption should be addressed. The first idea is that both, illicit drug consumption and illicit drug production should be attacked simultaneously, in order to achieve a reduction in quantities dealt in the market. Second, measures that aim to increase the price of

illicit drugs, such as interdiction, fumigation, and others, should be re-evaluated. Although these measures could help reduce drug consumption among drug consumers whose demand does respond to the prices, these actions are also increasing the benefits of producers and therefore providing more incentives for a larger supply of illicit drugs. Even worse is the scenario of those for whom the demand of drugs is inelastic, the case of addicts, because these prohibitionist strategies do not affect much their consumption. Addicts seek to maximize their immediate pleasure; therefore prohibition measures tend to worsen the problem instead of helping solve it. Third, societies (countries) should work towards decreasing the emphasis given on economic success and instead should focus more on its population's education, morale and values. It is necessary to balance the importance of the economic, education, family and polity institutions in the affected countries. Stronger communities are better prepared to address crime given their stronger social support systems.

The policies currently implemented in Colombia and the United States are not always consistent with the theoretical background. Three particular characteristics of these policies need re-consideration:

First – Current strategies show more emphasis on attacking the production of illegal drugs instead of attacking both, consumption and production, simultaneously.

Most of the resources in the United States and in Colombia are directed towards attacking trafficking and production of illicit drugs through interdiction programs. While it is unquestionably important to address production, it is equally imperative to work towards reducing consumption of illicit drugs. Certainly, it makes sense that Colombia utilizes most of its resources in attacking production (See Table 2) given that it is the major producer of cocaine in the world (and one of the main consumers of heroin), but it is less clear why reducing consumption of illicit drugs is not the priority of US's drug control strategy. The US's Budget Report of 2008 states that the entire budget provided by the current administration to be utilized

in drug control totals \$12.961 billion (The White House, 2007). The distribution of this budget was approximately 63% of it is utilized to finance programs focused on attacking trafficking and production of illicit drugs (many of these in other countries), and a 37% of this budget is targeted to prevention and treatment of current consumers in the US (See Table 3). Though it could be the case that production programs are more expensive and require more resources, it is questionable why so many of the drug control resources are utilized abroad. In the meantime, prevention, treatment and education programs, that are of major need in US's territory, are rather small, monetarily and quantitatively, when compared to the attacking production strategies. Something needs to be done to improve prevention/education/treatment programs effectiveness, either modify the strategies utilized or invest more resources in them.

TABLE 2: Colombia's Drug Control Strategies 2009 Million \$

Maintenance and Strengthening of the public forces capacities	3,085,453	81.0%
Displacement, Human Rights & Reconciliation	420,385	11.0%
Forester Families	105,000	2.8%
Maintenance and strengthening of the labors of DAS	84,402	2.2%
Re-socialization and de-mobilization	50,000	1.3%
Eradication of illicit crops	32,000	0.8%
Integral System of Emergency and Security in Colombia	5,000	0.1%
Others	29,103	0.8%
Total	3,811,343	100.0%

Source: National Planning Department

TABLE 3: US's Drug Control Strategies - Budget 2009

(1) Stopping Drug Use before it Starts	Drug Consumption	\$ 1.6 Billion	12.4%
(2) Intervening and Healing America's Drug users	Drug Consumption	\$ 3.0 Billion	23.3%
(3) Disrupting the Markets - The National Security Strategy	Drug Production	\$ 8.3 Billion	64.3%
Total	Consumption and Production	\$12.9 Billion	100%

Source: White House Drug Policy

Second – Most of the drug control strategies implemented in Colombia and the US increase illicit drug prices.

A big contradiction of currently implemented policies and the theoretical background provided by Economic and Criminal Justice theories is the emphasis of both countries, Colombia and the United States, in implementing strategies that increase the prices of illicit drugs as a mechanism to reduce consumption and subsequent production. When a good is price-inelastic, the quantities of goods dealt in markets do not respond to changes in prices. This means, that in the case of illicit drugs, where addicts have a price inelastic demand, increases in its prices do not always cause decreases in its demand. As a result, the demand for drugs of the 26 million people that are classified as problem users -this is almost 13% out of the people that reported to use drugs in 2006 (World Drug Report, 2008)⁷⁴ - does not respond to changes in prices. On the contrary, interdiction and prohibitionist policies, by generating increases in prices and not decreases in demand, create greater opportunities to make profit by producing illicit drugs with higher prices and with higher demand. Now, illicit drug producers, dealers and traffickers find more incentives to continue with their business regardless of the many risks it could involve.

Third – The majority of the policies implemented in the US and Colombia do not emphasize enough in creating organized communities, building stronger institutions (education, family, polity), and generating stronger social support systems within these countries.

Social disorganization, institutional anomie and social support system theories provide multiple explanations of why it is a necessity to emphasize providing education, and increasing social conditions of populations in affected countries. By going briefly over all of the programs that are part of the drug control policies in both countries is reasonable to say that although

⁷⁴ Although problem users are only a 13% out of all the illicit drug users around the world, the demand of illicit drugs of these individuals must be a much greater percentage of the total demand of drugs in the world given that addicts consume with more frequency and in greater quantities.

Colombia and the US do implement some programs to address these issues, they are not sufficient and require much more attention. The US has the Treatment and Prevention campaigns to provide education and support to affected populations or populations with high chance of drug consumption. The problem with these is that most of the funded prevention programs are not comprehensive at all, and in many cases have even shown to be ineffective⁷⁵; in addition, the number of treatment programs is not sufficient and lacks the funding it requires in order to generate any type of impact⁷⁶.

Colombia's drug control policies in fact do include programs that have as focus strengthening institutions or that aim to provide stronger social support systems and to increase individuals' social conditions (such as the Alternative Development Program and the Plan Colombia⁷⁷). Unfortunately, programs focused on educating and building stronger communities in areas with high rates of illicit drugs are rare and target only a minor percentage of the affected population.

In general, economic and criminal justice theoretical background recommends building stronger social support systems in the communities and raising the social indicators of the population, as a mechanism to combat illicit drugs instead of merely narrowing down the majority of the drug control policies to interdiction and prohibition policies. This dissertation is not advocating against prohibitionist policies, but instead wants to recognize the huge need of investing resources in education, prevention, and similar measures that help build stronger societies that consequently are less prone to suffer crime, particularly illicit drug consumption and production.

⁷⁵ This is the case of the Drug Abuse Resistance Education Program (DARE) which has shown to be ineffective. Ennett, Tobler, Ringwalt, and Flewelling (1994) conducted a meta-analysis that showed that the short-term effectiveness of DARE for reducing or preventing drug use behavior is small and is less than for interactive prevention programs.

⁷⁶ Although the U.S. is the world leader in treatment programs the amount of work done in this realm is too small.

⁷⁷ The new version of the Plan Colombia addresses the illegal armed conflict in Colombia and sends some resources to help with this. Less presence of illegal armed groups in these areas should help increase the social conditions of individuals and should make stronger institutions and social support systems in these communities.

Current drug control policies implemented in the United States and Colombia appear to be consistent with the standards provided by the United Nations. On the contrary, there are major flaws in the economic and criminal justice theoretical backgrounds of these policies. Inefficiency of programs designed to attack consumption and production of illicit drugs could be explained in part by these deficiencies, but what about the problems with the implementation of policies that do follow the theoretical model? The purpose of the following sections is to provide an analysis of how the implementation process of two theoretically sound strategies implemented in the United States and in Colombia could partially explain why drug control policies internationally have so little impact.

4.2) Process Evaluation: Why is it important to analyze the implementation of the process?

“Policy evaluation has emerged as an important component of the policy making process in American government” (Fischer, 1995, pg.1).

Besides the insight that theoretical knowledge could inform better design of drug control policies, there is also the practical understanding that program evaluations of the drug control policies in Colombia and the United States could offer. Program evaluations could grant guidance regarding the pertinence of programs; help in deciding whether programs should be continued, improved, expanded, or curtailed; assess the utility of new programs; help increase the effectiveness of program management and administration; and possibly aid to satisfy the accountability requirements of program sponsors. This dissertation offers a brief definition of the concepts: public policy, program evaluation and process evaluations, before moving on to evaluate some of the programs that belong to the drug control policies in Colombia and the United States.

Public policy is difficult to define⁷⁸. Technically it is defined as a public political agreement on a course of action (or inaction) designed to resolve or mitigate problems on the political agenda (Fischer, 1995); practically, it refers to the interdisciplinary discipline focused on development, implementation, and evaluation of policy solutions to public problems (from UNCC Public Policy Program, 2007). A well defined public policy should include: (1) a definition of the problem to be addressed, (2) participants to be involved and ways the policy should affect them, (3) intended effects on the society as a whole, and (4) declaration of basic social and political values which it seeks to promote (Fischer, 1995). Furthermore, policy evaluation refers “to the use of social science research methods to systematically investigate the effectiveness of social intervention programs in ways that are adapted to their political and organizational environments and are designed to inform social action in ways that improve social conditions⁷⁹” (Rossi et al., 2004 pp.29). It is designed to distinguish worthwhile public policy from ineffective one, and it provides information about social and economic problems to assess the processes through which they are pursued. Policy/Program evaluation could be focused either on program outcomes (“impact/outcome” evaluations) or on the processes by which a policy is formulated and implemented (“process” evaluations).

The particular focus of this dissertation is in process evaluation. Process evaluations assess two main areas, coverage and process. It checks the extent to which the treatment service or system is serving the people for whom it was intended, the quantity and quality of services that were provided, the administration of the program and assesses the relationship between the target population and the programs’ administrators. It helps identify the “active ingredients” of treatment. Generally process evaluations are used to improve and help in the development of the program, to assist others organize like programs, and for accountability purposes. The essential

⁷⁸ There is a semantic confusion with the terms “policy analysis”, “policy science” and “policy evaluation”. (Fischer, 1995).

⁷⁹ In order to perform good evaluations it is necessary to pay attention to the principles and practices of data collection and analysis.

parts of a process evaluation include: questions about coverage (compare the characteristics of beneficiaries with the intended target reflected in the program objectives); questions about coverage at the system level (how many treatment programs exist in the region, are there differences in the types of units seen at each program); questions about treatment process at the activity, service, or agency levels (those that influence entry into treatment and the administrative and clinical activities to which clients are exposed while in treatment); questions about treatment process at the system level (co-ordination among specialized treatment programs and between these programs and other services that clients may need). Therefore, process evaluations are interested in the explicit description of the conceptions, assumptions, and expectations that constitute the rationale for the way the program is structured and operated.

The program's process is of particular importance because the program's organization and the service delivery system are the parts of the program that are more manageable by the program administrator and staff. In fact, adequate resources and effective organization are the factors that make it possible to develop and maintain a service delivery system that enables utilization of the services by the target population. Process evaluations are very useful in allowing people not intimately involved in the program to understand how programs operate (Patton, 1987). Additionally, no program could have its expected theoretical impact if it has crucial flaws in its implementation. As Williams states: "the lack of concern for implementation is currently the crucial impediment to improving complex operating programs, policy analysis, and experimentation in social policy areas" (Williams, 1976, p.267). If outcomes are evaluated without knowledge of implementation, the results rarely provide a direction for action because the decision-makers lack information about what produced the observed outcome (Patton, pg. 27).

This document presents process evaluations of one particular component of the drug control policies in Colombia and the United States. The purpose of these process evaluations is to identify the strengths and weaknesses in the currently implemented drug control policies and

consequently find possible explanations of why drug consumption and production rates are so high, albeit the existence of multiple programs designed to attack these. By undergoing process evaluations this dissertation also provides some recommendations of what changes should be made, and what valuable components of the programs should be emphasized.

4.3) Programs Evaluated: Why choose Alternative development (Colombian Case) and Prevention-Stopping Initiation (US case)?

The strategies selected for analysis in this document are the Alternative Development Strategy for the Colombian case, and the Prevention-Stopping Initiation Campaign for the United States' case. The selection of these two strategies was based on the fact that both of these programs hold a strong theoretical background that is consistent with the economic and criminal justice theory. Consequently, ineffectiveness of these policies are not based on their lack of theoretical rigor but most probably will be explained by problems in these programs' implementation. Process evaluations can recognize these implementation failures and hopefully can offer recommendations about possible ways to fix these. In addition, the Alternative Development and the Stopping Initiation Campaigns are recognized as major components of the drug control strategies in both of the countries.

Economic theory suggests focusing on attacking both sides of the market: supply and demand. This is what the Alternative Development and the Stopping Initiation do. The AD focuses in reducing supply that is the main illicit drug related program of Colombia, and the SI campaign is interested in reducing demand for drugs which is the main problem of the US. On the other hand, Criminal Justice Theory suggests focusing on the influence of the environment in generating crime in societies, the importance of social support, stronger institutions, etc. Consistently, the AD program has a strong component that addresses the provision of social

support and community strengthening, and the SI campaign also offers a number of educational programs interested in strengthening values and the context surrounding young people⁸⁰.

4.4) Program Evaluation: Colombia and the US (Colombia= Alternative Development (Forester Families and Productive Projects); USA= Prevention Strategy (Anti-Drug Media Campaign, Drug Free Communities Support Program and Student Drug Testing)).

CASE 1: COLOMBIA- Alternative Development Program

i) Background

The origins of the Alternative Development Strategy go back to the projects of “crop substitution” that started in northern Thailand⁸¹ around 1970. In the 1990’s this same strategy evolved into a more complex and broader strategy known as “Alternative Development” (United Nations International Drug Control Programme, 1993). The rationale behind the crop substitution project was that if, by offering profitable legal crop substitutes the economic necessity to grow illicit crops disappeared, and then the illicit crop cultivation would be eliminated in the targeted areas. This would have a domino effect on adjacent zones and eventually the entire area would be illicit crop free.

As time passed, an urgent necessity to broaden the “crop substitution” approach emerged and therefore “integrated rural development” appeared. This program had as a goal the improvement of the overall quality of life of the target population through approaches that involved not only income but also health infrastructure, education and social services. This new approach proved to be successful in a number of Asian countries where it was implemented and consequently became an example to follow in Latin American countries that suffered similar

⁸⁰ The number one goal of The National Drug Control Strategy is to “Educate and enable America’s youth to reject illegal drugs as well as alcohol and tobacco.” (Westat, Evaluation of the National Anti-Drug Media Campaign: 2004 Report of Findings) The Stopping Initiation Campaign is the part of this strategy that addresses this particular objective.

⁸¹ Thailand had extensive cultivation of opium poppy.

problems of illicit crop cultivation⁸² (United Nations International Drug Control Programme, 1993).

Although the strategy seemed to be a perfect plan on paper, difficulties emerged when finding crops that were feasible substitutes on agricultural and especially on marketing grounds (mainly because drug traffickers had a great ability to adjust the price paid for the illicit crops). The situation was particularly complicated in Latin America where traffickers introduced cultivation into new, non-traditional areas (United Nations International Drug Control Programme, 1993). Because of this, a crop substitution/ integrated rural development strategy, that attended the overall development of entire zones to prevent possible spillover effects, and therefore went broader than the previous micro-economic approach showed as more convenient. Additionally, the program needed to be part of a wider, balanced approach to the drug issue in the affected area that had the complete support of the local community. This wider approach is what is known today as the “Alternative Development” strategy (United Nations International Drug Control Programme, 1993).

Currently, The Alternative Development is one of the main strategies promoted by the United Nations to control the growth of illicit crops around the globe. Its name is due to the legal and economically viable alternatives provided, through the program, to farmers that in the past were involved (or at risk to be involved) with the cultivation of coca or opium (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2005). Alternative Development Projects are currently implemented in Latin America (including Colombia), Southwest Asia and Southeast Asia (UNODC, 2009).

ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT IN COLOMBIA

The history of Colombia’s population is embedded in the long lasting phenomena of drug trafficking, illegal armed groups, and drug cartels. In the past decade, Colombia became the main

⁸² All of these countries hold very different social, political and economic conditions that complicate even more policies to deal with the presence of illicit crops.

producer of cocaine in the world, and one of the major suppliers and traffickers of heroin in the globe. As a consequence, Colombia's government has been implementing for decades a wide variety of drug control strategies. Among these, there is the Alternative Development Program, a policy promoted by the United Nations worldwide⁸³ to substitute illicit crops (particularly coca leaf and poppy) for other legal options. The Alternative Development program complements interdiction policies that aim to reduce the supply of illicit crops.

The Alternative Development Strategy was first supported by the government in this country during the 1990's, a period of extremely high rates of drug related violence. Alternative Development is defined as a negotiated alternative, not obligatory, to fight against illicit crops. It is a rural option that creates productive options to the communities that depend solely on illicit crops. The program had the goal of assisting areas with presence of illicit drugs through a substitution of crops plan. This strategy was initially administered through a program called the Plan Nacional de Rehabilitacion-PNR. After 1995 the Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Alternativo - PLANTE was established as administrator of the Alternative Development program, with a municipal interventionist model, focused in ameliorating the consequences of the drug trafficking phenomena. The main purpose here was to "generate the availability of more licit productive, rentable and environmentally friendly options for the farmers and indigenous people, in order to help them surpass the conditions that facilitated the establishment of illicit crops" (Decreto 0472 of 1996). Unfortunately this version of the AD program encountered great limitations in finding market to sell the farmers' products, presence of illegal armed groups in these areas, social decomposition, and institutional weakening, among many others.

Nowadays, the administration of the Alternative Development Strategy is handled by the Accion Social entity as an important component of the "Plan Colombia", and this new version of the AD program is not only interested in promoting legal income and employment options in

⁸³ Other countries in the world that implement the Alternative Development Strategy are Afghanistan, Myanmar, Thailand, Peru, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Bolivia, etc. (UNODC website)

those communities that commit themselves to maintain the areas illicit-crop-free. (CICAD, 2005), but also works to support the social capital strengthening, through the promotion of communitarian participation and organization (CONPES 3218). The addition of this last component is precisely what Criminal theory calls for when wanting to reduce crime from a macro perspective. Currently, the Alternative Development strategy is part of the “democratic security strategy⁸⁴” of President Alvaro Uribe Velez since 2002. The democratic security strategy attempts to guarantee security and liberty to the population, protect human rights, in addition to fostering economic development.

Due to Colombia’s particular circumstances (drug cartels, illegal armed groups: the FARC, the ELN and the paramilitaries) a fight against drug-trafficking based entirely on eradication of illicit crops appeared as insufficient. The Alternative Development Strategy implemented in Colombia acted as a complement of other interdiction strategies. The Program involves introduction of new crops, as well as the processing and transformation of the illicit crops, and the commercialization of these through farmer cooperatives or associations of producers and alliances with the private sector. In addition, in regions with presence of illicit crops the Alternative Development program pursues to offer an integrated rural development that consists of guaranteeing basic requirements for the proper functioning of the Alternative Development policies. This integrated rural development includes the creation of rural pathways of access, provision of energy, clean water, health improvement, education, etc (UNODC Colombia, El Desarrollo Alternativo). Although crop substitution continued to be an important objective, the Alternative Development needed to include programs of integrated rural development in regions with illicit crops presence.

⁸⁴ The democratic security strategy refers to various economic, political and military policies with the objective of forcing a negotiated settlement with the narco-terrorist groups (the government calls the illegal armed groups, FARC and the paramilitary, narco-terrorist groups) that leads to a lasting and democratic peace. The main purpose is to settle and reinstate the rule of law in Colombia and offer protection to the population (Embassy of Colombia at Washington).

The existence of a long lasting armed conflict in Colombian territory makes even more imperative the need of an Alternative Development strategy that offered farmers other development options besides the cultivation of coca and poppy. If farmers, present in areas with armed conflict and illicit crops, weren't able to leave behind the cultivation of coca and poppy, the armed conflict will continue to fuel with resources coming from the cultivation, processing and traffic of drugs. While the primary purpose of the alternative Development Strategy is not the achievement of peace, peace is a necessary condition for the success of these projects (United Nations, 2005).

The Alternative Development program is temporal, its medium and long term sustainability depends on how integrated this program is with other environmental and development strategies that are currently implemented in Colombia (DNP, 2003). Its actual orientation highlights the importance of particular communities and the way they are organized, and focuses on the importance of the human factor in the production of narcotics out of illicit crops⁸⁵. The Alternative Development Program 2003-2006⁸⁶ is centered on creating conditions and licit opportunities for the productive and sustainable employment of the rural workers, therefore preventing them from participate in illegal activities. The strategy involves different activities of voluntary manual eradication, prevention and substitution of such crops; co-finance of productive and/or environmental projects; commercialization; implementation and follows up of processes of organizational strengthening; and training activities to contribute to the human and social capital development (Accion Social, 2009).

According to the CONPES 3218 the objectives of the Alternative Development Program 2003-2006 were: 1) Consolidate the eradication process of illicit crops and prevent its expansion based on the commitment of no cultivating and no re-cultivating of the families participating in

⁸⁵ Big mistakes happened in the past when the program was focused only on economic factors, particularly the land, leaving aside social and political conditions of the area.

⁸⁶ Currently the government is working on the elaboration of a new description of what the Alternative Development program is. The most up to date, official, version of what the program is/was is this one that describes the program for the period through 2003-2006.

the program; 2) Offer stable alternatives of income, employment and patrimonial valorization to the families and farmer's communities that have been affected by the illicit crops; 3) Promote the processes of institutional development and legitimacy of the State with the help of national, regional and local authorities and the civil society; 4) Support the strengthening of the social capital, stimulating the organization, participation and communitarian control, with the purpose of consolidating the democratic security and establish the bases for sustainable development in areas with no illicit crops (Accion Social).

Since 2003 the Alternative Development program has been executed through two different components: a) The Productive Projects program and b) The Forester Families⁸⁷ program.

a) Productive projects

This program works together with social organizations in affected territories in the implementation of agro-forest and agricultural medium and long term projects (such as cocoa, rubber, special coffees, etc.). Its purpose is to offer a local and regional economic base, which provides stable sources of income, labor and food to participants. In addition, it also aims to guarantee the nutritional security of these individuals through the sustainable use of natural resources. The goal is to establish agricultural projects that have potential of becoming part of the national and international markets, and as a result stimulate enough money that allows peasants to sustain themselves as a complement of their central activity during unproductive stages of their main crop produced. Through the consolidation of these projects, the Productive Projects strategy aims to establish necessary conditions for its articulation with all different stages of the chain of production, starting from the production, until the commercialization and agro

⁸⁷ There is a third component, Institutional Strengthening, Social Development and Monitoring that accompanies the other two. The purpose of this component is to harmonize the institutional intervention in such a way that it reaches all the regions with coordinated activities and that increase the credibility in the State and legitimize these institutions to the eyes of rural communities. In addition, this component supports the creation and consolidation of no-cultivating commitments between the State and the communities⁸⁷, it also provide social and entrepreneurship support to local participants, and by last it helps in the verification and certification of centers free of illicit crops.

industry (DNP, 2003). Productive Projects aims to establish nutritional security and flow of cash by supporting the establishment of food crops, transitory crops, small pastoral exploitations and promotion of minor species that meet the cultural and ecological characteristics of each region. The success of this strategy goes hand in hand with the establishment of productive organizations⁸⁸ that are based on the participation and social networks created among the members of the productive projects who are the ones that facilitate collective action⁸⁹ (UN and Accion Social, 2008).

The selection of the areas where the Productive Projects intervention takes place is made based on the following variables: illicit crops are present, zones that are included in the agricultural frontier, there are suitable biophysics aspects, land, hydrology and agricultural aptitude; availability of human, financial, technical and infrastructural resources; where previous PLANTE or Campo en Accion projects took place; considering the farming and rural development policies (particularly chains of production and marketing intelligence) (Accion Social, 2009).

The government's aid consists in facilitating access to rural capitalization, adequate financing options, promoting rural businesses and its alliances with the private sector, in addition to facilitating access to technology, training, and human resources building. One of the components of this strategy provided by the government is the facilitation of different modalities of financing options that allows them to finance the stages of maturity of the investment⁹⁰ and pay the credits throughout the different production stages. The productive projects to be developed must conform to the following characteristics: i) be sustainable technically, socially,

⁸⁸ These organizations are the partners of the Colombian National Government for the implementation of the alternative development strategy, because through them coordinated participation from the farmer communities is achieved, and they also guarantee the sustainability of the productive projects and generates aggregate public value in the communities directly or indirectly linked to the illicit crops (United Nations and Accion Social, 2008, pp.5).

⁸⁹ The theory of collective action presents a different number of problems recognized by Tarrow which include: although it is necessary the collective action in order to achieve the goals of the community, given that the benefits of the collective action are shared equally among its members, some of them would prefer not to participate in the necessary action, but do wish to enjoy its benefits (free-riders) (Olson, 1965).

⁹⁰ The producers of these projects could benefit from the "Fondo Agropecuario de Garantias".

economically and environmentally, ii) must generate new sources of jobs and income, iii) must support the conformation and consolidation of rural business organizations and other associative types, iv) must have the participation of beneficiary communities in the different phases of the project, v) must strengthen the productive chains, vi) must have national or international channels of commercialization, vii) must improve the nutritional security conditions of the communities that are beneficiaries, and viii) must work with producers that have their land ownership situation clearly defined (UNODC Colombia and Accion Social, 2008). Among the crops that have been identified as competitive and that offer the most aggregate value are cocoa, rubber, palm of oil, coffee, among many others. Actually in Colombia there are around 400 organizations⁹¹ linked to the alternative development program supported by the Colombian state or international cooperation agencies (UNODC Colombia and Accion Social, 2008).

Since 2003 the program has implemented different intervention models. The first one is the “joint call”/ “strategic alliances” strategy which consists of an alliance between the governmental program against illicit crops (PCI) and with the international cooperation agencies to provide an economic non-refundable contribution of up to 40% that should be destined to the implementation of the productive lines, to the technical assistance, to the socio-business accompaniment, to the productive infrastructure and/or the gain of quality certificates, organic products, among others. The purpose is to make possible and execute sustainable productive projects in any of the prioritized productive lines, consistent to the technical, economic, financial and environmental criteria pre-established by the Program and along the lines of the ordering plans of each region. This intervention model is still in use.

The second model, called “business capitalization” model, worked as a repayable model of risk capital in which the Incubadora Empresarial de Produccion y Comercializacion (INCUAGRO E.U) constituted joint stock companies with the purpose of involving farmer

⁹¹ The great majority of these (91.5%) are related to the production of productive projects (Source: Organizaciones Productivas, 2008).

communities and the private sector to begin a productive project, with financial support, technical, social and business assistance. In a term of 10 to 18 years (depending on the productive line) the communities bought share stocks with the purpose of repaying the resources to Incuagro and also constituting new businesses (Accion Social, 2009). The implementation of this scheme stopped in 2007.

The goals of the Productive Projects program include: 1) Involve 27,000 farmer families in licit activities, in agro-forest projects and medium and long term agricultural projects; 2) Generate at least 17 million of licit “jornarelos” in a national level (this equals to 65,800 direct jobs); 3) Maintain at least 76,350 ha free of illicit crops.

Since the end of 2006, UNODC designed a Follow-up and Evaluation System (SS/E) with the objective to evaluate the development of the Productive Projects Program. This system is supposed to provide information about the developments of the program (UNODCP and Accion Social, 2008).

b) The Forester Families⁹²

“When the families decide to change their illegal productive activity for the legal one, they break the ropes of slavery to which they have been subject by the terrorists, whose main vitamin is the fateful commerce of drugs.”

Alvaro Uribe Velez @ Sembramos y Ahora Recogemos: Somos Familias Guardabosques Book

Forester Families Program is one of the Alternative Development initiatives which undergo activities related to substitution, prevention, and manual eradication of illicit crops. The program began in 2003 and belongs to the strategy of voluntary manual eradication of the Presidential Management against Illicit Crops of Accion Social (Accion Social, 2009). Such strategy is supported by the National Government, local authorities, international organisms and

⁹² There is a lot more detailed information on the description, implementation, functioning, etc of Forester Families Program which is the main component of the Alternative Development in Colombia. In fact, information regarding Productive Projects is fairly scarce and inaccurate (Based on information given by members of the Accion Social entity (managers of the program)).

non-governmental organizations. The Forester Families component aims to engage and commit peasant families⁹³ as forester families, in processes of recovery and conservation of the ecosystem in social and environmental strategic zones. The purpose of the program is to change the generation of illicit for licit income through the provision of a conditioned economic incentive and technical, environmental and social training for a defined period of time (UNODC Colombia and Accion Social, 2007).

The Program wants to fight back the damages caused by the armed conflict and the expansion of illicit crops through a monetary support to those communities that create centers of intervention within the areas where the Program is centered, under the double commitment of not growing or re-growing illicit crops and therefore favoring the revival and protection of strategic natural ecosystems. It is a fact that the drug business has destroyed around 1,700,000 hectares of tropical forest in Colombia, Amazon region (Direccion Nacional de Estupefacientes, 2005).

In summary, Forester Families aims to help reduce the amount of illicit crops in the area; support the generation of associative models of community organization; support the strengthening of institutions through the linkage with national, regional and local entities; consolidate strategies of sustainable and alternative management of the forests and the territory; and contribute to processes of regional development in the intervention zones.

The program involves farmers and indigenous and afro-Colombian families localized in strategic environmental ecosystems, including areas that are affected or are in risk to get involved in illicit cultivation. Target areas must be affected by illicit crops; belong to a strategic eco region; be important to the conservation and maintenance of environmental goods and services; and must be localized in the active international frontier zone. Families that want to participate in the program must belong to municipalities and towns, community councils or indigenous guards targeted by the Program. Participants must also meet the following criteria: have an individual

⁹³ Families that have cultivated illicit crops, as well as those that haven't (but are in danger of doing so) are allowed to participate in the Forester Families Program.

and collective desire to participate in the Program; be head of household and older than 14 years old; belong to only one familiar nuclei; enroll just one member per familiar nuclei; live exclusively from the work in the land; have at least one year working in the premise enrolled in the Program; continue working in the premises, community council or indigenous guard throughout the existence of the Program; have not participated previously in the Program⁹⁴ (Accion Social, 2008).

As previously mentioned, the Forester Families Program is implemented through four main components (Accion Social, 2008): An economic-productive component, which gives families a conditioned economic incentive every two months⁹⁵, and supports the implementation and/or improvement of productive alternative initiatives or projects; the social component, which offers training and support for the strengthening of the communities⁹⁶, supports the creation and/or consolidation of associative models and promotes savings and gender equity; an environmental component, which promotes the usage of good environmental practices, sustainable use and adequate management of natural resources; and the institutional one, which promotes the inter-institutional linkage between national, regional and local entities.

The success of the program is based on the dual commitment of participant families and government. Participant families must commit to: eradicate in a term of 30 calendar days after signing the contract, the entirety of the illicit crops in their premises; provide accurate information to the Program; become part of the Community Committee of Social Control and Verification (CCVS), in the 10 following days after signing the contract; follow the terms of the collective and individual contracts; elaborate and sign the savings act in a community manner;

⁹⁴ Public workers, retired people, teachers, salespeople, council men or people with other sources of income and a solvent economic situation cannot participate. These apply also to people that belong to a family nuclei that is under any of these circumstances. People that do not make their living income from work in the premises CAN NOT participate in the program.

⁹⁵ This timeframe holds for phases IV and V of the Forester Families Program.

⁹⁶ It is very important for these families to belong to social networks that allow them to additional resources that give them access to additional resources with which they could solve crises generated mainly by the presence of illicit crops that has brought with it a) violence from illegal armed groups against social networks to guarantee territorial control and b) the exacerbation of individualistic attitudes that generates drug trafficking money.

assist to the Program's activities and of Integral Accompaniment; and implement an alternative productive initiative or project. Families commit to eradication, no cultivation, and no re-cultivation of illicit crops and to favor the reforestation of the forests and the conservation of strategic natural ecosystems (Accion Social, 2008). Instead, they implement legal productive alternatives and/or environmental projects that contribute to the sustainable management of the forest. The Program offers the Forester Families integrated support (technical-environmental and social) as well as a temporal economic incentive that varies based on the date they got involved in the program (Accion Social, 2008).

On the other hand, for the correct development of the program the government needs to: explain to interested populations the advantages, disadvantages, and sanctions of the Program; have necessary activities for the focalization and involvement of the municipalities, veredas, community councils and/or indigenous guards; hire a neutral organization to verify and certify that areas involved in the Program are free of illicit crops; train the community for the proper following of the CCVS; give integral accompaniment to the families; sign the individual contract with the families that meet the Program's requirements; pay the conditioned economic incentive to the families that follow the requirements (Accion Social, 2008).

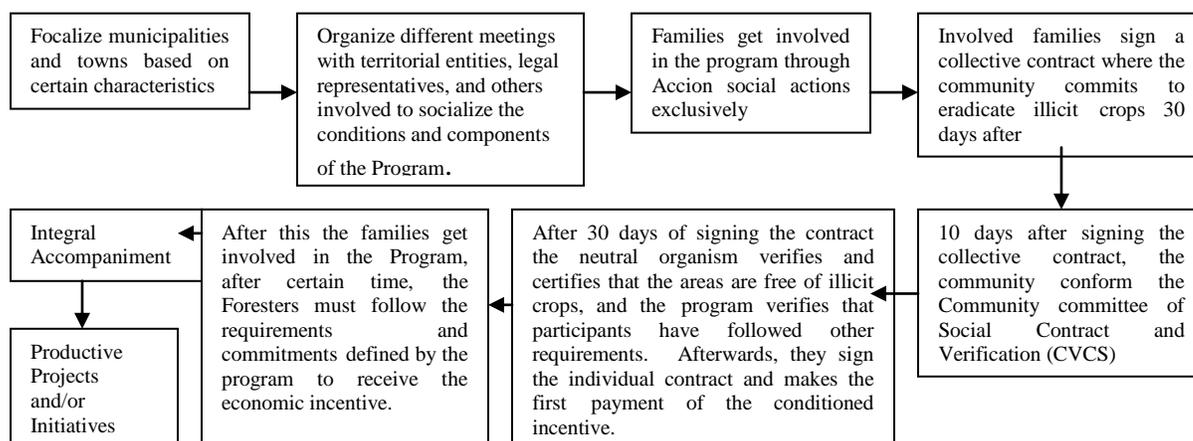


FIGURE 2: Linkage phases to the Forester Families Program

Source: ABC Familias Guardabosques, Accion Social 2008

Up to 2008, five different phases have been implemented, which show the linkage of the new families to the Program under particular conditions and characteristics.

Table 4: Description of the different phases of the Forester Families Program

Phase	Incentive	Duration of the Program	Number of Municipalities	Program Starts
I	\$833,000-\$600,000	36 months	13	2003 and 2004
II	\$600,000	36 months	22	2004
III	\$600,000	36 months	25	2005
IV	\$408,000	18 months	40	2007
V	\$408,000	18 months	21	2008
Total			121	

Source: Sistema de Informacion del PCI, SIPCI, January 2009

The goals of the Forester Families programs are to: a) Involve around 50,000 farmer families as Forester; b) Maintain at least 60,000 hcts free of illicit crops in the areas of intervention; c) Reforest in a natural manner at least 40,000 hcts in areas environmentally strategic; and d) Preserve around 70,000 hcts of natural forest through forester activities (Accion Social, 2009).

ii) Proposed Evaluation Design: Needs Assessment and Research Questions

The Alternative Development program was created with the purposes of helping in the eradication of illicit crops and the prevention of its expansion, offering stable alternatives of income and employment, promoting processes of institutional development and legitimacy of State, and helping consolidate democratic security and the bases for sustainable development in areas with no illicit crops (DNP, 2003). Therefore, the evaluation of this program would be interested in measuring the effects of the “Alternative Development” program in these respects. This document focuses on evaluating the program process and implementation procedures rather than its impacts. A process evaluation offers the public a more clear understanding of how the Alternative Development program is operating in Colombia and would identify areas for improvement. The following evaluation is interested in the program’s organization and the service delivery system⁹⁷, the areas of the program most directly under the control of program administrators and staff, and is also interested in answering the following two questions; 1) How is the Alternative Development program structured and implemented in Colombia?; and 2) Are there signs of implementation failures?

iii) Evaluability Assessment – Program Theory and Logic Model

The Productive Projects and the Forester Families are the two programs that compose the Alternative Development Strategy. Until 2009 the programs were implemented separately⁹⁸ by Colombia’s Accion Social entity. The conceptualization of the following diagrams and assumptions were elaborated by this dissertation’s author, based on the information collected from Accion Social and UNOC at Colombia.

⁹⁷ These two aspects together are the program process (Rossi et al, 2004).

⁹⁸ Starting 2009-10 the program is going to be united and implemented just as one.

PRODUCTIVE PROJECTS

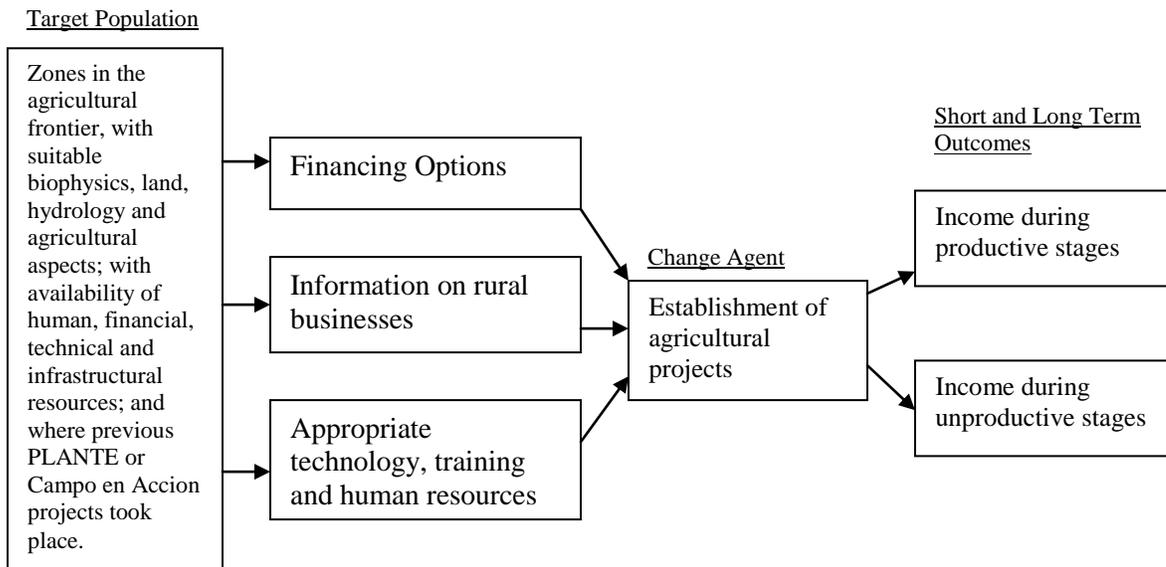


FIGURE 3: Logic Model Productive Projects Program

Data to elaborate this figure comes from documents created by Accion Social , UNODC and the CONPES 3218.

The previous logic model of the program theory of the Productive Projects program is the starting point of this evaluation. The program has as target zones⁹⁹, areas that hold the following characteristics: illicit crops are present; the zones are included in the agricultural frontier; there are suitable biophysics, land, hydrology and agricultural aspects; there is availability of human, financial, technical and infrastructural resources; previous PLANTE or Campo en Accion projects took place. Through the provision of financing options, information on rural businesses, and the appropriate technology, training and human resources the Program provides the communities all tools needed to establish agricultural projects. These agricultural projects are the change agents which will offer the population in these areas with income during productive stages (by selling their products in national and international markets), and give them the possibility to collect enough money that will put them through unproductive stages, with no need to turn back to the cultivation of illicit crops.

⁹⁹ The program is targeted to people in specific zones therefore the unit of analysis is the zone, not the individual.

The stages of the program include: (1) the government together with the private sector facilitate access to rural capitalization and adequate financing options, as well as the promotion of rural businesses. (2) In addition, the government and others facilitate access to technology, training, and human resources building. (3) Individuals in these areas establish the cultivation of food crops, transitory crops, small pastoral exploitations and promotion of minor species that meet the cultural and ecological characteristics of each region. (4) The establishment of agricultural projects that have potential of becoming part of the national and international markets. (5) Due to the stimulation of money farmers are able to sustain themselves as a complement of their central activity during unproductive stages of their principal crop cultivated. In the past the intervention model through which the Productive Projects program was implemented was the Incubadora Empresarial de Produccion y Comercializacion (INCUAGRO E.U). Recently the Strategic Alliance intervention model is the one that's utilized.

The theoretical presumptions of the Productive Projects program are:

- (1) Farmers in these areas do not have the access to financing options.
- (2) Farmers in these areas lack information on rural businesses.
- (3) Farmers in these areas lack technology, training, and human resources building.
- (4) Appropriate financing options, adequate information on businesses and technology/training/human resources will allow the establishment of agricultural projects that have national and international potential.
- (5) Farmers in these areas lack options (such as the establishment of these agricultural projects) that allow them sustain themselves in productive and unproductive stages.
- (6) The establishments of these agricultural projects, with established demand markets, allow farmers in these zones to sustain in productive and unproductive stages.
- (7) Productive organizations that push the Productive Projects Program act collectively to achieve their goals.

This document focuses exclusively in the first part of the logic model and assumptions, consequently only evaluating issues related to the target population, and the delivery of the services. The correct identification of zones that meet all of the social, geographical, political requirements, and appropriate recognition of the type/quality/ manner of delivery of the services (financing options, information on rural businesses and/or appropriate technology, training and human resources), are necessary preconditions for the successful implementation and therefore impact of the Productive Projects Program. For the case of the Productive Projects Program the process evaluation would also analyze characteristics of the Productive Organizations¹⁰⁰ that are the basis of the Productive Projects Program (UNODC at Colombia and Accion Social, 2008).

FORESTER FAMILIES

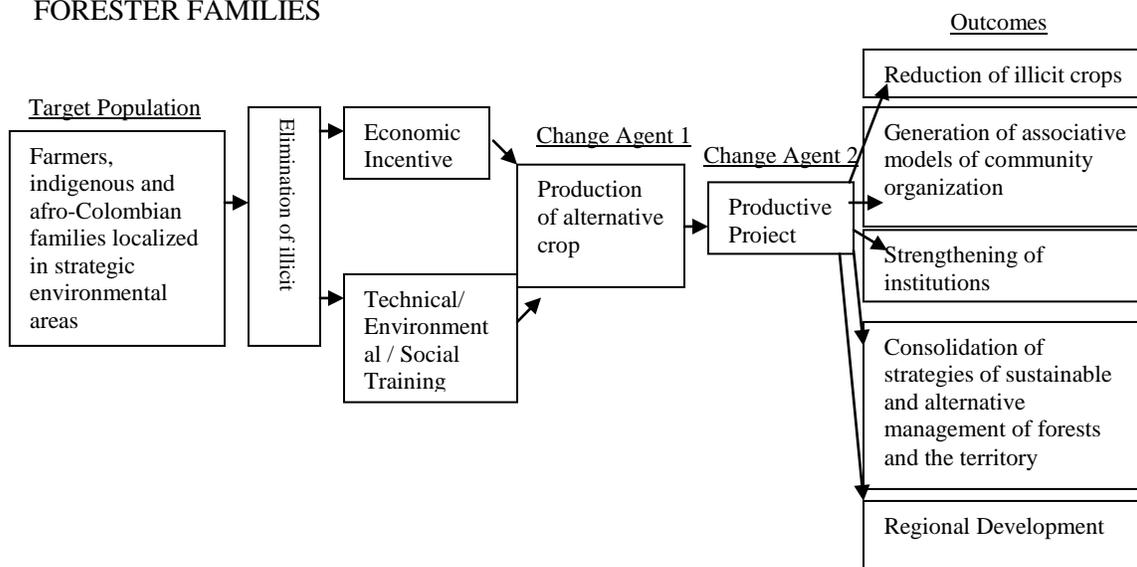


FIGURE 4: Logic Model Forester Families Program

Data to elaborate this figure comes from documents created by Accion Social, UNODC and the CONPES 3218.

¹⁰⁰ Productive Organizations are associations of farmers that are linked to the PP program. They are the linkage between the National Government and the farmers during the implementation process of the AD strategy. Through them it is possible the coordinated participation of the farmer communities and consequently they guarantee the sustainability of the PP and generated the aggregate public value of the communities related directly or indirectly to illicit crops (UNODC and Accion Social, Organizaciones que Cambian vidas ..., 2008)

The previous logic model describes the program theory of the Forester Families program. The program has as its target population farmers, indigenous and afro-Colombian families localized in strategic environmental ecosystems, including those areas that are affected or are at risk for getting involved in illicit cultivation. These areas receive an economic incentive, accompanied by technical, environmental and social training that will help them switch to the production of a legal crop. The legal crops produced will later be sold through the already established productive project and therefore will generate income to families in the area that participate in the program. The switch from the cultivation of illegal to legal crops will reduce the amount of illicit crops in the area, primary outcome of interest of the program. In addition, due to the community work needed for the proper functioning of the Forester Families program there will be a generation of associative models of community organizations. The presence of legal crops will strengthen already existent institutions and through the implementation of technical and environmental strategies thought by the Program, Forester Families will be able to consolidate strategies of sustainable and alternative management of forests and territories. All of these will subsequently lead to development of the entire region.

The phases of the Program are: (1) Families sign a collective contract where they commit to eradicate in advance their premises; (2) Families sign an individual contract of previous eradication; (3) Neutral organism checks that areas involved in the Program are free of illicit crops; (4) Program provides families with economic incentive; (5) Families save amount of money they are supposed to; (6) The Program offers the Forester Families an integrated support (technical-environmental and social) (7) Families implement an alternative productive initiative or project (this helps the sustainable management of the forest).

The functioning of the Forester Families program is based on several assumptions:

- (1) Families in the area are interested in stopping the cultivation of illicit crops.
- (2) It is possible and safe for the families in the area to participate in the program.

- (3) Families in the area lack legal, economic alternatives of income.
- (4) Economic benefit is high enough to be a real alternative for these families.
- (5) Families in the area lack technical, environmental and social information.
- (6) Community participates eagerly in the process¹⁰¹.
- (7) Families in the area recognize the importance of the savings component.
- (8) A neutral organism correctly verifies previous eradication.
- (9) There are available alternative productive initiatives or projects to families in the area..
- (10) Through the provision of an appropriate economic incentive forester families will be truthful to their commitment of illicit drug eradication and no re cultivation.
- (11) Through the provision of technical, environmental and social support by the government forester families will be able to stay away of cultivating illicit crops.
- (12) Through the provision of an alternative productive project/initiative (and emphasis on a savings culture) forester families will be able to maintain themselves in the long run without the need of illicit crops' cultivation.
- (13) The consolidation of an alternative crop and a productive project market in an area will generate models of community organization.
- (14) The elimination of the cultivation of illicit crops in the area, together with the economic, technical/environmental/social training will lead to the strengthening of institutions.
- (15) The elimination of the cultivation of illicit crops in the area, together with the economic, technical/environmental/social training, will lead to the consolidation of strategies of sustainable and alternative management of forests and the territory.
- (16) The implementation of the Forester Families will lead to regional development.

¹⁰¹ The Program recognizes the importance of the community for the appropriate implementation of its components. The community is the one that leads processes, holds the responsibility to organize and unite the families and acts also as warrant of the acquired commitments¹⁰¹. This as a way of strengthening the social network, generating auto regulation processes and increasing participation in economic, social and cultural policies at a national, regional and local level.

This dissertation concentrates solely in the first part of the logic model and assumptions, consequently only evaluates issues related to the target population, and the delivery of the services. The accurate identification of individuals that meet all of the social/environmental required characteristics and correct delivery of the type/quality/ manner of the services (economic incentive and social, technical and environmental trainings) are essential prerequisites for the successful implementation and therefore impact of the Forester Families Program.

iv) Process Performance – Measurement

Previous evaluations have been performed on the “impact¹⁰²” of the two components of the Alternative Development Program in Colombia: Productive Projects and Forester Families. This dissertation bases its findings on information collected and evaluations performed by the UNODC and Accion Social at Colombia. The documents utilized in the following section include: Executive Report about the Follow up of the Forester Family and Productive Projects Programs 2007 and 2008, Organizaciones que Cambian Vidas, Organizaciones Productivas que hacen posible el Desarrollo Alternativo en Colombia, Des-Cifrando Las Familias Guardabosques- Indicadores Año 2006 and 2007 ,Consolidado Nacional , Different Editions of the Magazine “El Bosque” (2006-2008), among others.

The United Nations is the entity that does the monitoring, follow up and evaluation of the Colombian Programs of Alternative Development: Forester Families, Productive Projects¹⁰³; and monitoring of the Mobile Group of Eradication (COL/H48). The purpose of these evaluations is to broaden the knowledge about illicit crops in Colombia, establish their impact¹⁰⁴, and provide with planning tools for the creation, execution and evaluation of fiscal strategies. The task of the

¹⁰² Although the UNODC evaluations give an idea of how the program is working and some of the consequences of it on the target population/ areas it is not possible to state with certainty that these consequences are exclusively result of the programs' operation.

¹⁰³ Information regarding the Productive Organizations comes from the document “Organizaciones productivas que hacen posible el desarrollo alternativo en Colombia by the UNODCP and Accion social which is based on the analysis of 82 out of the approximately 400 productive organizations that exists nowadays.

¹⁰⁴ Again, it is extremely difficult to measure the program's impact given the specific characteristics of these programs.

UN is mainly to: (i) verify the voluntary eradication of illicit crops; (ii) verify the effectiveness of the Forester Families program in relation to eradication; (iii) do follow-up to the social, economic, techno-environmental, social processes in the intervention zones and their impact in the beneficiary communities; and (iv) provide new tools for the monitoring of the illicit crops and the eradication actions. In addition, the UNODC at Colombia accompanies in the design, co-funding, execution and evaluation of some of the PP projects. The UNODC not only helps with resources, but also follows the increase of income of the FF through the improvement of the production, empowerment of the social organizations, and the participation in the commercialization through agreements that regulate negotiations between producers, intermediaries and customers, in such a way that they guarantee an efficient production, secures the provision of the customers and reach fair prices based on the production costs and the markets of the products of the Alternative Development program (UNODC-Colombia, 2009).

v) Data Limitations and Availability

It is well recognized among the evaluation literature that a necessary condition for a good evaluation is the need of detailed and accurate information of the program's description, participants, implementation, etc (Rossi et al., 2004). Although there is abundant data concerning what the alternative development strategy is as a strategy, several difficulties raised when concerned on the Alternative Development program implemented at Colombia.

Although information exists it is rather complicated to retrieve it, most of the information on the Accion Social website is relatively old and lacks the detail necessary for an evaluation. In fact, the latest detailed description of what the program is and how it should be implemented is the CONPES 3218 which describes the program up to 2006; after that date there is no available information. In addition, there is no clear, comprehensive description of what the program is and expressly on how the program operates. To be able to understand the program's logic, the

interested reader must add the different pieces of information from multiple documents to create a coherent story of how these programs work. Furthermore, there was no collaboration from the UNODC at Colombia to provide data although this dissertation's author tried to reach them several times. On the contrary, people at Accion Social were very helpful and provided relevant information.

The UNODC holds significant amount of information regarding the actual implementation and consequences of the program. This information is collected with the final purpose of evaluating the impact of the program on the zones and population were the program acts. Unfortunately, this information is presented as aggregate results and in many occasions seems to have a subjective evaluative approach of UN members in Colombia. Although the first hand information exists, external investigators have no access to it and therefore are obliged to work with the reports provided by members of this entity.

To finish, there is a scarcity of information related to the Productive Projects program. This limitation was recognized by both program administrator/implementer (Accion Social) and evaluator (UNODC) in personal communications with the author of this dissertation. The lack of information regarding PP is crucial given that the success of this component is a pre-requisite for the correct implementation of the Forester Families program, and a necessary condition for the sustainability of the Alternative Development Program as a whole.

vi) Process Performance Evaluation

There are four main areas of interest in the process evaluation of the Alternative Development strategy (of both of its components, the Forester Families and the Productive Projects). The first one is the target population; the second one is the services delivered; the third one is related to the administration of the program; and the fourth one concerns the relationship

between the target population and the way the services of the program are delivered (Rossi et al., 2004, Chapter 6).

These hypotheses must hold in order for the program to function:

1. The Alternative Development (Forester Families and Productive Projects) program targets Forester Families and Productive Projects change components appropriately.
2. Participants of the Alternative Development program are efficiently getting the proper amount, type, and quality of service.
3. The Alternative Development program is administered in an adequate manner.
4. Program participants have a satisfactory relationship with the program and its administrators.

	Hypotheses	Rationale	Sub-Hypotheses
about the target population	H1. The Alternative Development (Forester Families & Productive Projects) program targets social, training, economic aid appropriately	a) How many persons/areas are receiving the services from the AD program?	a) The AD (Forester Families & Productive Projects) program involves intended number of participants.
		b, c & d) Are those receiving services the intended targets?	b) The mechanism utilized to determine intended target is correctly identifying the target population of FF (families that belong to peasant, indigenous/afrocolombian communities with agriculture as main source of income)? The mechanism utilized to determine intended target of PP is correctly identifying the areas (illicit crops are present, zones that are included in the agricultural frontier, there are suitable biophysics aspects, land, hydrology and agricultural aptitude; availability of human, financial, technical and infrastructural resources; where previous PLANTE or Campo en Accion projects took place; considering the farming and rural development policies (particularly chains of production and marketing intelligence)?
		e) Are there targets who are not receiving services or subgroups within the target population who are underrepresented among those receiving services?	b) The AD program is providing services to the appropriate target population? The FF program to families that belong to peasant, indigenous/afrocolombian communities with agriculture as main source of income? The PP to areas where illicit crops are present, zones that are included in the agricultural frontier, there are suitable biophysics aspects, land, hydrology and agricultural aptitude; availability of human, financial, technical and infrastructural resources; where previous PLANTE or Campo en Accion projects took place; considering the farming and rural development policies (particularly chains of production and marketing intelligence)?
		f) Are members of the target population aware of the program?	c) Accion Social is not underrepresenting any subgroup when providing the incentives of the AD program.
			d) Peasant indigenous/afrocolombian communities with agriculture as main source of income are aware of the existence of the FF program. Areas with illicit crops, appropriate geographical conditions, etc. are aware of the PP program?
about services	H2. Participants of the AD program are efficiently getting the proper amount, type, and quality of service. (What are they receiving? Is this what they need?)	a) Are areas/ families receiving the proper type/amount/quality of service through the AD program?	a) Participants of the AD program are receiving the appropriate type/amount and quality of service. Participants of the PP program are receiving adequate type/amount/ quality of financing options, information on rural businesses, and technology, training and human resources. Participants of the FF program are provided with appropriate type/amount/quality of economic incentive, and technical, environmental and social accompaniment (\$3,600,000 economic incentive provides a true alternative of constant incomes; The PATA (Plan of technical-environmental assistance) help develop plans of use of forests and natural resources as well as recovery, revitalization and conservation of lands;. The PAS help support the strength of local and regional gobernability.)
		b) Are necessary program functions being performed adequately?	b) Do assumptions hold?(Program functions are clearly defined in FF and PP description.)

FIGURE 5 continues on next page.

	Hypotheses	Rationale	Sub-Hypotheses
administration of the program	H3. The AD program is administered in an adequate manner.	a) Is staffing sufficient in numbers and competencies for the functions that must be performed?	a) The staff that handles the AD program is sufficient in numbers and competencies for the functions that must be performed.
		b) Is the program well organized? Do staff work well with each other?	b) The AD program is well organized and the staff works well with each other.
		c) Does the program coordinate effectively with the other programs and agencies which it must interact?	c) The AD program works hand in hand with other components of the Alternative Development Strategy and with other organizations that also are fighting against illegal drugs and with whom it needs to interact. (such as UN).
		d) Are resources used effectively and efficiently?	d) Accion Social is collecting necessary funds to deliver all of the services included in the AD program. Government is delivering funds to most relevant issues?
		e) Is the program in compliance with requirement	e) AD program follows the guidelines proposed by the UN. (check document on AD by the UN)
		f) Is performance at some program sites or locales significantly better or poorer than at others?	f) The administration of AD program at all locales works similarly and achieves similar goals.
relationship program & target population	H4. Program participants have a satisfactory relationship with the program and its administrators.	a) Are participants satisfied with their interactions with program personnel and procedure?	a) Participants of the AD program collaborate and have a fruitful relationship with administrators of the AD program. (viceversa)
		b) Do participants engage in appropriate follow-up behavior after service?	
		c) Are participants satisfied with the services they receive?	b) Participants are satisfied with services they receive through the FF and PP programs.

FIGURE 5: Process Evaluation Alternative Development

Data to elaborate this figure comes from documents created by Accion Social, UNODC and the CONPES 3218.

a) Regarding the target population

Productive Projects

As of 2008, there are 36,946 hectares¹⁰⁵ of land established cumulatively for the productive projects program (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). Although this is an important number, it is still behind from their goal of 76,350 hectares free of illicit crops by 2006 (CONPES 3218). The program currently reaches approximately 30,354 families which go further than the goal of involving 27,000 farmer families to licit activities, in agro-forestall projects and medium and long term agricultural projects by 2006.

In these past years, the sales of the products and services of the Productive Projects have been high, reaching sales of up to 31,000 millions of pesos in 2008. The main market for the productive projects products is the wholesale market (76% of the products get to this market), followed by retail and exports markets (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). This represents

¹⁰⁵ In 2006, 1,473hcts and in 2007, 32,430hcts were established for the productive projects program (UNODC and Accion social).

around 0.1% of the agricultural GDP (PIB) of Colombia. The scenario seems to be even more positive if one considers that as of 2008 most of the projects (78%) were still on an establishment and sustainability stage. These new projects could produce even better production results in the near future (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008).

Information collected from a sample that covers 20%¹⁰⁶ of the organizations that are part of the Productive Projects Strategy showed that 53.7% of the organizations are fairly new, having been in operation for less than three years (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). Among these organizations that participate in the productive projects: 80.5% of these are associations of producers, 17.1% are cooperatives and 2.4% of these are associative businesses of work. Seventy five percent of the active members of these organizations are males and 25.1% are female¹⁰⁷. Importantly, all of the productive organizations have a democratic model of operation. This shows an organizational desire of having strong institutions. Additionally, the majority of the organizations around the productive projects are made up of farmers on a base level (85% of them) that confirm to be adapting to legal frameworks – following rules and so¹⁰⁸. This helps solve the problem of presence of traditionally weak social networks present in the rural areas mainly due to the presence of illicit crops (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008).

The Productive Projects program takes place in zones pertaining to 123 municipalities¹⁰⁹ in 19 departments of the country (UNODC and Accion Social, 2007) (See Figure 6). A basic analysis comparing violence, social conditions and illegal crop presence in municipalities with presence of PP and municipalities with no presence of Alternative Development Programs in Colombia was performed by the author of this dissertation. One hundred twenty three

¹⁰⁶ Eighty two organizations (out of the 400 existent) that are localized in the departments of Cauca, Huila, Nariño, Tolima, Norte de Santander, Antioquia, Cordoba, Magdalena, Santander.

¹⁰⁷ This information was calculated with a sample of 67 out of the 82 that reported information.

¹⁰⁸ 93% of the organizations have an ID number (NIT) and 88% has a TAX ID (Registro Unico Tributario-RUT). This shows that the organizations are adapting to the rules.

¹⁰⁹ It is the fundamental territorial entity of the political administrative division of the State, with political, fiscal and administrative autonomy within the limits provided by the Constitution and the laws of the Republic. In accordance with article 311 of the Constitution and the Law 136 of 1994 (June 2). Colombia is divided in 32 departments and within these departments there are around 1103 municipalities (DANE). The PP program takes place in 123 of these 1103 municipalities.

municipalities with presence of the Productive Projects program on average have higher violence rates (higher homicide rates, rate of attacks of all illegal armed groups ELN, FARC, Delin), higher poverty levels, less amount of investment from the government (particularly in health), and substantially more historic presence of illicit crops (measured by presence of coca and poppy crops in 1994) than those municipalities with no presence of the Alternative Development program¹¹⁰ (See Table 5). Many of the characteristics of these municipalities are consistent with the criteria set to select areas with the Productive Projects intervention which include: illicit crops presence, weak economic, social and political characteristics, etc. This suggests that the program is being targeted in the right areas.

TABLE 5: Previous Average Violence, Social Conditions Indicators and Illicit Crops Presence in Municipalities with and without presence of the Alternative Development Program

VIOLENCE				
Homicide Rate	64	65	63	54.9
ELN Attacks Rate	6.2	4.7	5.1	2.5
FARC Attacks Rate	5.2	6.8	5.9	5
DELIN Attacks Rate	1.4	0.86	1.3	1.3
SOCIAL CONDITIONS				
Poverty	63.5	63	63	48
Investment in Education	464,139	427,281	436,604	988,268
Investment in Health	299,721	277,469	283,390	741,909
ILLICIT CROPS				
Hectares with Poppy 1994	67.2	52.02	56.6	15.2
Hectares with Coca 1994	242	234	233	48
* ELN, FARC and DELIN refer to illegal armed organizations that act in the Colombian territory.				
ELN stands for National Liberation Army, FARC for Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia and				
DELIN for other violence performed by illegal groups.				
** This chart was done by the author utilizing information coming from Center of Economic				
Development (CEDE) at Los Andes University and Acción Social entity. Calculations were done using STATA.				

In addition, individuals that live in these areas and participate in the Productive Projects Program are on average 46 year old, are 48% female and 52% male, most of them (60%) reached

¹¹⁰ These calculations were made using a database created by the Center of Studies of Economic Development (CEDE) at Los Andes University, that had social, economic, political, and other type of information concerning municipalities in Colombia in 1994-2000.

only primary education, are owners of the premises where they work¹¹¹, report to utilize mainly environmentally friendly agricultural practices (UNODC and Accion Social, Informes Ejecutivos 2007 and 2008). These beneficiary families have on average 5 members per family, are typically either married (44%) or couples that live in free union (39%)¹¹². Additionally, the UN collected information on a sample of 71 executors in 76 municipalities and found that in 96% of the organizations the members live in the same region, in 81% of the organizations the members share the same ethnic identity (indigenous, afrocolombian, farmer), in the 73% of the organizations the members have already worked in the same productive activity in the past, in the 58% of the organizations the members have suffered a violent incident, and in 28% of the organizations the members have been involved with illicit crops (UNODC and Accion Social, Informes Ejecutivos 2007 and 2008).

¹¹¹ 22.7% possesses it, 3.3% rents it and 2.4% other ((UNODC and Accion Social, Informes Ejecutivos 2008).

¹¹² 7% are single, 7% are separated, and 3% are widows/widowers ((UNODC and Accion Social, Informes Ejecutivos 2008).

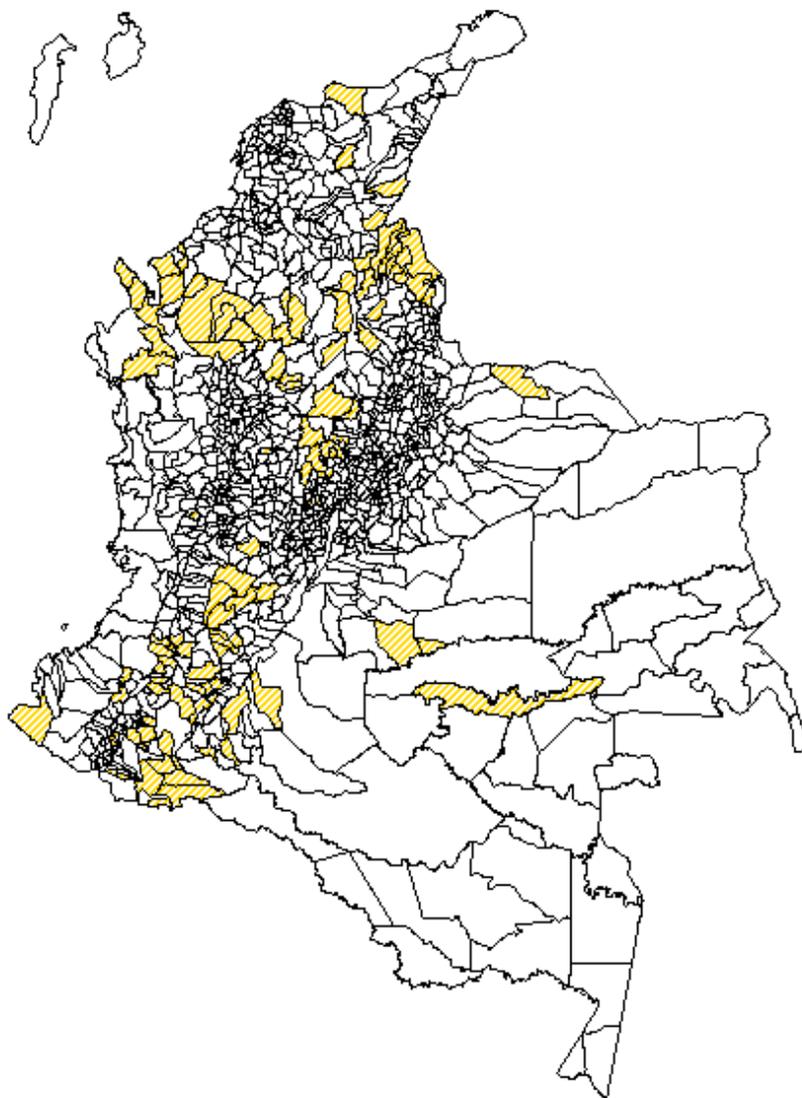


FIGURE 6: Municipalities with presence of Productive Projects
Data to elaborate this map comes from information released by Accion Social.

Forester Families

Up until March of 2009, the Forester Families program has linked 107,081 families. Out of these more than one hundred thousand, 60,267 families are still active in processes of integral accompaniment and economic incentive (Sistema de Información del PCI (SIPCI), 2009). This is a lot more families than the 2006 goal of involving 50,000 farmer families. The program has paid \$667,996,450 to Forester Families, and during its first four phases the Program beneficiaries have

bought around 64,000 ha of land (this is very important to guarantee the sustainability of the productive projects and also to increase the quality of life of the families) (Sistema de Información del PCI (SIPCI), 2009) .

Although the Forester Families program have as beneficiaries families, a description of the characteristics of the areas where it takes place is relevant given that the target mechanism utilized to select beneficiaries is now on entire areas. The Forester Families program takes place in 23 departments and 121 municipalities of Colombia (Accion Social, 2009) (See FIGURE 7). The characteristics of the municipalities where the program takes place are consistent with what the theoretical model of the program desire: zones that have suffered damages by the armed conflict and the expansion of illicit crops, with little to none presence of the State, areas where there is a predominance of an illegal economy and the harassment of the illegal armed groups (Accion Social, 2008). In fact, Chart 1 shows that these areas are zones with previous higher indicators of higher violence and armed conflict than the rest of the country, with poorer social conditions, territories that receive less investment from the central government, and have historically high presence of poppy and coca leaf¹¹³. In addition, case studies collected in Alban, Tumaco, Pitalito, and San Jose del Guaviare, provided evidence that the Forester Families program in fact serves areas with need of legal economic options, given the high participation in the illegal drug business, high presence of illegal armed organizations, characteristics which lead to social and cultural deterioration (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008).

Families that want to participate in the FF program must belong to the municipalities and subdivisions of the municipalities, community councils or indigenous guards that are targeted by the Program. Participants must: have an individual and collective desire to participate in the Program; be head of household and older than 14 years old; belong to only one familiar nuclei; enroll just one member per familiar nuclei; live exclusively from the work in the land; have at

¹¹³ These areas have very similar characteristics to those with the intervention of the Productive Projects Program. In fact, 35 municipalities had presence of both PP and FF programs.

least one year working in the premise enrolled in the Program; continue working in the premises, community council or indigenous guard throughout the existence of the Program; have not participated previously in the Program¹¹⁴ (Accion Social, 2008). In addition, the program aims to involve farmers, indigenous and afro-Colombian families localized in strategic environmental ecosystems, including areas that are affected or are in risk to get involved in illicit cultivation.

Data collected by the UNODCP on a sample of participants of previous phases of the FF program state that 16% of the beneficiary families are indigenous, and 8% define themselves as afro-Colombian families¹¹⁵ (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). Although there is in fact participation of indigenous/afro-Colombian communities in the program, rates are not particularly high and program administrators could aim to have a greater coverage on these populations. On the other hand, most of these families are composed of small farmers that hold lands smaller than 3 hectares, who mainly either lease (19%) or hold territories without legal possession rights (37%). Only 31.7% of the families are owners of their lands (UNODC and Accion Social, 2007). This is another issue that affects the implementation of the productive projects in a medium and long term scenario, because in order to receive financial cooperation communities need to show that they own the lands.

Additionally, 34% of the families that are beneficiaries of the Forester Families Program were involved in activities of illicit crop cultivation, the 66% remaining ones were at risk to get involved in these (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). Although areas at risk to get involved in illicit crops were part of the target, an increase in the proportions of families affected directly by this phenomenon could happen and the program could have a more definitive direct impact.

¹¹⁴ Public workers, retired people, teachers, salespeople, councilor or people with other sources of income and a solvent economic situation cannot participate. These apply also to people that belong to a family nuclei that is under any of these circumstances. People that do not make their living income from work in the premises CAN NOT participate in the program.

¹¹⁵ This information holds for participants of the 4th Phase of the FF program that includes 34,929 forester families in 39 municipalities and 744 veredas.

More than half of the Forester Families are composed of 5 members, and only 1.6% of these are composed by just one member. The age composition of individuals that pertain to these families are: 40% of adults between the 18 and 48 years old, 16% teenagers between 12 and 17 years, 30% children between 0 and 11 years, and the remaining 14% of individuals older than 49 years old. Only 33% of this population has more than some primary education and, 10.1% of them have never assisted to school (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). The great majority of economic incentives is granted to females¹¹⁶ with the a priori condition of the elimination of illicit crops and the average participant of the program is 31 years old (37 for men and 29 for women) (UNODC and Accion social, 2008). These descriptive data show that participants of the FF program are individuals with low social conditions and of a young age as was expected.

¹¹⁶ They have the specific objective empowering women through the provision of the economic incentive.

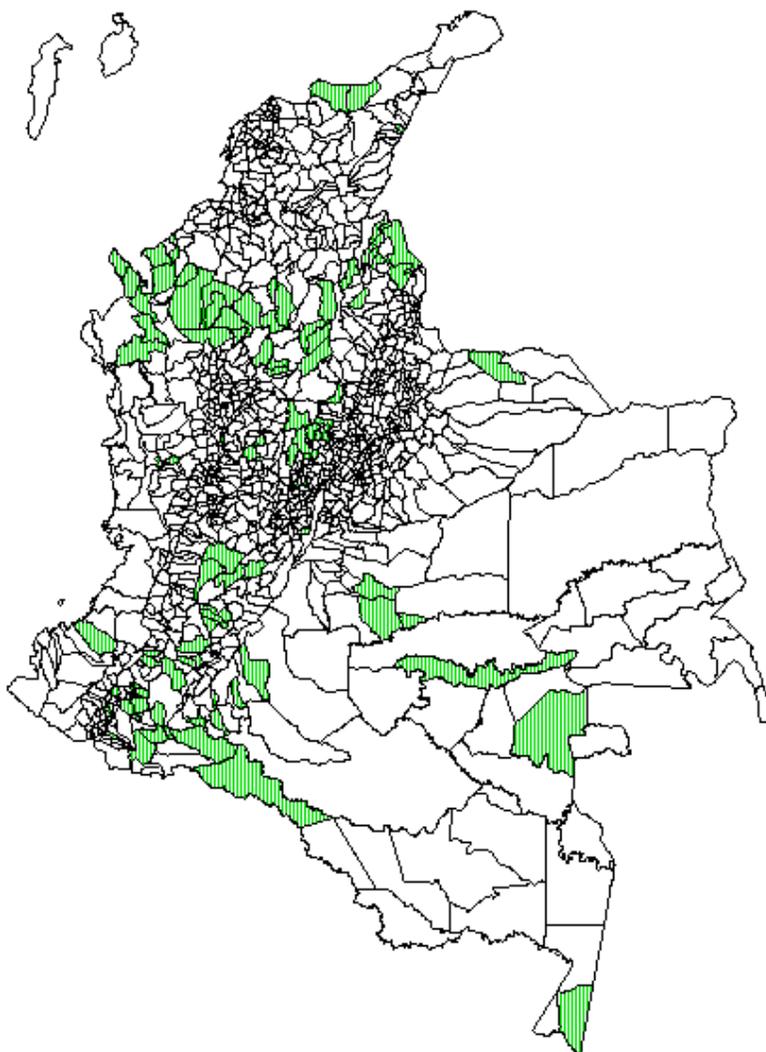


FIGURE 7: Municipalities with presence of Forester Families
Data to elaborate this map comes from information released by Accion Social.

b) Regarding the service

Productive Projects

The correct implementation of the Productive Projects program requires the appropriate selection of agricultural projects that guarantee the sustainability in the short and long run duration of the program's primary goal, providing participants with income during productive and unproductive stages without the need of cultivating illicit crops. Said in different words, the productive projects must have factors that make them viable from an economic, commercial,

financial and environmental point of view. At present, the predominant products that are part of the Productive Projects program are: cocoa, coffee, cattle systems, rubber, palm oil, sugarcane¹¹⁷ (Accion Social, 2009). These projects have good potential of becoming a reliable source of income due to the good quality and profitability of these agricultural products in Colombian territory. Additionally, evidence collected by the UN from a large proportion of executors of the PP program¹¹⁸ show that they have an Internal Rate of Return (IRR¹¹⁹/TIR in Spanish) of 45%, which shows that they are projects worth investing in. Additionally, the most popular productive projects, cocoa, coffee and cattle raising, are projects that involve a high number of people in their recollection phase (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). Therefore associating a greater number of jobs to the project and helping reach another important goal of the PP program.

An adequate delivery of financing options, information services, training, technology and human services is also important for the implementation of the program. Data collected by the UN in 2008, of more than half of the currently active Productive Projects, show that the great majority of the organizations that participate in this program are gaining the necessary technical knowledge to assume the development of the productive projects (91% of the organizations participate in the training sessions). Additionally, these organizations are providing different types of valuable services to their members: 45% offer training programs, 40% technical assistance and 30% buy associated products (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008).

Previous experiences have shown that to correctly convey the services provided through the PP program needs to change its emphasis on just cultivating and finding markets for the products and agricultural inputs (Rementeria, 1998). Because of this, the Alternative

¹¹⁷ According to the World Factbook 2008, the main products produced in Colombia included: coffee, cut flowers, bananas, rice, tobacco, corn, sugarcane, cocoa beans, oilseed, vegetables; forest products; shrimp. Other productive projects deal with apiculture, crafts, coconut, forest crops, palm, heart of palm, pepper, fish, forest plantations, silvopastoral, rural community tourism, vanilla.

¹¹⁸ Data presented comes from 71 executors that are localized in 18 departments and 76 municipalities (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008).

¹¹⁹ The internal rate of return is the interest rate at which costs of the investment lead to the benefits of the investment. Said in more technical words, the internal rate of return on an investment or potential investment is the annualized effective compounded return rate that can be earned on the invested capital.

Development strategy in Colombia is now also interested on the construction of strategic alliances and the integration of isolated communities with the most developed sectors and regions of the country (UNODC and Accion Social, 2007). The mechanisms implemented in Colombia to achieve integration and construction of strategic alliances is through actively engaging producers' (farmers) in all the phases of the productive project, have strong social networks and following the rules, consequently gaining the appropriate knowledge to develop the productive project, being able to guarantee the collective action of its members and count with legitimizing elements of their actions.

Lastly, the environmental viability of the Productive Project is a crucial objective of the Alternative Development Program (CONPES 3218). Programs should have a clear environmental planning given that the formulation of the productive project establishes the basic environmental linings in all the phases and guarantees the conservation and appropriate use of the natural resources without limiting its productivity. Seventy six of the projects have a clear established environmental guide, according to UNODC and Accion Social (2007 and 2008), therefore providing evidence that the environmental component is considered by the program's administrators and beneficiaries.

An important requirement of the Productive Projects program is that the community act collectively to achieve their goals. UN reports provide evidence that collective action does happen in the majority of the productive projects organizations which speaks positively about the strength of the community. In addition, UN reports found that 86.6% of the organizations stated that their creation appeared because of the initiative of the community and that only 13.4% were created due to interests of external entities (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). As well, 74.4% of these organizations reported that they have suffered violence in the past, and 51.2% reported they were previously lined with illicit crops (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). All of these

show the need these communities have for these types of programs, consistent with the PP program's assumptions.

Forester Families

Among the important services of the Forester Families Program is the interest in promoting a savings culture that will help beneficiaries go through the different phases of the agricultural products without the need of illicit crops' cultivation (Accion Social, 2008). UNODC (2008) reports that 82,981 of the participant families have saved in total COL \$70,097,187,982, this means that on average a family saved \$844,738 (this amount equals almost 1.7 Colombian minimum wages) (Accion Social, 2008). This shows the fulfillment of one important objective of the program and therefore is a sign that the services provided by the FF program service are being delivered appropriately. Nevertheless, the savings component is a prerequisite for families participating in the latest phases of the FF programs (Phases IV and V) (Accion Social, 2008).

Families must establish a consistent participation with any of the markets of the Productive Projects in order to achieve long term sustainability and success of the Alternative Development Program. Participants must receive clear options to be able to join any of the PP. While the first three phases of the Forester Families project have shown high participation (almost 80%) of these families in the Productive Projects component; unfortunately the participation of the Forester Families belonging to the program's fourth phase was substantially smaller (only reaches 5.4%) (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). This awakens concerns for the future of the program, given that the sustainability of the AD program is dependent on the possibility of families to secure a legal income. The problem with the fourth phase (year 2007) most probably will also exist with the fifth phase (year 2008) as a consequence of changes in the type and quantity of the service provided, shorter duration of the program (now 18 months, previously 36 months) and smaller amount of economic incentive (now \$400,000, previously it

was >\$600,000) (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). The UNODCP takes this as a demonstration of the need to maintain the State's intervention larger and for a longer period of time, and recognizes this reduction in the quantity of intervention given as a key failure in the delivery of the services of the FF program.

To decrease the chances of implementation failure, it is useful to identify if there is a productive project near the area where the Forester Families can sell their products, therefore increasing the program's chances of success. The red areas in FIGURE 8 show those municipalities with presence of both, PP and FF. Given that these have presence of at least one PP in their municipality, these are the municipalities that should have fewer implementation problems related to the linkage of the forester families to projects that guarantee selling markets to their products. Geographically speaking, this should facilitate the proper implementation of the program due to the shorter distance. Municipalities that are either just yellow or just green do not hold both of the projects in the same geographical unit. Although this does not necessarily imply that there have implementation problems it could foreshadow greater difficulties for an appropriate program process.

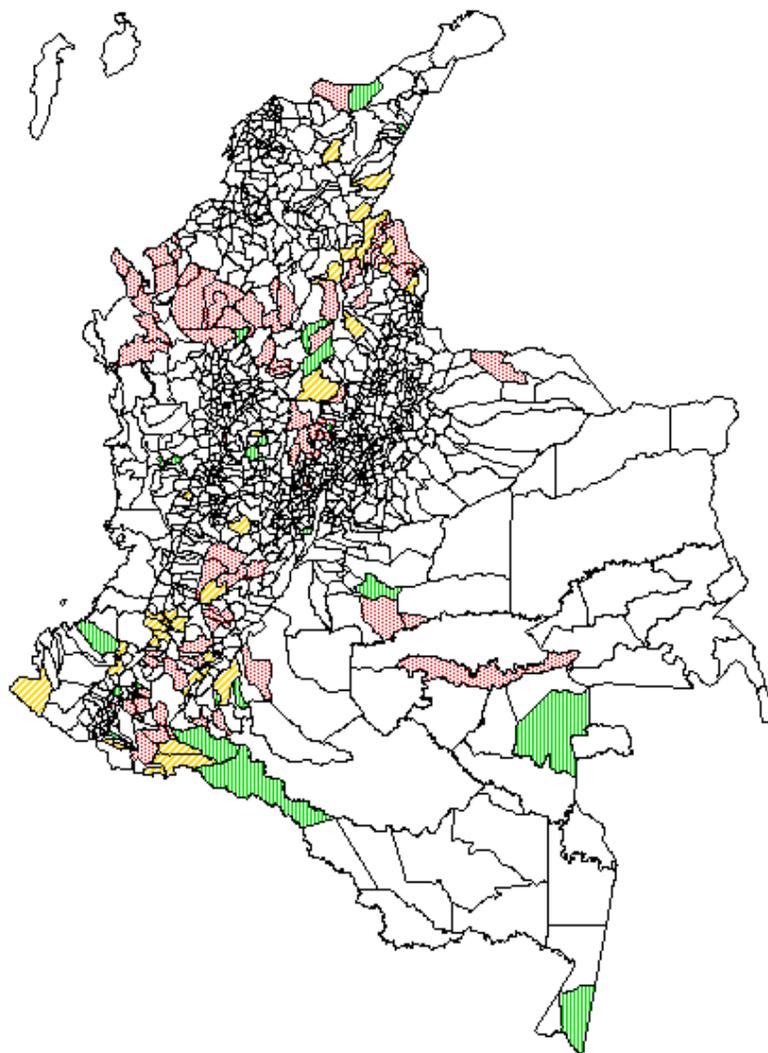


FIGURE 8: Municipalities with presence of Forester Families and/or Productive Projects
Data to elaborate this map comes from information released by Accion Social.

Besides the provision of an economic incentive, the Forester Families program also delivers technical, environmental and social services. Particularly, the environmental component aims to stop the degradation of the natural resources that happen as a consequence of the contamination and systematic destruction of the ecosystems utilized in areas environmentally strategic. To accomplish this, the program promotes environmentally friendly agricultural practices (such as incorporation of “rastros”, growing of trees, rotation of crops, usage of organic fertilizers, and good practices of cultivation such as through the slope and zero farming,

etc) (Accion Social webpage). A UNODCP 2008 report found more incorporation of “rastros”, which is considered an environmentally friendly strategy. On the other hand, this same report found that these people were not moving from chemical to organic fertilizers. In general, there is evidence that the implementation of environmental friendly practices has not been implemented with complete success in the FF projects.

The FF program bases great part of its success in the availability of consolidating legality in these zones through the presence of the State’s institutions in these zones (Accion Social, 2008). This institutional presence allows people to participate in governmental decisions about their development processes, therefore making them more committed with the state norms. At the end of phase I and II the recognition of these institutions was 95%, at the follow up of phase III it was 96%, and starting phase IV it was 23% (UNODC and Accion Social, Informes Ejecutivos 2007 and 2008). These numbers show signs of success regarding the goal of recognizing states’ institutions by the participant.

In addition, Forester Families program works to increase trust levels among beneficiaries, as part of its social component, to eliminate hatreds created due to previous presence of illegal armed actors and build new development of the communities. The UNODC (2008) Executive Evaluative Report measure families trust levels by asking the families for their self reported trust levels. At the end of phases I and II, 100% of the families trusted their neighbors, in the follow up of phase III 99% trusted their neighbors and in the base line of phase IV 96.7% reported trust. Based on these indicators UNODC reports that the program has strengthened the community participation and has been able to generate high trust levels among the forester families which warrant solidarity and cooperative relationships, which are fundamental bases of the social networks. The reliability of these statistics is questionable given the way the data was collected; self reported trust levels given by families that have vested interest in continuing to participate in the program.

Regarding the administration of the program

Productive Projects and Forester Families

Great part of the success of the implementation and impact of a program relies on the administration of it. The program's organization, the staff that carries it out, and the resources that are used for its implementation are important characteristics to analyze when evaluating the process of the Alternative Development Program. Unfortunately, there is not a lot of available detailed information about the administration of the Forester Families and Productive Projects Program and therefore the following analysis does not cover all pertinent questions with specificity.

Since 2003 and up to December 2008 the investment for the Alternative Development Program were \$74.768.000.000, which has allowed the support and establishment of 441.817 hectares of legal projects with the purpose of changing life conditions of 630.647 families (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). Importantly, the Alternative Development Program in Colombia counts with a very strong support of the banks, international cooperation and the Government. In fact, twenty one percent of the organizations are financed through credits, twenty three percent with communities' savings, twenty seven percent with donations and five percent with the support of Accion Social.

Eighty six percent of the organizations that participate in the productive projects program¹²⁰ affirm that the goals of the productive project always or almost always have been achieved. In fact, 82.6% of these organizations report net utilities for 2006 (62.7% of the organizations obtained utilities between \$0 and \$10 million pesos, 19.6% had utilities for more than \$10 million pesos) (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). Based on information collected on organizations around the productive projects program there is evidence that the resources invested

¹²⁰ Information utilized to evaluate the administration of the AD program comes from a sample of 20% of participants utilized in the 2008 evaluation performed by UNODC.

in the program are being used effectively and efficiently. Despite, there is still room for improvement given that 17.6% of the organizations reported losses in 2006 (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008).

Case studies of forester families in the regions of Alban, Tumaco, Pitalito and San Jose del Guaviare provide qualitative evidence about the positive effects of the Forester Families program in these areas (UNODC and Accion Social, 2007). For example, families in the municipality of Alban report that as a consequence of the presence of the program nowadays they save and invest in infrastructure for their crop production; people in Tumaco talk about how the program has been able to improve their qualities of life, together with positive results regarding the environmental management of the forest in these areas; families at Pitalito inform about the effects of the program regarding social cohesion in their areas and the great advantages that the forester families strategy offer by providing a certain demand of the products they produce; lastly, families at San Jose del Guaviare provide positive insight about the use of resources in their region by stating that the FF program has helped in the establishment of legal and has improved the type of use given to the natural resources. However, although there is some informal evidence about the positive effects of the program in these areas, the lack of information about the resources invested in the programs limits the conclusions regarding the effectiveness and efficiency of the FF program.

The compliance of the program with the requirements established in advance is another important aspect of the administration of the program. The type of Alternative Development Program implemented in Colombia by Accion Social is a comprehensive strategy that is focused not only in breaking links of participants with illicit crops and in teaching them to have a more healthy relationship with the environment; but in addition, it is also centered towards building a strong community based on legal values that help sustain the achievements of the program in the long run (Accion Social, 2009). Theoretically it seems to be a very well organized program, in

practice there does not seem to be any major flaw that might undermine the benefits of a well organized policy. Nevertheless, the lack of details of the information collected limits any analysis of the efficiency and effectiveness of the program.

Descriptive information about the staff that administers the Alternative Development Program is scarce. An important aspect that is reported is that more than half of the productive organizations related to the PP program and indirectly to the FF program report not having any human talent people involved in their organization. Thirty five percent report hiring administrative personnel, 14.6% technical personnel and 6.1% support personnel (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). The lack of human talent in the staff that administers this program makes difficult the consolidation of strategic leadership that could help in the development of these organizations.

The Alternative Development strategy lies at the heart of much of the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC)'s operational activity at the sub-regional, regional and national level (United Nations, retrieved 2009). The strategy consists in basically providing farmers an economically viable, legal alternative to growing illicit crops based on the goals of poverty alleviation and sustainable development. The Alternative Development Strategy implemented in Colombia through the programs of Forester Families and Productive Projects is in fact in compliance with the program's requirements of: providing participants efficient programs that guarantee food security and income generation and consequently support farmers enough to switch to licit crops. Both, the FF and PP programs are a collection of programs and policies oriented towards ensuring sustainable alternative livelihoods for small farmers and their communities as emphasized by the UN.

Regarding the effectiveness of the coordination of the program with other agencies the following information was collected. The administration of the Alternative Development Program is at charge of the Presidential Agency for the Social Action and International

Cooperation (Accion Social), entity created by the Colombian government with the purpose of channeling the national and international resources for the execution of all the social programs that were under the management of the Presidency of the Republic and which targeted vulnerable populations affected by poverty, drug trafficking and violence (Accion Social, 2009). Accion Social manages the Fund of Investment for Peace (FIP), which provides resources for programs such as Productive Projects and Forester Families; together with other cooperating entities such as United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC), US Agency for International Development (USAID), la Comunidad Autonoma de Madrid (CAM) and the Embassy of the Paises Bajos. In addition, the Alternative Development activities Colombia works together with the United States Agency for International Development and its operators, the main ones are ADAM, MIDAS and Social Action. Members of these organizations need to act collectively, and this is strengthened by the existence of strong social networks. There is data that supports that the inter-organizational relationship between Accion Social and UNODCP is strong. This speaks positively about an important administrative aspect of the program.

Related to other administrative aspects, 53.7% of the organizations linked to the PP program stated they have had a direct relationship with the PCI-Accion Social entity, and 93.2% of these rated their work as excellent or good. Additionally, 60.3% of the organizations reported that they haven't presented any complaint to their executors and a 39.7% did present claims. Out of these, 36.8% reported they were satisfied with the answer to their complaint, 26.3% is moderately satisfied and 21.1% is unsatisfied (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). These numbers are evidence that the relationship between the PP organizations and the administrator of the program, Accion Social, is strong. Nevertheless, the lack of satisfaction of some of these organizations with the way executors managed their complaints is evidence of a need to work harder in the way the program is administered.

There is also information available regarding the way PP organizations work with other entities. Eighty six percent of the organizations recognize to work in association with other entities, 42.9% of these affirm to know completely the activities developed by these other entities, and 44.4% affirms to know the activities on a medium level. 13.4% of the organizations report not to work together with other organizations or entities, which is evidence of their lack of knowledge of the requirements of the Productive Projects Program. Only 8.5% of the organizations know all of the entities with whom they develop the project (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). Although the great majority of the organizations know they need to work in association with other entities to correctly implement the program, these organizations need to familiarize more with these other entities that are essential for their proper development.

Different institutions that help in the implementation of the FF program include: (1) Techno-environmental Accompaniment by Corporaciones Autonomas Regionales, (2) Social Accompaniment by Universities and other specialized institutions, (3) Training for the conformation and strengthening of organizations of economic solidarity by DASOCIAL and other accredited institutions in the region, (4) Monitoring, Follow-up and evaluation, coo financing of productive projects by the UNODC, (5) Technical training to beneficiaries by the SENA, (6) Partner and technical support in the implementation of productive projects by INCUYAGRO S.A., (7) Improvements in the possibilities of basic education by the Education Ministry, (8) Taxation of uncultivated premises by INCODER, (9) Cooperative Collaboration by USAID, Comunidad Autonoma de Madrid, (10) Communication to radio shows by several local radio stations, (11) Financing of infrastructure work by Programa Obras para la Paz and Accion Social, and (12) Nutricional Security by Program Red de Seguridad Alimentaria.

Regarding the relationship program and target population

Productive Projects

A very high proportion (91.5%) of the organizations linked with the PP program reported that there was a very good relationship between the organization and the community. This provides positive feedback about the interactions between the program personnel and procedure (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). In addition, 91% of the PP organizations reported that they have participated in training, which is optimistic about one important aspect of the follow-up behavior of program participants (UNODC and Accion Social, 2008). Although this gives some indication about the quality of relationship between the program and the target population, given that this results represent a small sample of all participants of the PP program, this information is not enough to make conclusions about participants' general follow-up behavior.

Forester Families

The UNODCP at Colombia collects information about participants' satisfaction with the Forester Families program with the ultimate purpose of obtaining relevant data regarding the impact of the Forester Families program on its beneficiaries. This same information is also useful when analyzing the interactions between program personnel, procedure and participants.

Positive results can be inferred about some important aspects of the interaction between program personal and participants from data given in these reports. For instance, UNODCP 2008 states that according to forester families that participated in their 2008 study there has been a recovery of the confidence in the institutions of the central government¹²¹; and that there has also been an increase in the social capital, reflected in the increases of the levels of participation, creation and promotion of new farmer organizations and the amplification of the possibilities of

¹²¹ 87% of the families recognizes the significance of the CCVS (Community Committees of verification and social control), 75% recognize the municipal links and 80% the social and techno-environmental accompaniments (based on El Bosque Febrero-Marzo 2008).

the communitarian saving. Both of these achievements could be interpreted as beneficiaries' satisfaction with the program.

Some negative aspects about the relationship between the program and the target population also become apparent. One of the main difficulties that complicate the relationship participants- program procedure is the reported pressure that illegal armed groups place on families that participate in the FF program. Their intention is to prevent forester families from eradicating illicit crops and/or that families do not join the program. On a positive note, UN 2008 reports affirm that due to the presence of the Forester Families in certain regions there has been some displacement of the armed actors. As well, Martinez (2008) finds that the linkage of the families to the FF program phases I and II reduced the homicide rates per one hundred thousand inhabitants at a municipal level, but that there is no significant effect of the FF program phases III and IV given that the economic incentive provided to beneficiary families was reduced.

In summary, the Alternative Development strategy, one of the main drug control policies of Colombia, appears to be correctly targeting the Productive Projects and Forester Families programs to the intended population. In addition, the amount, type and quality of services offered by these programs are fairly appropriate but could have substantial improvements. Lastly, there is not enough information to make conclusions about the administration of the program and the relationship between the target population and administrators.

CASE 2: United States- Stopping Initiation (Prevention Component)

i) Background

Recently, the United States was rated as the country with the highest level of illegal drug and tobacco use in the world (Degenhardt, Chiu, Sampson, Kessler, et al., 2008). The U.S. stood out with the highest levels of use of alcohol (65.8%¹²²), cocaine (16%), and cannabis (42%) in the

¹²² These highest levels are for individuals between 14 and 45 years of age, according to CDC 2006 rates.

globe. The study also reported that youth was more likely to have used drugs, and that the male-female gap in drug abuse was closing in more recent years. Regardless of the United States drug control efforts and punitive drug control laws, rates of illegal drug consumption were (and are) among the highest anywhere.

Youth who use drugs are statistically more likely to drop out of school, steal, bring guns to school, be involved in fighting or other delinquent behavior (SAMHSA, 2007). In addition, drug abuse hinders a child's ability to learn and such use disrupts the teaching environment, affecting other children as well. Youth face a bombardment of messages about the use of substances through media depictions and drug advertisements. Nine point six percent of 8th graders, 34.1% of 10th graders, and 47.4% of 12th graders in the United States reported the use of any illicit drug use in their lifetime (Johnston et al, 2008). Percentages reported were higher than in 2007 and reaffirm that illicit drug use affects a large proportion of youth in the United States.

Given this current situation, prevention of drug consumption among youths is at the center of the drug control policy in the United States. Unfortunately, there is no clarity on why individuals' abuse drugs and therefore no consensus on how best prevent illicit drug consumption. Drug abuse theories range from genetic, biological, cognitive, and social risk factors to individual-personal factors and social context-level factors.

Risk factors related to drug addiction are usually categorized as individual (shy, aggressive, and impulsive personality), familial (poor monitoring of parents, exposure to substance use by siblings and parents), school (pro-drug-use norm, availability of drugs on or near the school campus), and community (lack of positive after school hours/ weekends' recreational or academic programming for youth, low levels of law enforcement) (Kumpfer, 1998). Additionally, National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) supported research has exposed many factors that operate at the individual and contextual levels through the family, peer group, school, community, workplace, and the media, among others that protect youth from using drugs.

These include: stable temperament, a high degree of motivation, a strong parent-child bond, consistent parental supervision and discipline, bonding to pro-social institutions, association with peers who hold conventional attitudes, and consistent, community-wide anti-drug-use messages and norms. An accumulation of protective factors may counteract the negative influences of a few risk factors (NIDA).

Prevention programs are oriented toward reducing the risk factors and reinforcing the protective factors. The US Drug Control Strategy of 2009 aims to include prevention efforts at almost all possible points: communities, schools, the military, institutions of higher learning, workplace, on the roads, on the playing fields, etc.

Stopping Initiation

Since its origins in 1989, the United States' National Drug Control Strategy¹²³ has focused towards the following two objectives: demand reduction, through prevention and treatment; and supply disruption, through law enforcement, interdiction, and international efforts. The Stopping Initiation (or Stopping Use Before it Starts) strategy encompasses an important part of the demand reduction strategies that are targeted toward youth. Under Clinton's presidency this component of the strategy was recognized as empowering young people to reject drugs and consisted of eleven different youth-oriented prevention initiatives. These strategies included:

- 1)The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign, 2)Prevention in Schools and Universities,
- 3)Expanding Community Anti-Drug Coalitions, 4)Parenting and Mentoring, 5)Promoting Media Literacy/Critical Viewing Skills, 6)Civic and Service Alliance, 7) Expanding Partnerships with Health Care, 8) Professionals Working with the Child Welfare, 9)Preventing Alcohol Use and

¹²³ The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 (PL 100-690) established the creation of a drug-free America as a U.S. policy goal. As part of this initiative, Congress established the Office of National Drug Control Policy in order "to set priorities and objectives for national drug control, promulgate *The National Drug Control Strategy* on an annual basis, and oversee the strategy's implementation." To stress the importance of the issue, the director of the ONDCP has been given a cabinet-level position. (<http://www.libraryindex.com/pages/2391/National-Drug-Control-Strategy-ORIGINS-NATIONAL-STRATEGY.html>).

Drunk and Drugged Driving Among Youth, 10) Preventing Tobacco Use Among Youth, and 11) International Demand-Reduction Initiatives (The White House, 1994). Since President George W. Bush until now the initiative consists of stopping use before it starts through education and communitarian action.

The determinate interest of focusing on young people when designing prevention programs dates back to the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 which established the creation of an America without drugs as a policy goal. This act clearly stated that “drug abuse is curbed by preventing young people from using illegal drugs, reducing the number of users, and decreasing drug availability”(The Anti-Drug Abuse Act 1988). Young people are in a much higher risk to become involved with drugs because they are in a period of life when they are just establishing their identities. During the transition from childhood to adolescence young people experience a number of physical and emotional changes; as a consequence they start doubting themselves and start questioning their ability to accomplish things. This is generally the time when most young people begin using drugs with the purpose of “forgetting about the world”, finding peer support or just as a way to escape their problems (UNODC, 2002). Studies show that the earlier a youth begins using drugs, the more likely she or he will develop a substance abuse addiction or problem (NIDA, 2007). Because of this, the current drug control strategy focuses most of its efforts to addressing the youth.

The prevention strategy comprises approximately 12% of the budget (\$1.6 billion) allocated for drug control policies in the US (Drug Control Strategy 2008). The prevention component includes an extensive variety of actions and programs that range from programs focused on specific types of drugs and targets, to collaborative actions between different organizations to address the problem as a whole. The Department of Health and Human Services is the one that spends the most out of the resources for prevention activities through the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration and National Institute on Drug Abuse.

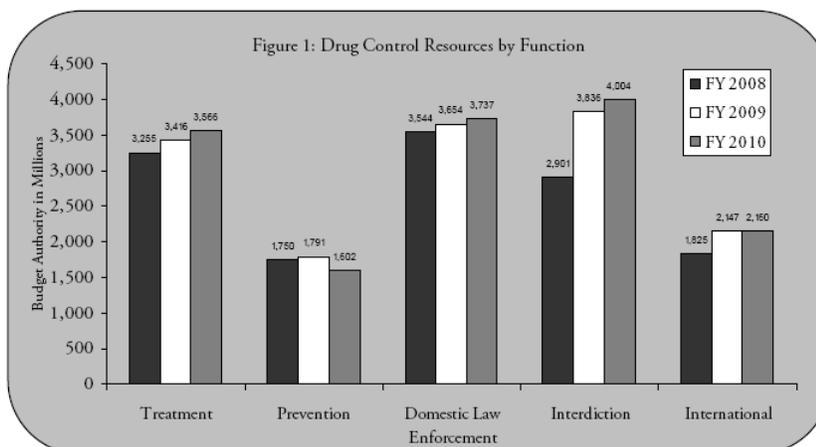


FIGURE 9: U.S. Drug Control Resources by Function

Source: National Drug Control Budget 2010

The management of prevention funds in each state is usually done through the Single State Agency (SSA), which is in charge of receiving and administering the Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment (SAPT) Block Grant from the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA). For the most part SSAs do not deliver prevention programs; instead the delivery is done through a sub-state delivery system at the regional, county, and/or local level. Nevertheless, SSAs do provide training and technical assistance to their sub-state providers to plan for, deliver, and monitor the alcohol, tobacco and other drug (ATOD) services (ONDCP, 2006). Most of the expenditures of SSAs at a national level were directed toward treatment and rehabilitation services (80%), while prevention services accounted for (14% to 15%), and administrative costs and HIV early intervention received 4% and 2% respectively. The majority of the states spent more block grant funds on prevention services (23%) than they did State funds (6%). SAMHSA requires States to undergo six core prevention strategies in their Block Grant application for their prevention strategies, these are: information dissemination, education, alternatives, problem identification and referral, community-based processes, and environmental strategies (DHHS Block Grant 45 CFR Section 96.124 (2005)) (ONDCP, 2006).

The Drug Control Strategy 2009 recognize among the many prevention policies currently implemented across the US: a) The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign, b) Prescription Drug Monitoring Program, c) Drug Free Communities Support Program, d) Paperless Prescriptions for Controlled substances, e) Random Drug Testing, f) Partnering with Industry Leaders (many pharmaceutical companies have undertaken research and development of abuse-resistant prescription drugs), g) Internet Pharmacy Legislation, h) The promotion of the development of Continuing Medical Education (CME) courses designed to provide specific knowledge and skills associated with safe prescribing of opioids for chronic pain, i) The Department of Education awards grants to institutions of higher education (IHE) to prevent high risk drinking and by identifying model alcohol and other substance abuse prevention programs being implemented on college, j) Several Federal drug control agencies (Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Transportation) support drug free workplace programs in the private and public sector by giving guidelines, technical assistance, and other resources on program development for both employer and labor unions. Program specifics vary but most of them require some form of pre-employment and random drug testing. (Related to reduction in cocaine and methamphetamine use), k) Effective drug free workplace programs which help reduce substance use among the workforce by clearly transmitting that drug use is not acceptable and that help is available for those that need it, l) The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration conducts a variety of activities to address drug-impaired driving. NHTSA coordinates national impaired driving law enforcement crackdowns each year, m) The Department of Defense implements testing to reduce substance abuse. They also conduct substance abuse education and maintain Employee Assistance Programs for government employees and their families, n) The National Guard Counterdrug Drug Demand Reduction makes members of the National Guard directly interact with middle-school students in classrooms across America (through the prevention education program “Stay on Track”), o)

ONDCP collaborates with different government and non-governmental stakeholders to educate athletes, parents, coaches, teachers and health professionals about serious physical consequences and ethical implications of doping. Lastly, ONDCP and its drug control agency partners have been developing and implementing several time data systems to improve the suite of drug indications (drug availability, drug related ER visits, drugs price and purity, etc). All of these different measures are preventive measures that are taken in the United States to control illicit drug consumption and addiction.

Although there is certainly a wide number of initiatives utilized as preventive measures in the United States' Drug Control Strategy, this dissertation focuses on three specific programs that belong to the Stopping Initiation Strategy: a) The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign, b) Drug Free Communities Support Program, and c) Random Student Testing. These programs were recognized in the National Drug Control Policy 2009 (pg. 5 NDCS09) as “the programs that contributed mostly to outcomes of the prevention strategy”.

The following diagram offers a simple explanation of the logic behind the main programs of the Stopping Initiation Strategy (See FIGURE 10).

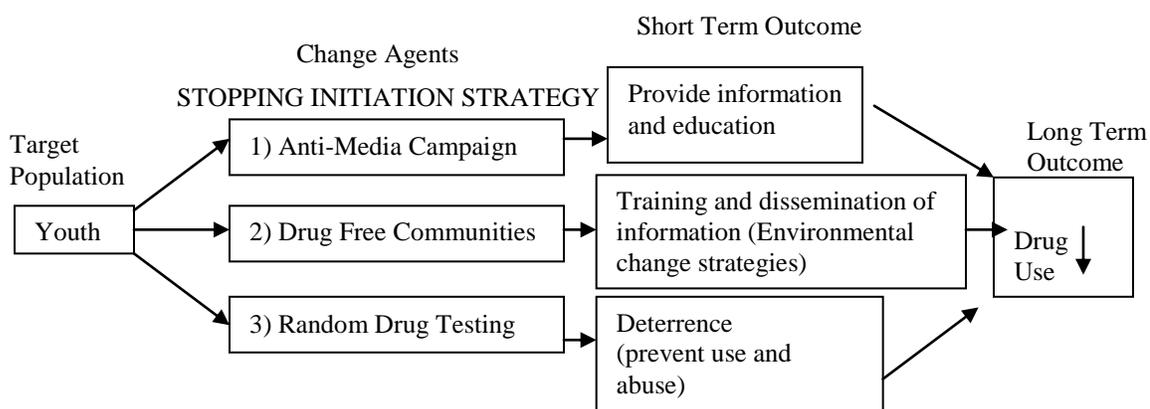


FIGURE 10: Logic Model Stopping Initiation Strategy
Data to elaborate this figure comes from The U.S. National Drug Control Strategy.

a) The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign

The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign (NYADMC) was created by the U.S. Congress in 1998 to prevent and reduce youth drug use across the nation. Under the Treasury-Postal Appropriations Act of 1988, Congress approved funding for “a national media campaign to reduce and prevent drug use among young Americans.” (Westat, 2006) The Campaign is the largest anti-drug media campaign which consists of creating, testing and tracking anti-drug advertising messages and is consolidated as a strategically integrated communications program that combines funded advertising with public communications outreach. The program is managed by the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) and implemented in collaboration with the Partnership for a Drug-Free America.

The Media Campaign targets anti-drug messages to America’s youth, their parents and caregivers, and community organizations that have considerable impact in the lives of teens. The Campaign is composed of two separate brands: the teen’s ‘Above the Influence’ brand, and ‘The Anti-Drug’ variety targeted towards parents, caregivers, and community organizations. The ‘Above the Influence’ teen-targeted campaign was launched in 2005 and it has become one of the most widely recognized strategies against teen’s drug use, which is based on supporting teen’s ability to make the right choices and therefore resist drug use. Additionally it takes into consideration differing sensibilities that go beyond drugs, addressing other pressures teens face (Westat, 2006).

On the other hand, the “The Anti-Drug” strategy oriented toward parents emphasizes the dangers of teen drug use and similar risky behavior and encourages parents to talk, set rules, monitor and connect with their teens to prevent them from using drugs. The Campaign also develops handbooks, brochures, and alike for youth, parents and adult influencers that include the input from drug prevention experts and behavioral scientists (Westat, 2006). Given the high percentage of Hispanic and Asian youth in the United States, the Media Campaign also maintains

a Spanish and Asian languages parenting Web site, and produce many of these additional material in bilingual versions.

Resources for the ADMC come from the Federal government, with funds appropriated by Congress. The Media Campaign is a “media match” component, where for every ad purchased by the campaign, the media outlet must provide a match ad for free, achieving value that is unmatched by any other public health advertiser. In summary, the campaign utilizes paid and donated advertising on television, print, out-of home-, radio and the Internet which delivers anti-drug information to target audiences through more than 1,000 media outlets across the country. Since its beginnings, the Campaign’s Media Match program has generated \$1.22 billion in incremental media value for the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign (Media Campaign, 2009).

To diffuse their anti-drug message, The National Youth anti-Drug Media Campaign hosts local/region media briefings with drug experts; maintains regular outreach to news media outlets; and conducts national news conferences with leaders in the areas of youth, education and public health. In addition, the campaign anti-drug message is diffused repetitively in the news media (Media Campaign, 2009).

These ads go through strict quantitative and qualitative testing to ensure messages will be effective when they reach their target audiences¹²⁴ (Media Campaign, 2009).

The steps of advertising research and testing are the following:

- 1) Exploratory Research: the Media Campaign performs literature reviews from different disciplines public health, prevention, treatment and advertising and obtains scientific and factual claim reviews by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA). As well, it conducts frequently exploratory research with groups of parents, teens of various ethnic/racial

¹²⁴ These are advertising and market research best practices outlined by leading organizations such as the Advertising Research Foundation (ARF), American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR), and the Council of American Survey Research Organization (CASRO).

- communities. Lastly the Campaign has an ongoing communication with an expert panel (The Media Campaign Advisory Team) comprised by experts who advise on Campaign strategies and development.
- 2) “Focus Group” (Qualitative) Testing: At the early stages of the process competing ads undergo rigorous qualitative evaluation among members of the target audience in at least two geographic markets. Conclusions from these focus group testing are used to improve the messages and only the ad concepts that show the most potential are produced.
 - 3) “Copy Testing” (Quantitative): In this stage the ad is placed in front of approximately 300 members of the target audience to evaluate the ad’s ability to make stronger anti-drug beliefs and attitudes; then ad viewers are compared to non ad viewers (control group) and if the ad significantly strengthened anti-drug beliefs and attitudes among the test group a TV commercial then will air.
 - 4) Tracking Studies: The final stage is when the Media Campaign surveys 5,000 teens and 5,000 parents annually (every week 100 teens and 100 parents of teens) to assess how the ads are performing and teen attitudes and intentions about drugs, and ad’s effect on parents.

The Media Campaign also tracks national trends in teen drug use and parent anti-drug behaviors through various external, independent evaluation measures that are conducted annually (Media Campaign, 2009): The Partnership Attitude Tracking Survey (Partnership for a Drug-Free America), Monitoring the Future (NIDA/University of Michigan), and National Survey on Drug Use and Health (SAMHSA). All of these provide an important context for examining National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign performance (although they do not measure impact directly).

b) Drug Free Communities Support Program (DFC)

The Drug-Free Communities Support Program (DFC) is a collaborative effort between the Executive Office of the President, the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP), and the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA). It was established in 1997 through the Drug Free Communities Act of 1997, as a mechanism for increased citizen participation in efforts to reduce substance use among youth (Drug Free Community Support Program, 2009). Its specific purposes include: a) reducing substance abuse among youth in communities, and over time to reduce abuse among adults, b) strengthening collaboration among communities, private non-profit agencies, the Federal government, and State, local and tribal governments, c) increasing intergovernmental cooperation and coordination on the topics of substance abuse among youth, d) serving as a channel for increased citizen participation and greater collaboration among all sectors and organizations of a community that shows a long-term commitment towards the objective, e) re-channeling resources to provide technical assistance, financial support and guidance to communities that show a long-term commitment in decreasing substance abuse during the early life, f) disseminating to communities timely information about the state of the art initiatives and practices that have proven to be effective in this area, g) enhancing local community initiatives for reducing substance abuse among youngsters, and h) encouraging the creation of and support for community anti-drug coalitions throughout the United States.

The DFC provides community anti-drug coalitions with necessary funds to finance their efforts to address and reduce substance abuse among youth. The program provides federal grants in the form of initial and renewal grants in amounts up to \$125,000 for a fiscal year (DFC, 2009). The initial grant applicants, are those that are either applying for their first grant, have received 5 years of funding and are applying for a sixth year, or have had a lapse in their funding in the

previous fiscal year. The renewal grant applicants¹²⁵ are those that have received an award in the previous year and are applying each fiscal year for funding for years 2 through 5 or years 7 through 10. By statute, eligible coalitions may receive Drug-Free Communities Support Program grants for two 5-year cycles (generally, an initial grant and four renewal grants per 5-year cycle).

To be eligible to compete for a DFC grant, a coalition must (Drug Free Community Support , 2009): a) have as principal objective to reduce substance abuse among youth and must target multiple drugs, b) have been in existence for at least 6 months, c) have representation from 12 different sectors (youth (persons <= 18 years of age), parents, business community, media, schools, youth-serving organizations, law enforcement agencies, religious or fraternal organizations, civic and volunteer groups, healthcare professionals, State, local or tribal agencies with expertise in the field of substance abuse, other organizations involved in reducing substance abuse), d) demonstrate that it works as a unique entity and is more than a group of organization representatives, group of agency or a board of directors of a direct service delivery organization.

ONDCP determines if the coalition made satisfactory progress in their efforts to reduce substance abuse among youth and if it complies with the conditions of their award, and is still eligible for the grant based on four core measures¹²⁶: (1) age of onset of substance use (The average age that respondents report first trying alcohol, tobacco or marijuana.); (2) frequency of drug use in the past 30 days (The percentage of respondents who report using alcohol, tobacco or marijuana at least ONCE) ; (3) perception of risk or harm of use (the percentage of respondents who report that regular use of alcohol, tobacco or marijuana has moderate risk or great risk); and (4) perception of parental disapproval of use (the percentage of respondents who report that their parents feel use of alcohol, tobacco or marijuana is wrong or very wrong). If so, the coalition will continue to receive funds during the 5-year cycle (DFC, 2009).

¹²⁵ Renewal grant applicants generally do not compete with other applicants for funds.

¹²⁶ The grantee should report on youth in at least three grades between grades 6 and 12. The size of the data collection must be sufficient to provide an accurate and meaningful statistical representation of the geographic area served by the coalition.

Since the creation of the Drug Free Communities Support Program in 1997, ONDCP has delegated some grant administration operations to other agencies through inter-agency agreements (GAO, 2008). These inter-agency agreements gave ONDCP a chance to set forth the procedures and processes for the award and management of grants, and are outlined each fiscal year, showing the necessary changes and lessons learned from the previous year, and are put into effect once they are agreed upon and signed by both parties. From fiscal years 1998 to 2004, ONDCP managed the Drug-Free Communities Support Program in union with the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, an office that makes up part of the Department of Justice (DOJ). Since fiscal year 2005, ONDCP administers the program with SAMHSA.

Currently, the Drug Free Communities Support program works through a number of grants ONDCP issues to community coalitions through the aforementioned interagency agreement with SAMSHA designed to reduce substance use, including alcohol and tobacco, among youth (through the support of unified efforts of young people, parents, educators, non-profits, law enforcement, employers and other key constituents at the local level), and to strengthen collaboration among various sectors in communities across America. The DFC program uses the Strategic Prevention Framework (SPF) developed by SAMHSA (SAMSHA, 2009). The framework is constructed on evidence-based practices and theory, and the knowledge that effective prevention programs must engage individuals, families and entire communities. It sets into place a process that empowers communities to identify and implement the most effective strategies to achieve community-level change (CADCA, 2009).

The grantee must work to achieve main goals of the program while SAMHSA and its selected representatives shall monitor and provide continuing technical assistance, coordination and consultation in the development of the program of the project during the funding time. The steps in the establishment of a drug-free communities support program involve (1) the director must establish a program to support communities in the development and implementation of

comprehensive, long-term plans and programs to prevent and treat substance abuse among youth, (2) during the duration of the program the director shall make and track grants to grant recipients, and provide technical assistance and training, data collection, and dissemination of information of best practices to be effective in reducing substance abuse, (3) not later than 30 days after receiving recommendations from the Advisory Commission the director shall appoint an Administrator to carry out the program (Drug Free Community Support Program, 2009).

The Drug Free Community Support Program works in the following way: (1) Grantee presents proposal where it must have: substance abuse among youth as a principal mission, substantial involvement and participation from its membership, must also have a funding plan placed in order or to be developed that guarantees a dollar for dollar match of federal funds and to solicit substantial financial support from non-federal parties to ensure that it will be self-sustaining when federal assistance is no longer available, (2) Grantee receives Notice of Award from SAMSHA, (3) Government Project Officer (GPO) has an initial contact with each grantee where they discuss goals and objectives, Government Performance and Results Act target, staff, immediate needs for training and/or technical assistance, budget, and other issues, (4) Grantee attend the mandatory DFC New Grantee Training held during the first quarter of the grant year, (5) Grantee collects and reports data profiling youth within the areas it serves, (6) Grantees provide semi-annual programmatic progress reports, (7) GPOs receive, review and provide feedback on these reports on whether performance is satisfactory, (8) GPOs collect and review with SAMSHA Division of Grants Management the information provided by the grantee. They also take corrective action, as needed, (9) Grantee participates in a national evaluation of the DFC programs (DFC, 2009).

Meanwhile the Grants Management Officer (GMO) deals with all of the business management aspects of grant negotiation, award, financial and administrative aspects of the grant program. As well, the Drug Free Communities Program's Progressive Grant Program Discipline

and Appeals processes was developed by the Executive Office of the President, Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) and Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) to follow up on the grants. There are three progressive discipline actions that can be taken: 1) High Risk status, 2) Suspension 3) Termination depending on grantee's performance¹²⁷ (DFC, 2009).

To accompany coalitions in its activities, the DFC Program created the Coalition Online Management and Evaluation Tool (COMET). This is a web based system that was designed using the Strategic Prevention Framework (SPF) to assist individuals as a grantee to manage the day to day work of running an anti-drug coalition, and also to offer a platform for individuals to provide semi-annual progress reports to their respective CSAP Project Officer (DFC, 2009).

The DFC Support Program was reauthorized by Congress in 2001 and later in 2006 for five more years. Congress is the one that appropriates funding for DFC to ONDCP each fiscal year. For the year 2008 approximately \$80.8 million dollars were appropriated to grant funds to 769 grantees¹²⁸. Over the program's 10-year existence, approximately \$550 million has been appropriated for grant awards. As of September 2009, 747 coalitions were selected to receive grants from the program (Drug Free Communities Support Program , 2009).

c) Random Student Testing (RST)

The Random Student Testing program is one of the prevention strategies that have the purpose of deterring children from initiating drug use by shielding youth from drug-related harms. The program is also intended to identify children who have just started using drugs and

¹²⁷ Each fiscal year, initial grant applicants submit their applications for review. Those applications deemed eligible are then forwarded on for peer review. Here their applications are examined and scored on the basis of several areas (such as the extent to which a coalition demonstrates effective strategic planning and implementation). ONDCP then determines which coalitions will receive funding, generally awarding grants from the highest peer review score down until all of the funding has been used. Each fiscal year, renewal grant applicants submit abbreviated applications, which include a budget and work-plan, to SAMHSA. SAMHSA reviews these applications to gather required information on the grant applicant's progress. Then, ONDCP determines whether to continue federal grant support.

¹²⁸ Approximately 10% of the grants are granted to new community coalition projects, and the rest of the funds are given to provide continuation to existing programs operating in 49 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

those who have a dependency so that they may be referred to treatment. The RST programs are developed by the schools (school districts) in which they are implemented which receive grant funds from the US Department of Education¹²⁹ and are targeted primarily towards students who are engaged in competitive, extracurricular, school-sponsored activities. The theory of action proposes that if athletes and other student leaders reduce or eliminate drug use, so will other students in schools (Mathematical Policy Research, 2009).

Drug testing is one of the various tools that school can use as part of a comprehensive drug prevention effort (Office of National Drug Control Policy, 2007). It should be one component of a comprehensive prevention and intervention program that follows federal, state and local laws with the common goal of reducing illicit drug use, and should never be undertaken as an only response to a drug problem. In theory, RST is viewed as a deterrent that gives students a reason to resist peer pressure to try or use drugs. Through this program schools can identify students who have started using drugs and those that already have a drug use problem, so that interventions can occur early or that they can be referred for assessment, counseling or treatment.

Each particular school/school district is the one that develops the RST program they are implementing so that the program is specifically tailored to the needs of the community and adapt it to the particular situation. To establish a Random Student Drug Testing Program communities first need to identify their drug problem and determine if there is a need for testing by performing surveys, reports by teachers and other school staff about drug use, discoveries of drugs and related at school. The student drug testing program designed need to act as deterrent and are not supposed to be by format or nature punitive (Student Drug Testing Institute, 2009). The purpose of the program is to help young people cope with peer pressure by providing them a convenient

¹²⁹ They also receive funding sources from alternate various sources such as: Safe and DrugFree Schools and Communities Program, Grants for Student Drug Testing, Asset Forfeiture Funds, Community Foundations, Local Businesses, Activity Fees., Existing Contracts.

reason to say “no” to drugs and sending the message that drugs are an obstacle to achieving one’s full potential.

The program works by administering random drug urine, hair, oral fluids, sweat and other type of tests to specific group of students, that typically include athletes, students involved in extracurricular activities, and students who, together with their parents, provide written consent to be voluntarily tested¹³⁰. These methods usually test for marijuana, cocaine, opiates, amphetamines, and PCP. Drugs such as ecstasy (MDMA), gamma hydroxybutyrate (GHB), or steroids can also be included in the testing. Testing procedures should be conducted by reliable sources, such as a nationally accredited or certified drug-testing company or hospital. Drug tests to detect marijuana, tobacco, cocaine, heroin, opiates, amphetamines, barbiturates and tranquilizers can range from \$14 to \$30 per test, and a test for steroid use costs \$100 per test (Volpert TR, Trematine DW., 1997).

Student random drug testing policies should include (Student Drug Testing Institute, 2009): (1) a statement of need (based on local statistics or school survey of drug abuse), (2) school’s position on substance abuse, (3) type of student drug testing to be utilized (what type of screen will be used), (4) information on drug testing procedure (testing location that guarantees privacy, use of chain-of-custody documentation for the specimen, requirement to report in confidence legally prescribed medications only to a Medical Reviewer Officer, Use of a Medical Reviewer Officer to confirm a positive drug test), (5) School’s responsibilities to ensure student rights (Complying with the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA), Confidentiality and privacy in testing procedure and notification of results, Procedures to allow students and family to challenge initial test results, Records of tests destroyed upon student’s graduation or departure from district), (6) Consequences (No legal or law enforcement consequences, No academic

¹³⁰ Most of the schools that implement drug testing programs utilize urine tests because these have proven to have more accuracy, reliability and fairness of method. However, schools are increasingly using tests of hair and oral fluids because both are easier to collect and more resistant to cheating (Office of National Drug Control Policy, 2004).

consequences, Clear description of progressive consequences if more than one positive drug test result is confirmed for a student), (7) Information on the notification of confirmed positive tests (Results of all drug tests restricted to a strict "need to know" basis, Who at the school is notified of results and who notifies the student and their family), (8) Support for students with confirmed positive test results (Communication processes that inform all stakeholders about available support, counseling, and education programs, and how to access these resources; Schedule for retesting to ensure drug-free lifestyle.

There has been lots of criticism, from a legal and moral perspective, about the Random Student Testing Programs. Issues about violations of personal privacy and application of Fourth Amendments safeguards against “unreasonable” governmental searches and seizures are the focus of judicial rulings on the constitutionality of “suspicion-less” random drug testing of students (Student Drug Testing: Constitutional Issues, CRS Report for Congress, Charles V. Dale¹³¹). Constitutional Cases such as *Bean v. Tulia Independent School District* U.S. District Court for Northern Texas [2003], *Board of Education Independent School District #92 of Pottawatomie v. Earls, et al.* U. S. Supreme Court (536 U.S. 822 [2002]), *Schail v. Tippecanoe School Corporation* (679 F. Supp. 833 [1988]), *Vernonia School District in Oregon v. Acton* (515 U.S. 646 [1995]), and *Earls v. Tecumseh Public School District* (115 F. Supp. 2d 1281 [2000]), among others all supported schools desire to test students (based on different criteria specific to each of the different scenarios). On the other hand, *Willis v. Anderson Community School Corporation* (158 F.3d 415 [1998]) is one of the cases that has sided with students’ right to privacy.

¹³¹ “Generally speaking, governmental actors are required by the Fourth Amendment to obtain warrants based on probable cause in order to effectuate constitutional searches and seizure. An exception to ordinary warrant requirements has gradually evolved, however, for cases where a “special need” of the government, not related to criminal law enforcement, is found by the courts to outweigh any “diminished expectation” of privacy invaded by the search. The special needs analysis, first applied to administrative searches to enforce municipal health and safety regulations, has been extended by the Supreme Court to uphold suspicionless drug testing of employees in federally regulated industries, and random testing of high school student athletes. Revisiting the issue last term, in *Board of Education of Independent School District No. 92 of Pottawatomie County v. Earls*, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a drug testing program of students participating in non-athletic extracurricular activities, even though negligible evidence of a drug use problem among such students was shown”. Source <http://digital.library.unt.edu/govdocs/crs/permalink/meta-crs-9284:1>.

An area of significant controversy involves targeting a population to be tested. Should schools test only students suspected of drug use, Conduct random drug testing of specific groups of students (athletes), or randomly test all students? (Yamaguchi, R. et al, 2003). Because of this, school/school district thinking about adopting a SRT program must seek legal expertise to guarantee it complies with all laws, individual state constitutions and/or court rulings.

Among the many arguments against random drug testing, a handful of commonly recognized limitations are that (a) random drug testing is a barrier to joining extracurricular activities, (b) drug testing results in false positives that punish innocent students, (c) drug testing is not the best way to identify students with a drug problem, (d) drug testing has unintended consequences such as binge drinking or use of more dangerous drugs by students, outsmarting drug tests by students, etc. (Kern, Gunja, Kox, Rosenbaum, Appel and Verma, 2006).

Exact numbers regarding how many schools/school districts currently conduct some random illicit drug-testing programs are inexistent. The U.S. Department of Education¹³² is the only source for information on all public districts in the US, territories and possession, and it has not required yet data on random illicit drug testing program from schools/school districts (Edwards, 2008). Thus, there are several studies that estimate the proportion of the nation's public school districts that have high school grades in which random drug testing is conducted. This is done through an extrapolation of surveys that focus in various states and therefore programs may or may not be an accurate representation of the nationwide situation (Edwards, 2008). For example, Ringwalt, et al. (2008) reported that 14%, of their nationally representative sample of school districts, conducted random drug testing. Almost all of these districts randomly tested athletes, 65% randomly tested other students engaged in extracurricular activities, and 28% randomly tested all students (Ringwalt, et. al. 2008). The closest possibility of having an accurate idea of

¹³² The Department of Education created The Student Drug Testing Institute with the objective of providing technical assistance to Student Drug Testing grantees and information on best practices in program design and implementation to schools that want to establish student drug testing programs in their communities.

how many US school districts currently test students for illicit drugs requires that the US Department of Education¹³³ begins to collect specific data about student drug testing.

Regardless, of the many issues concerning the design and implementation of the Student Drug Testing Program in January of 2002, President Bush signed HR 1, the Education Act named the "No Child Left Behind Act" into law. Title IV of this Act specifically addresses the use of federal monies to pay for student drug-testing programs by authorizing sub-grant funds for educational agency activities that may include student drug testing programs (Student Drug Testing Coalition, legislation).

ii) Proposed Evaluation Design: Needs Assessment and Research Questions

The Stopping Initiation (prevention) strategy was created with the purposes of helping curb drug use in the United States. Therefore, an impact evaluation of this program will be interested in measuring the effects of the different programs in terms of how it impacts drug consumption. Nevertheless, this dissertation focuses on evaluating the implementation process of some important components (Media Campaign, Drug Free Communities Program, and Random Student Testing) of the Prevention Strategy. A process evaluation provides a clear understanding of how the main prevention programs are operating in the United States and identifies areas for improvement. The evaluation discussed in this dissertation focuses on the program's organization and the service delivery system¹³⁴ which are the areas of the program most directly under the control of program administrators and staff.

To address the program's organization and delivery system to the target population of the program, this following research questions are addressed:

¹³³ The US Department of Education has access to all public school districts in the US.

¹³⁴ These two aspects together are the program process (Rossi et al).

- How are the main components of the Stopping Initiation strategy (prevention) structured and implemented in the United States? Are there signs of important implementation failures?

TABLE 6: Process Evaluation Stopping Initiation Campaign (ADMC, DFC and SDT)

	Hypotheses	Rationale	Sub-Hypotheses
about the target population	H1. The Stopping Initiation (Anti-Drug Media Campaign, Drug Free Community Support Program & Student Drug Testing) Campaign targets prevention strategies appropriately	a) How many persons/areas are receiving the services from the AD program?	a) The SI program is providing services to the appropriate target population? How many people are receiving the services? The Stopping Initiation Campaign involves intended number of participants.
			b) The mechanism utilized to determine intended target is correctly identifying the target populations of the Anti-Media Campaign, Drug Free Community Support, and Student Random Drug Testing?
		b, c & d) Are those receiving services the intended targets?	c) Are there targets who are not receiving services or subgroups within the target population who are underrepresented among those receiving services?
		e) Are there targets who are not receiving services or subgroups within the target population who are underrepresented among those receiving services?	c) The ONDCP; Executive Office of the President, Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP), and the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA); and the schools/school districts are not under representing any subgroup when providing the incentives of the Stopping Initiation Campaign.
		f) Are members of the target population aware of the program?	d) Are members of the target population aware of the program? Youth and parents/guardians of youth; coalitions with anti-drug purposes; and students are aware of the Anti-Media Campaign, Drug Free Community Support, and Student Random Drug Testing respectively?

TABLE 6 continues on next page.

	Hypotheses	Rationale	Sub-Hypotheses
about services	H2. Participants of the SI Campaign are efficiently getting the proper amount, type, and quality of service. (What are they receiving? Is this what they need?)	a) Are youth/parents-guardians receiving the proper type/amount/ quality of service through the “Stopping Initiation” Campaign?	a) Participants of the SI program are receiving the appropriate type/amount and quality of service.
		b) Are necessary program functions being performed adequately?	b) Do assumptions hold?(Program functions are clearly defined in ADMC, DFC & SDT description.)
administration of the program	H3. The AD program is administered in an adequate manner.	a) Is staffing sufficient in numbers and competencies for the functions that must be performed?	a) The staff that handles the AD program is sufficient in numbers and competencies for the functions that must be performed.
		b) Is the program well organized? Do staff work well with each other?	b) The AD program is well organized and the staff works well with each other.
		c) Does the program coordinate effectively with the other programs and agencies which it must interact?	c) The AD program works hand in hand with other components of the Stopping Initiation Strategy and with other organizations that also are fighting against illegal drugs and with whom it needs to interact. (such as UN).
		d) Are resources used effectively and efficiently?	d) Accion Social is collecting necessary funds to deliver all of the services included in the AD program. Government is delivering funds to most relevant issues?
		e) Is the program in compliance with requirement	e) AD program follows the guidelines proposed by the UN. (check document on AD by the UN)
		f) Is performance at some program sites or locales significantly better or poorer than at others?	f) The administration of AD program at all locales works similarly and achieves similar goals.
relationship program & target population	H4. Program participants have a satisfactory relationship with the program and its administrators.	a) Are participants satisfied with their interactions with program personnel and procedure? b) Do participants engage in appropriate follow-up behavior after service?	a) Participants of the AD program collaborate and have a fruitful relationship with administrators of the AD program. (viceversa)
		c) Are participants satisfied with the services they receive?	b) Participants are satisfied with services they receive through the FF and PP programs.

iii) Evaluability Assessment – Program Theory and Logic Model

In the latest National Drug Control Strategy of 2009, the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign (ADMC), the Drug Free Communities Support Program, and the Student Drug Testing were recognized as “programs that have contributed greatly to drug related outcomes and will continue to help drive down illegal drug use in America in 2009”. Given that these programs were identified as main components of the Prevention Strategy (Stopping Initiation Campaign) in the US this evaluation centers on the functioning of these three.

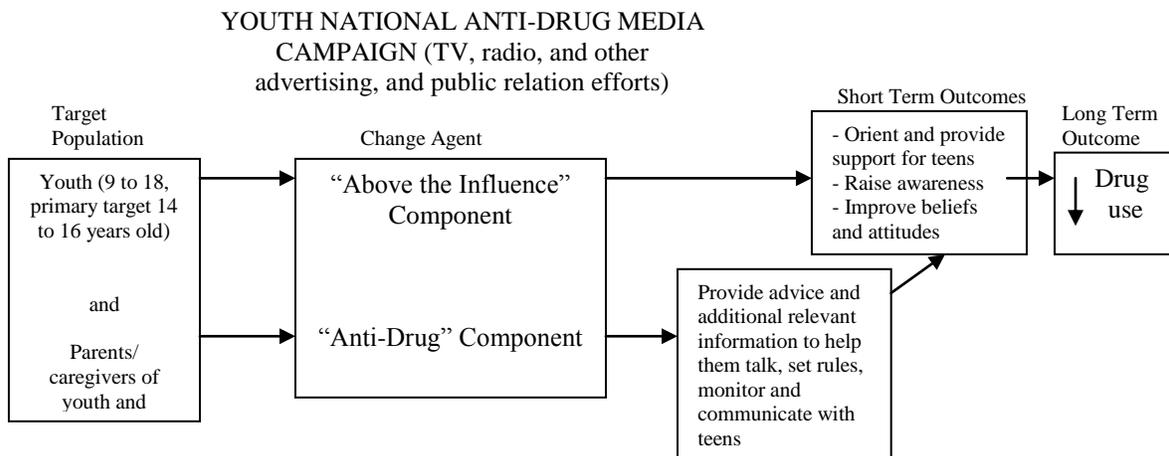


FIGURE 11: The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign
Data to elaborate this figure comes from Westat (2006) evaluation.

The previous logic model (See Figure 11) describes the program theory of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. This Campaign was funded by Congress with the objective of reducing drug use among young people by addressing youth directly and indirectly, and by providing guidance to parents and other adults. The program has as target population youth, parents/caregivers of youth and community organizations that have a central relevance in the lives of teens. The program aims to inform these individuals, through advertising and online messages, about the risks of drug consumption through two primary brands: “Above the Influence” that addresses teens and “The Anti-Drug” that focuses on parents, other caregivers and community organizations. “Above the Influence” sends direct messages of encouragement to teens to reject the use of illicit drugs and offers a realistic and echoing reflection of teen lives by addressing a range of pressures teens face. Additionally, the “Anti-Drug” media strategy sends indirect messages to teens, through their parents, by emphasizing on the menace of teen drug use and other risky behaviors, and promoting parents to talk, set rules, monitor and connect with their children to keep them drug-free. Through the direct and indirect messages sent to teens and their support system the program aims to reduce anti-drug beliefs and intentions, and consequently drug use.

The functioning of the National Youth ADMC is based on several assumptions:

- (1) Teens spend a lot of time with media.
- (2) Teens' attitudes about risky behaviors are influenced by media messages and consumption.
- (3) Teens are influenced by parents, caregivers and the community in which they live.
- (4) Parents, caregivers and the community in which they live receive messages sent by the Campaign.
- (5) Media messages have the capacity to affect teens, parents and caregivers of teens, and the communities in which they live.
- (6) Messages delivered provide strong, accurate, and precise anti-drug information.
- (7) Messages delivered have the potential to orient and provide support for kids.
- (8) Anti-drug beliefs and intentions measure accurately drug consumption patterns.

This document focuses exclusively in evaluating issues related to the target population, and the delivery of the services. Youth, their parents and caregivers, and the community must receive the quantity and quality of services determined, through an appropriate administration. This is an essential precondition for the effective implementation of the Media Campaign, and only if so does happens the program will have potential of having relevant impact on the reduction of drug consumption.

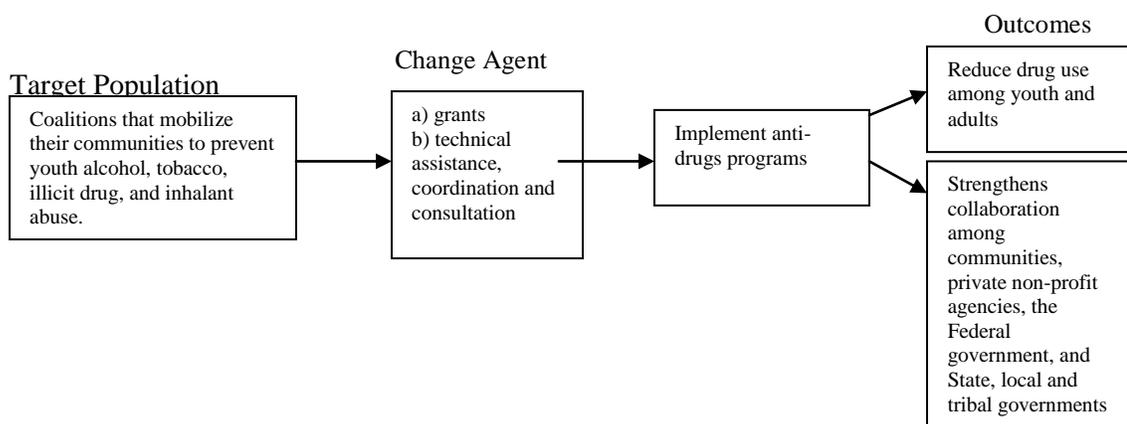


FIGURE 12: The Drug Free Communities Support Program

Data to elaborate this figure comes from DFC website and GAO's 2008 Evaluation Report.

The previous logic model (See Figure 12) describes the program theory of the Drug Free Communities Support Program. The program has as target population coalitions of youth, parents, media, law enforcement, school officials, faith-based organizations, fraternal organizations, state, local, and tribal government agencies, healthcare professionals, and other community representatives which, if satisfy selection criteria, receive grants, technical assistance, consultation and coordination to implement their proposed anti-drug programs. The final goal of these, financed anti-drug programs, is to reduce drug use among youth and adults, and to strengthen collaboration among communities, private non-profit agencies, the Federal government, and State, local and tribal governments. The strategy utilized to reach their goals varies from program to program and therefore is implemented differently by each coalition¹³⁵

The functioning of the Drug Free Communities Support Program is based on several assumptions:

- (1) Coalitions need resources to be able to activate their programs.
- (2) Coalitions lack technical assistance, and consultation and collaboration services for the proper implementation of their drug-reducing programs.
- (3) GPOs provides required amount of funds in a timely manner to coalitions.

¹³⁵ The Grants Committee checks that the coalitions have a theoretically and financially solid proposal.

- (4) GPOs offer appropriate technical assistance, consultation and collaboration to coalitions.
- (5) ONDCP and SAMSHA conduct appropriately grant-related activities (selection process of grantees, renewal of grantees, etc.) These are performed accurately and in a fair manner.
- (6) Coalitions present all relevant information to be tracked and evaluated by other organizations.
- (7) Anti-drug programs financed are theoretically and financially solid proposals that have potential to reduce drug consumption and strengthen collaboration among different communities.
- (8) Functioning coalitions are correctly evaluated and results from these are utilized to improve programs' functioning.

This document focuses on the target population and implementation/delivery of the services provided by the GPO and coalitions. The process evaluation of this program brings additional complications because anti-drug programs implemented change from coalition to coalition and there is no generic structure of the anti-drug program financed to analyze. If 747 coalitions participate in the Drug Free Communities Program there are 747 programs to evaluate. This evaluation addresses the functioning of the DFC program as a whole, to the extent that it is possible, and consequently does not go into details about the specifics of each of the 747 programs.

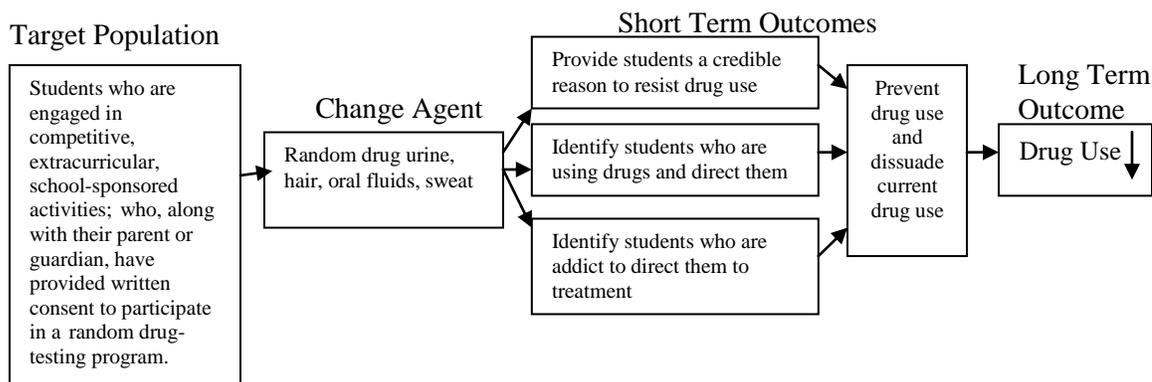


FIGURE 13: Random Student Drug-Testing Program (SDT)

Data to elaborate this figure comes from Student Drug Testing website and University of Michigan (2003) report.

The previous logic model (See Figure 10) describes the program theory of the Random Student Drug-Testing Program. The program has as target population students, who are engaged in competitive, extracurricular, school-sponsored activities; who, along with their parent or guardian, have provided written consent to participate in a random drug-testing program. These students get a random drug test that identifies if they are using drugs and consequently provide them with a credible reason to resist drug use, help direct those that started using drugs, and direct to treatment those that have problems of drug addiction. Once users have been identified, family, friends, counselors, and treatment providers should practice early intervention and insist to dissuade these students from using drugs. Recovery support services can be especially helpful at this time.

The Random Student Testing Program is based on the following several assumptions:

- (1) Students are willing to participate in the RST program.
- (2) Schools/school districts develop strong proposals of how they are going to implement the RST program.
- (3) Students do not manipulate results of drug tests.
- (4) Students are in fact subject to peer pressure at schools.

- (5) RST programs have the potential of deterring students.
- (6) Drug tests identify accurately students that started to use drugs and those that suffer from addiction.
- (7) Managers of the RST at schools provide referral to students that are users and addicts.
- (8) Confidentiality of test results is always maintained.
- (9) The RST programs offer treatment programs to students that suffer of drug addiction.
- (10) The RST programs offer counseling/guidance program to students that started using drug addiction.
- (11) Family, friends and general support system intervene to help dissuade drug users to stop it.
- (12) Treatment and guiding programs have the potential to impact youth drug use in the long run.

Evaluating the appropriateness of the target population and the mechanism of how services are delivered in the Student Drug Testing Program is complex due to the lack of national information regarding the Program. The fact that there is no general framework of how the program should look like makes it very difficult to evaluate how well services of the program are delivered (services change from school/school district to school/ school district). This document provides as much information possible, at the general/national level, given the limitations encountered.

iv) Process Performance – Measurement

The government is required to "investigate, at the seat of government or elsewhere, all matters relating to the receipt, disbursement, and application of public funds, and shall make to the President...and to Congress...reports (and) recommendations looking to greater economy or efficiency in public expenditures" (1921 Act, Sec. 312(a), 42 Stat. 25). Generally the way this is

fulfilled is by performing evaluations of programs sponsored with public funds to get some idea of the impact of the services provided through the program. The three strategies that belong to the “Stopping Initiation” Campaign analyzed in this document: Anti-Media Campaign, Drug Free Communities Support Programs, and the Random Student Drug Testing Program have been evaluated before and therefore results about their efficiency/inefficiency¹³⁶ are publicly available. This dissertation utilizes data provided by previously diffused impact evaluations elaborated by the United States Government Accountability Office and other independent evaluators, to come up with its own conclusions regarding the programs’ implementation and processes.

Given that both, the Anti-Drug Media Campaign and the Drug Free Communities Support Program are strategies financed with federal funds, national evaluations of these were developed by the United States Government Accountability Office (GAO), often called the “congressional watchdog”. This is an independent, nonpartisan agency that works for Congress and investigates how the federal government spends taxpayer dollars. Among its mission there is to help improve the performance and guarantee the accountability of the federal government for the benefit of Americans (GAO, 2009). Evaluation reports developed by GAO on these two cases are the bases of the process evaluation analyzes in this dissertation.

The evaluation of the Anti-Drug Media Campaign (ADMC) was developed by Westat¹³⁷ and the primary tool for the evaluation was the National Survey of Parents and Youth (NSPY) which collected information of samples of youth between 9 and 18 years of age and parents of these youth in the period covering September 1999 through June 2004. Many of the results utilized in this study relate only to youth aged 12½ to 18 and their parents (i.e., children younger than 12½ in NSPY were excluded in Westat’s evaluation). Westat recognizes difficulties in identifying the impact of the ADCMC given that: (1) this is a national campaign and it is not

¹³⁶ By utilizing these previous evaluations, the author of this paper is not supporting results provided in any manner. The point here is to utilize information collected by these previous evaluations to come to the author’s own personal conclusions about the target population, the manner in which services are delivered, and other important aspects of the programs’ processes.

¹³⁷ Also by its subcontractor the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania.

possible to have a control group to compare changes among youth not exposed to the campaign, (2) since the campaign has been underway for a number of years it is not possible to get a baseline measurement for a before-and-after comparison, (3) drug use is an illegal behavior and self-reported behavior change cannot be attributed to specific anti-drug efforts. Nevertheless in their evaluation they measured trends in youth response to campaign messages, shifts in anti-drug attitudes and beliefs, and reduced intentions to try drugs based on those changes in beliefs as a way to evaluate the program (Westat, 2006).

On the other hand, GAO's evaluation of the Drug Free Communities Support program was focused in determining the extent to which ONDCP and SAMHSA conducted its grant-related activities, including things such as eligibility screening for the DFCSP in accordance with Internal Control Standards for the Federal Government¹³⁸, statutory requirements, and leading practices for collaborating agencies. To do this GAO reviewed available documents (grant announcements and inter-agency agreements between ONDCP and SAMHSA and compared them to these criteria); reviewed systematic random samples of available grant applications for fiscal years 2005 and 2006; compared ONDCP's and SAMHSA's grant-related activities in fiscal years 2005 through 2007 with criteria in GAO's Standards for Internal Control in the Federal Government, Drug-Free Communities Act of 1997, the Drug-Free Communities Support Program Reauthorization Act of 2001, and the Office of National Drug Control Policy Reauthorization Act of 2006; as well as interviewed key staff at ONDCP and SAMSHA about how they conducted and documented grant-related activities (GAO, 2008). The great majority of the facts stated in this policy analysis are based on information published in this GAO's evaluation. Batelle is currently working on a more updated evaluation of the DFC Program and has given some preliminary results up to date although the final version is not out yet.

¹³⁸ These provide the overall framework for establishing and maintaining internal control in the federal government and are issued pursuant to the requirements of the Federal Managers' Financial Integrity Act of 1982 (FMFIA).

The Mandatory Random Drug Testing program was supported in 2003 by the U.S. Department of Education. As a consequence, there is a national evaluation of this program currently in process by the National Center for Educational Evaluation and Regional Assistance, RMC Research Corporation and Mathematica Policy that aims to answer the following questions: Do high school students who are subject to MRSDDT report less use of alcohol, tobacco and other illicit substances than comparable students in high schools without MRSDDT? Do all students in schools with MRSDDT report less use of these substances compared to students in high schools without MRSDDT? Do high school students who are subject to MRSDDT have different attitudes toward school or reduced participation in extra-curricular activities than students in high schools without MRSDDT? Do all students in schools with MRSDDT have different attitudes toward school or reduced extra-curricular activity participation than those in non-MRSDDT schools? Unfortunately, though, a final report of this evaluation has not been released yet and there is a lack of national information concerning the implementation and results of the Random Student Drug Testing in schools across the United States. The analysis of the RSDT program in this dissertation is based on facts and results provided in the “Drug Testing in Schools: Policies, Practices, and Association with Student Drug Use” published by the University of Michigan in 2003 based on the Monitoring the Future (MTF) study. The purposes of this study were (a) to provide a summary of the trends in school drug testing between 1998 and 2002 in order to provide some idea of the extent to which such policies are actually being used and (b) to examine the association between drug testing and reported drug use by students. In addition, information was also obtained from various estimates based upon surveys, media items, school associations and State Department of Education.

v) Data Limitations and Availability

The main data limitations of the Stopping Initiation strategies analyzed in this document include:

- 1) Lack of national information concerning the design and implementation of the Random Student Drug Testing Program across the United States.
- 2) Lack of available reliable information about the way in which the Drug Free Communities Support Program is administered and functions with each of the coalitions. There is no single national database that provides consistent data for all communities in the U.S. on substance use at the zip code level (CADCA, 2009).
- 3) Lack of standardization in the types of programs implemented across the US. Although it is certainly important to take into account the particular context when designing policies it is helpful to have some national general structure for evaluation/accountability purposes.

vi) Process Performance Evaluation

There are four main areas of interest in the process evaluations of the Stopping Initiation Campaign (in this document we refer to the Anti-Drug Media Campaign, Drug-Free Communities Program and the Student Random Drug Testing Program as the Stopping Initiation Campaign). The first one is the target population; the second one is the services delivered; the third one is related to the administration of the program; and the fourth one concerns the relationship between the target population and the way the services of the program are delivered

These hypotheses must hold in order for the program to function appropriately:

1. The Stopping Initiation Campaign (Anti-Drug Media Campaign, Drug-Free Communities Program and the Student Random Drug Testing Program) properly targets the strategies' change components.

2. Participants of the Stopping Initiation Campaign are efficiently getting the proper amount, type, and quality of service.
3. The Stopping Initiation Campaign is administered in an adequate manner.
4. Programs participants have a satisfactory relationship with the program and its administrators.

a) Regarding the target population

Anti Drug Media Campaign

As of data collected between 1999 and 2004 the Anti Drug Media Campaign achieved an average exposure of 2.5 youth-targeted ads per week for youth and of 2.2 parent-targeted ads per week for parents, through Campaign advertisement intended for either all youth or all parents¹³⁹. Seventy two percent of all parents and seventy seven percent of all youth recalled weekly exposure to any type of anti-drug ads. The most popular response for exposure per month was 9.5 exposures by parents and 12 exposures by youth¹⁴⁰. This could be interpreted as 2 to 3 exposures per week of anti-drug advertising (Westat, 2006).

Campaign research data collected through November 2008 reports that an average of 81% of the Campaign's teen target audience was aware of *Above the Influence* anti-drug advertisement (higher than the 65% that reported awareness in 2006). The following Figure14 shows how Campaign Awareness has increased in the past three years, mainly in the level of recall of specific television ads for both youth and for parents; therefore, providing evidence that the program is in fact reaching the target audience.

¹³⁹ This does not include exposure to advertisement intended for other audiences, or "spill" advertising.

¹⁴⁰ NSPY used two measures of exposure: 1) general recall of anti-drug ads across all media, 2) specific recall of currently broadcast ads on television and radio initiated by the Campaign.

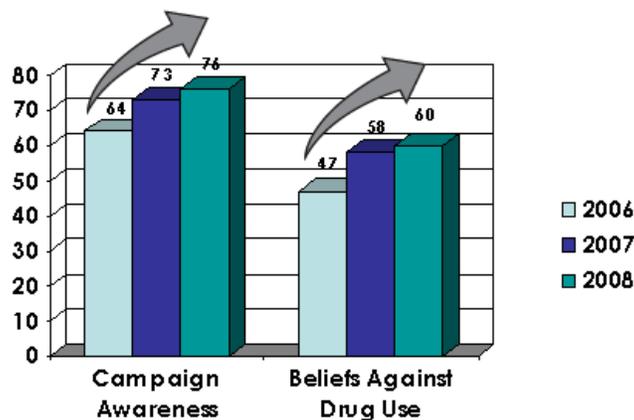


FIGURE 14: Effects of ADMC Campaign 2006-2008
Source: Media Campaign In-market ad tracking

Drug Free Community Support

The exact definition of a coalition refers to the formal arrangement for collaboration among groups or sectors of a community, in which each group retains its identity but all agree to work together collaboratively to solve the community's problems, especially the one of achieving a safe, healthy and drug-free community, and guide the community's future (US Department of Justice, 2003). DFC coalitions must include a minimum of one member/representative from each of 12 different community sectors. In essence, coalitions are not prevention programs traditional human service organizations that offer direct services. Instead they are directed by sector representatives and local residents who have a valid voice in determining the best way to address local problems. To analyze the appropriateness of the target population of the DFC program it is necessary to check if grants are in fact given to coalitions that meet the already defined requirements.

More than 1,600 local coalitions are receiving or have received funding to work on the goals of reducing substance among youth, and establishing and strengthening collaboration among involved agents. Additionally, the COMET database reported that the total number of DFC coalitions funded and represented in the COMET database since 2004 is 1087. Of the total DFC coalitions funded since 2004, 852 supplied at least 1 Past 30 Day use rate observation in COMET

for at least 1 grade (9-12) that was either observed (self-reported by the coalition) or could be imputed for this analysis. The following map (FIGURE 15 shows the localization of the 746 DFC Grantees for Fiscal Year 2009.



FIGURE 15: Drug Free Communities Program Grantees for Fiscal Year 2009
Source: Drug-Free Communities Program, ONCDP (August 2009).

As of September 2009, 747 grassroots community coalitions across the US are receiving funds through DFC grants: 566 are continuing grantees, 10 are mentor¹⁴¹ continuation grantees, 161 are new grantees, and another 10 are new mentoring grantees (DFC, 2009). Given that the information available is not at the coalition level, the analysis of the appropriateness of the target

¹⁴¹ The DFC Mentor grants are awarded through a competitive peer review process to community coalitions that wish to mentor other community coalitions that are less developed. This is a supplemental grant, meaning that an organization must be in current receipt of a normal DFC grant to receive a mentor grant.

population in this dissertation is performed at a national level. The new and existing 727 grants are distributed across the country in the following way: Arkansas has 6, Alabama has 9, Arkansas has 4, American Samoa has 1, Arizona has 17, California has 41, Colorado has 9, Connecticut has 17, Washington DC has 2, Delaware has 1, Florida has 25, Georgia has 12, Hawaii has 3, Iowa has 25, Idaho has 3, Illinois has 17, Indiana has 16, Kansas has 6, Kentucky has 32, Louisiana has 2, Massachusetts has 39, Maryland has 11, Maine has 8, Michigan has 25, Minnesota has 20, Missouri has 10, Mississippi has 6, Montana has 9, North Carolina has 6, North Dakota has 1, Nebraska has 12, New Hampshire has 10, New Jersey has 8, New Mexico has 7, Nevada has 3, New York has 51, Ohio has 29, Oklahoma has 11, Oregon has 25, Pennsylvania has 20, Puerto Rico has 2, Palau has 1, Rhode Island has 9, San Diego has 1, South Carolina has 12, South Dakota has 4, Tennessee has 12, Texas has 23, Utah has 5, Virginia has 18, Virgin Island has 1, Vermont has 15, Washington has 29, Wisconsin has 28, West Virginia has 5, and Wyoming has 3. Alaska, Guam and Northern Mariana Island are the only three states/territories that do not hold a DFC grant¹⁴² (DFC, 2009).

Only a couple of this grants (2 for tobacco: Healthy Tobacco Free Madison in Indiana and Community Action for Tobacco Free Living in Wisconsin, and 2 for alcohol: Hastings Area Council on Alcoholism in Nebraska and Madison County Council on alcoholism in New York) were not focused on illicit drugs but instead in preventing alcohol and/or tobacco (licit drugs) consumption. Additionally, a considerable proportion of these were awarded to school districts around the country (77 out of 747). The new and existing 20 mentoring grants are distributed in the following manner (See Table 9): Arizona has 1, California has 2, Georgia has 1, Kentucky has 1, Massachusetts has 2, Maine has 1, New Jersey has 2, New Mexico has 1, New York has 3, Pennsylvania has 1, South Carolina has 1, Tennessee has 1, Texas has 1, Washington has 1, and Wyoming has 1.

¹⁴² The author of this study does not know if coalitions in these states/territories did not applied to DFC grants or were not awarded one, therefore we cannot make any conclusions out of this fact.

TABLE 7: Number of Coalitions with DFC grants per state inhabitants 2009

	# of coalitions per 100,000			
		29	Hawaii	
1	US Virgin Islands	4.611	30	Virginia
2	American Samoa	1.745	31	Kansas
3	Montana	0.930	32	Mississippi
4	Rhode Island	0.857	33	Idaho
5	Iowa	0.833	34	Maryland
6	New Hampshire	0.760	35	Tennessee
7	Kentucky	0.750	36	Alabama
8	Nebraska	0.673	37	Colorado
9	Oregon	0.660	38	Missouri
10	Maine	0.608	39	Vermont
11	Massachusetts	0.600	40	Pennsylvania
12	Wyoming	0.563	41	North Dakota
13	Utah	0.548	42	Arkansas
14	Wisconsin	0.498	43	Florida
15	South Dakota	0.497	44	Illinois
16	Connecticut	0.486	45	Georgia
17	Washington	0.443	46	Nevada
18	Minnesota	0.383	47	Delaware
19	New Mexico	0.353	48	California
20	District of Columbia	0.338	49	Texas
21	Oklahoma	0.302	50	New Jersey
22	West Virginia	0.276	51	North Carolina
23	South Carolina	0.268	52	Puerto Rico
24	New York	0.262	53	Louisiana
25	Arizona	0.262	54	Alaska
26	Ohio	0.252	55	Guam
27	Indiana	0.251	56	Northern Mariana Islands
28	Michigan	0.250		
	Total USA	0.233		

Source: Authors calculation based on number of coalitions with grants per state reported in the DFC website as of 2009, and population estimates of the Census Bureau.

* Mentoring grantees refer to coalitions that receive grants with the purpose of mentoring other community coalitions that are less developed.

TABLE 8: Illicit Drug Use in the US past Month, by Age Group and State: 2005-2006 and 2006-2007

	State	12+ (2006-2007)	12 to 17 (2006-2007)	18-25 (2006-2007)	26+ (2006-2007)
1	Vermont	11.49	12.92	31.11	8.06
2	Rhode Island	12.47	12.75	32.6	8.69
3	Montana	10.31	12.46	24.98	7.51
4	Maine	9.6	12.29	27.94	6.68
5	New Mexico	9.57	12.26	23.49	6.56
6	Colorado	10.96	11.61	25.51	8.41
7	Massachusetts	9.79	11.47	26.48	6.73
8	Oregon	10.16	11.28	21.68	8.19
9	District of Columbia	12.13	11.01	26.82	9.05
10	New Hampshire	9.84	10.98	28.35	6.84
11	Wyoming	8.67	10.75	20.49	6.26
12	Alaska	10.74	10.59	22.69	8.53
13	Indiana	8.42	10.54	20.11	6.09
14	Michigan	9.12	10.54	22.29	6.67
15	Virginia	8.21	10.39	21.85	5.67
16	Washington	10.2	10.33	23.45	8.02
17	Arkansas	8.57	10.21	20.79	6.31
18	Kentucky	8.05	10.21	21.11	5.72
19	Wisconsin	8.24	10.19	20.03	5.92
20	Arizona	9.08	10.16	20.67	6.93
21	Nevada	9	10.09	18.7	7.37
22	California	9.1	9.99	20.54	6.81
23	Oklahoma	8.48	9.99	17.3	6.63
24	Florida	7.69	9.9	20.95	5.46
25	Delaware	8.55	9.84	21.94	6.14
26	Hawaii	7.45	9.84	18.25	5.5
27	New York	9.08	9.77	22.42	6.64
28	Tennessee	8.79	9.77	21.41	6.69
29	Connecticut	7.92	9.76	22.94	5.35
30	Ohio	7.85	9.76	20.28	5.51
31	Minnesota	8.32	9.66	21.33	5.83
32	Louisiana	8.15	9.58	18.2	6
33	Kansas	7.38	9.5	16.91	5.27
34	Missouri	7.99	9.49	18.8	5.94
35	West Virginia	7.37	9.38	19.84	5.29
36	North Carolina	7.15	9.24	18.24	5.11
37	Illinois	7.33	9.07	18.89	5.02
38	Texas	6.65	8.96	14.75	4.74
39	Alabama	6.99	8.86	15.78	5.24
40	Pennsylvania	6.98	8.84	17.88	4.96
41	Maryland	7.03	8.79	19.09	4.8
42	Idaho	7.4	8.78	16.69	5.48
43	South Carolina	6.55	8.43	16.81	4.61
44	Georgia	7.5	8.34	17.07	5.73
45	New Jersey	6.48	8.32	17.44	4.59
46	South Dakota	6.73	8.2	16.78	4.65
47	Nebraska	6.73	8.02	16.99	4.62
48	Iowa	5.2	7.96	12.35	3.53
49	Mississippi	7.12	7.77	16.66	5.23
50	North Dakota	6.2	7.41	14.29	4.21
51	Utah	6.43	7.15	12.74	4.67

Source: SAMSHA

TABLE 9: Rate of presence of coalitions with DFC grants in the Top Illicit Drug Consumer States

	Top Consumer States	Rate of Illicit Drug Use in Past Month (2006-2007) youth age 12 - 17	# of coalitions with DFC grants per state inhabitants 2009
1	Vermont	12.92	0.161
2	Rhode Island	12.75	0.875
3	Montana	12.46	0.93
4	Maine	12.29	0.608
5	New Mexico	12.26	0.353
6	Colorado	11.61	0.182
7	Massachusetts	11.47	0.6
8	Oregon	11.28	0.66
9	District of Columbia	11.01	0.338
10	New Hampshire	10.98	0.76

Eight of the ten top consumer states rank among the top 20 states with number of coalitions with DFC grants

Source: Authors calculation based on number of coalitions with grants per state reported in the DFC website as of 2009, population estimates of the Census Bureau, and SAMSHA drug consumption rates.

The previously presented tables suggest that states with the highest illicit drug use rates are the ones that receive greater number of DFC grant (in proportion to their population). The exceptions to this are the states of Vermont and Colorado, which although rank among the 10 states with highest illicit drug use among people age 12-17 they rank 37, and 39 respectively in rates of number of DFC grants received per 100,000 inhabitants. This distribution of the presence of DFC grants suggests that the programs are being targeted in a correct manner.

On another note, the success of the anti-drug coalitions is based on showing sustainable population-level reduction in substance abuse rates which is based on bringing the entire community together to achieve measurable results and requires implementing communitywide strategies to change problem environment. The evidence shows that the “maturing” coalitions are the ones that produce the most noticeable results, greatest impact on use rates, given that they have a greater ability to impact their communities, through their capacities and efforts, in a way that ultimately contributes to reductions in substance abuse among youth in those communities (Westat, 2006). It is a positive aspect that Westat 2006 evaluation of the DFC program found

evidence that over time (between 2005 and 2007) DFC coalitions were “maturing”. It found that 85% of the Establishing coalitions in 2005 advanced to Functioning or above by 2007; 51% of the Functioning coalitions advanced to Maturing or above (46% remained the same) during this same time period; 21% of the Maturing coalitions advanced to Sustaining coalitions by 2007 (58% remained the same); and, 66% of the Sustaining coalitions remained Sustaining Coalitions in 2007.

The DFC program appears to be granting funds to a considerable number of coalitions that seem to be aligned with the objectives of the general program. Specific details about the appropriateness of the target population are not possible due to the lack of specific information on who are the coalitions that receive the grants available to this dissertation author. Regardless, the information provided in the previous paragraphs talks positively about those groups that receive grants.

Student Drug Testing

Data from 1998 through 2002 data reveals that drug testing was employed in approximately 18.8% of schools in the study which contained 19.4% of all students in the national sample (Yamaguchi, Johnston and O’Malley, 2003). Twenty three point six percent of high schools (containing 24.4% of students in the school sample) employed drug testing. There were no major variations in the trend of schools with RDT in these years. 13.8% of schools tested students suspected of using drugs and only 5.3 % of the schools tested student athletes. Drug testing students in extracurricular activities other than athletics occurred in only 2.4% of the schools (containing 2.6% of students). The least common reason for drug testing was random testing applied to the entire student body, where only 0.8% of the schools, containing 0.7% of students, reported using random drug tests in which all students are eligible for drug testing. 23.5% of the high schools reported drug testing (18.1% of high schools reported for-cause drug

testing), while only 7.6 % of the middle school did so, and 22% of the large schools reported drug testing, compared to 14.3% of small schools. In addition, student athletes were more often tested in schools in rural areas (10.5%) than in schools in urban areas (1.2%) (Yamaguchi, Johnston and O'Malley, 2003). Although the target population that is addressed by the program corresponds to what the model in theory states: students who participate in the school's athletic program, are engaged in competitive, extracurricular, school-sponsored activities are subject to the student drug tests; there are a proportion of students that are tested because of suspicion of drug use which is not discussed in the theoretical frame of the student drug testing program.

A more recent study conducted in 2005¹⁴³ found that 14% of districts with high schools performed random drug testing during the school year 2004-2005 (Ringwalt, et al., 2008). This more recent data concluded that most of the districts with random drug testing programs randomly tested student athletes (93.4%) and students engaged in other type of extracurricular activities (65%). 28% of these school districts tested all students in the high schools. (Ringwalt, et al., 2008) Recent estimations calculate that at least 1/6 (a minimum of 16.5%) of US public school districts will have student random drug testing programs by 2008 (Edwards, 2008)

Given that the results presented in this analysis are based on just a non-random sample of schools that have student drug testing programs this does not provide a complete picture of the reality of this drug prevention program in US' schools.

¹⁴³ Based on a random sample of 1343 districts with high schools

b) Regarding the service

Anti-Drug Media Campaign

The Anti-Drug Media Campaign focuses on an important number of themes. For the case of youths, television and radio Gross Rating Points (GRP)¹⁴⁴ centers on the negative consequences of drug use, which includes the negative consequences of marijuana use (Westat, 2006). These Negative Consequences ads emphasize the negative physical health, mental health, or schooling outcomes of drug use, in addition to the relationship between drugs and terrorism. On the whole, ads related to the Negative Consequences platform received more than half of the general market youth television and radio GRPs in the period between 1999 and 2004 (Westat, 2006). A quarter of youth GRPs centered on the idea that most youth do not use drugs and/or that others expect the youth not to use drugs, this is known as Normative Education/Positive Alternatives platform. For the case of parents, the Campaign focuses on messages related to Parenting Skills/Personal Efficacy/Monitoring (Westat, 2006). These messages include monitoring and enhancing personal efficacy to intervene with youth. Seventy one percent of parent GRPs were focused on this topic. Early Intervention (10%), Drugs and Terror (9%), Perceptions of Harm (6%), and Your Child Is at Risk (4%) were the other topics addressed by the ADMC parents' component.

Sixty five percent of the advertisements utilized in the campaign to reach youth were through media with the potential to reach a wide audience of youth (Westat, 2006). These include network (for example cable) and local television with a 35% of youth GRPs. Another 30% was achieved through local radio. The rest of the messages were sent by media that reach narrower audiences. Such as in-school television (16%), magazines (10%), and other such as Internet, nontraditional media, etc, (less than 5% each). For the case of parents, more than 60% of the GRPs were obtained from potentially wider-reach media like network television (36%) and

¹⁴⁴ The GRP measure the size of an audience reached by a specific media vehicle or schedule. It is the product of the percentage of the target audience reached by an advertisement x the frequency they see it in a given campaign (Wikipedia).

network radio (28%). Less than 40% of the parents' GRPs were obtained through outdoor media (28%), magazines (10%), newspapers (4%), Internet (4%) and others (Westat, 2006).

The absolute level of recall of radio ads was much lower than for television ads in both the youth and parent samples. Parents reported a median of 3.3 exposures per month and youth reported a median of 4.4 exposures per month to specific Campaign TV ads broadcast "in recent months." Similarly, parents reported a median of 0.4 exposures per month and youth reported a median of 0 exposures per month to specific Campaign radio ads broadcast "in recent months."

According to Westat's evaluation results it is reasonable to assume that the quality of the TV advertisement in the Campaign has increased, given the large increase in television ad recall reported. It could be that this happened not only due to increased television GRPs but also because the ads were better placed to reach desired audiences, the ads were more efficient (memorable), ads were on for a longer time, all of which show an increase in the quality of the services provided. Another change in the Campaign in pro of the increase of quality of the services was the creation of "the Anti-Drug" brand as a way to publicize a recognizable item to coordinate advertising and non-advertising components of the campaign (Westat, 2006). Recall of the Campaign brand increased substantially between 2001 and 2004 (from 61% to 89%) and consequently increased ADMC reach.

Drug Free Community Support

Given the information available it is not possible to analyze the type, amount and quality of service coalitions provide to their target population. Therefore this section focuses on the services coalitions provide to achieve their goals as a whole. Evidence in the previously published evaluations show that coalitions achieve success when they utilize local data to make local decisions, track outcomes over time, and implement comprehensive community plans to achieve population level decreases in substance use. Given the differences in the contexts were

the DFC Program acts, there is no one program or sector that could be considered a “silver bullet¹⁴⁵” (Battelle, 2008).

GAO’s evaluation about the functioning of the DFC program found crucial flaws in the way services were provided by the DFC program. More specifically it concluded that the ONDCP-SAMSHA grant making and/renewing process needed stronger internal controls and other actions to better manage the grant-making process (GAO, 2008). The report finds that ONDCP funded about 86% of renewal grantees in 2005 without ensuring that they met the statutory eligibility criteria. In administering the Drug-Free Communities Support Program in fiscal years 2005 and 2006, the grant award process of ONDCP and SAMHSA did not always adhere to key internal control standards for the federal government essential for proper stewardship of public resources, the statutory requirements governing the program, and leading practices for collaboration and coordination between agencies to ensure only eligible coalitions were awarded grants. The lack of rigor in the grant provision process raises concerns about the type and quality of services offered by the DFC program.

Standards for internal control in the federal government call for on-going monitoring of a program’s performance and transactions to be clearly documented, and for the documentation to be readily available for examination, among other actions. Additionally, the statutory requirements governing the Drug-Free Communities Support Program require a coalition to meet each of the statutory eligibility criteria, each fiscal year, to be eligible to receive an initial or renewal grant. Additionally, collaborating agencies need to establish strategies that work parallel with those of their partners, which can help in aligning partner agencies’ activities and core processes and resources. For fiscal years 2005 and 2006, a great number of deficiencies were encountered in the provision of the DFC program services. Among these, there are: ONDCP and

¹⁴⁵ The most effective substance abuse prevention is comprehensive and community-wide and includes environmental and population level strategies that are designed to change or strengthen norms against alcohol and drug use (Battelle, 2008).

SAMHSA signed inter-agency agreements that did not provide guidance for monitoring and overseeing the program; ONDCP officials acknowledged that they did not conduct ongoing evaluations; ONDCP lacked a process to screen renewal grant applicants to ensure ongoing statutory eligibility (GAO, 2008). As a result, ONDCP funded the majority (about 86 percent) of renewal grant applicants in fiscal year 2005 and all of these applicants for fiscal year 2006 without ONDCP or SAMHSA ensuring that they satisfied the statutory eligibility criteria; ONDCP and SAMHSA did not follow leading practices for collaboration, such as agreeing on roles and responsibilities and establishing compatible policies, procedures, and other means to operate across agency boundaries; ONDCP has not developed or documented its approach to monitoring SAMHSA's administration of the grant program and overseeing the grant program as a whole as required by internal control standards; Various challenges were encountered when defining roles and responsibilities for program management have not been fully addressed. Specifically, the two agencies have yet to develop policies and procedures to clarify certain services SAMHSA will provide related to awarding grants, as required under the inter-agency agreement; As in fiscal year 2006, ONDCP did not screen renewal grant applicants for statutory eligibility in fiscal year 2007, nor did they require grantees to submit any supporting documentation to show that the statutory eligibility criteria had been met.

In general, all of the previously mentioned deficiencies in the grant making/renewal process raise doubts about the type and quality of the service provided.

Student Drug Testing

There is no information available to the author of this dissertation to be able to discuss in detail the type/amount/quality of services provided by the Student Drug Testing programs as a whole in the United States. Therefore we have no grounds to determine if necessary program functions are being performed adequately and if assumptions regarding the logic model hold.

The lack of aggregate information is evidence of deficiencies in the services provided by the program administrators. Due to the lack of information, this section focuses in giving a brief summary of the different types of drug tests available and possible problems related to the reliability of these test.

Student drug tests could be performed in a wide variety of manners. The Urine (\$10-\$50 dollars per test) version tests for the presence of marijuana, cocaine, opiates, amphetamine and PCP. Among the problems of this test is that it is invasive and could be embarrassing, specimen to be analyzed could easily be adulterated, and because marijuana often stays in the body longer than any other drugs, cocaine, methadone and heroin could of undetected. Urine tests mostly utilized in schools usually do not detect alcohol or tobacco presence which would also be of interest. The Hair (\$60-75 dollars per test) version of the drug test tests for the same drugs than the urine test, plus the presence of MDMA/Ecstasy. Among the biggest problems with this one is its elevated price range, the test is discriminatory (blondes and Caucasians are least likely to test positive than dark-haired and African American people), it will not detect the presence if drug use was very recent, and that passive exposure to the drugs in the environment can lead to false positive results. The sweat patch (\$20-50 dollars per test) is among the drug tests options and also verifies the presence of the same group of drugs that the previous two (it does not address the presence of MDMA/Ecstasy). Lastly, the saliva (\$10-\$50 dollars per test) drug test verifies the presence of marijuana, cocaine, opiates, amphetamine, and PCP. Biggest limitation is that it only detects very recent use of drugs and given that it is fairly new technology reliability is yet not determined. (Gunja, Cox, Rosenbaum, and Appel, 2003).

c) Regarding the administration of the program

Anti-Drug Media Campaign

The Media Campaign works with almost 100 communities, youth-serving, prevention, education, and public health organizations, as well as 50 corporations. Among the partners there are: the American Academy of Pediatrics, CADCA¹⁴⁶, National Alliance for Hispanic Health, National Urban League, PTA, SADD, ATT, Cox Communications, GEICO, and Procter and Gamble. The fact that corporate partnerships have provided more than \$20 million of value in direct and in-kind support, talks positively about the work the ADMC performs with these other agencies involved (Anti Drug Media Campaign, 2008).

As well, the ONDCP performs overall management of the Campaign in collaboration with the following groups: The Partnership for a Drug-Free America (PDFA), which provides the creative advertising for the Campaign through its existing relationship with leading American advertising companies; A Behavioral Change Expert Panel (BCEP) of outside scientists who help to inform the content of the advertisements to reflect the latest research on behavior modification, prevention, and target audiences; Ogilvy (through Sept. 2004) a national advertising agency with responsibility for media buying (as well as for carrying out some supportive research and assuring a coherent advertising strategy); Fleishman-Hillard, a public relations firm, which coordinates the nonadvertising components of the Campaign; and The Advertising Council, a coordinator of national public interest advertising campaigns, which supervises distribution of donated advertising time to other public service agencies under the “pro bono match” program.

¹⁴⁶ CADCA administers the National Community Anti-Drug Coalition Institute. The Institute was established in 2002 by the Drug Free Communities Act with three goals: 1) Provide education, training and technical assistance for coalition leaders and community teams, with emphasis on the development of coalitions serving economically disadvantaged areas; 2) Develop and disseminate evaluation tools, mechanisms and measures to better assess and document coalition performance measures and outcomes; and 3) Bridge the gap between research and practice by translating knowledge from research into practical information. Source: <http://www.ondcp.gov/DFC/overview.html>).

Given that youth and parents receive drug related messages from other public sources besides the ADMC, the Campaign must also pursue reach it audience indirectly through these other advertisement from different institutions. Unfortunately, the decline between 2000 and 2004 in youth and parents (parent attendance at drug abuse prevention classes and at parent effectiveness training programs) attendance to programs such as in-school and out-school drug education programs, and the decline in the exposure to stories in the media concerning youth and drugs and awareness of local anti-drug activity, show signs of a deficiency in the attention given to these alternate channels by the ADMC program.

Regarding the efficiency of resources invested in the ADMC, Westat (2006) reports that currently the Office of National Drug Control Policy receives \$70.0 million to fund the Campaign. These funds are destined to pay advertisement, interactive media, and public information to educate and motivate youth to develop anti-drug beliefs and behaviors, and encourage adults to play a more effective role in keeping youth drug-free. Although it is complicated to determine if media exposure to anti-drug messages has in fact impacted teen drug use, there are a number of national surveys and independent evaluation studies that show suggestive evidence of an impact of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign's impact on teen drug use.

Palmgreen et al (2007) evaluation of the impact of the marijuana portion of the Campaign on high- and low-sensation-seeking adolescents concluded through a 48-month time series analysis that there was a decline in marijuana use in youth target of the Campaign following the ADMC. Longshore et al (2006) through a randomized trial of a classroom based drug prevention program called ALERT Plus concluded that the Media Campaign may have led to reduction in marijuana use among youth who at the same time received school-based drug prevention. Additionally, the Monitoring the Future (MTF) survey reported a 25 percent decrease in overall illicit teen drug use since 2001 and a 25 percent drop in marijuana use, a drug that has been the

focus of Media Campaign outreach¹⁴⁷, over the same time period. Lastly, the 2008 National Survey of Drug Use and Health (NSDUH) found that youth who have heard or seen prevention messages outside of school were significantly less likely to have used any illicit drug or marijuana in the past month than youth who had not been exposed to such message (12 vs. 8.7 for any illicit drug use and 9.1 vs. 6 for marijuana use).

Results obtained in Westat (2006) evaluation of the ADMC do not show definitive evidence that higher exposure to the Campaign by youth and/or parents has increase quit rates, reduced frequency of use, or slowed rates of increase. Parents' effects of the Campaign appeared favorable for parent outcomes talking cognitions, talking behavior, and fun activities; and to a lesser extent with monitoring behavior and cognition. Nevertheless, although evidence supports Campaign effects on parent outcomes, the likelihood of those effects translating into effects on youth behavior may not be high.

Drug Free Community Support

The Drug Free Communities Support Program is by definition a joint effort between ONCDP and SAMSHA. In addition, it also requires the collaboration of different public and private sector organizations (providing substance use prevention training and the propagation of prescription drugs related information) which provide the opportunity to capitalize on relationships, knowledge resources that these local and regional entities have their communities. Among many of the organizations with which the DFC program works are CADCA, COMET, etc. It is difficult to provide a national performance summary of the way DFC works with these other agencies given the decentralized nature of the program nationwide.

¹⁴⁷ The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign was the single largest drug prevention program initiated during this time

Regarding the efficiency of the way in which the DFC manages their resources National Drug Control Strategy FY 2010 reports that the Drug Free Communities will receive in 2009 (and 2010) \$90.0 million to spend in their operations. The evidence presented by the DFC Coalition Youth (Grades 9-12) report accelerated rates of declining marijuana use since 2004, DFC communities report more favorable 30-Day Past use rates (i.e., lower) as compared to Non DFC communities. In both 2005 and 2007, high school students (grades 9-12) in DFC communities reported significantly less past 30-day alcohol, tobacco and marijuana use than non-DFC communities. Additionally, between 2005 and 2007, among high school students in DFC communities, there was a significant decrease in the percentage of Past 30-Day use rates across all three substances. Between 2006 and 2007, Past 30-Day use rates for all DFC coalitions have declined for all three drugs measured (i.e., alcohol, tobacco and marijuana) and for all grades 9-12; In 2007, Maturing and Sustaining coalitions reported lower Past 30-Day use rates when compared to Establishing and Functioning coalitions, for all three drugs and for all 4 grades measured (9-12); and, In 2006, there were few differences between coalition type and Past 30-Day use rates for marijuana and tobacco. However, Past 30-Day use rates reported for alcohol were lower in both 2006 and 2007 for Maturing and Sustaining DFC coalitions when compared to Establishing and Functioning coalitions (The White House, 2010).

A recent evaluation performed by Batelle in 2008 reported that DFC Program reduced teen substance abuse. The analysis reported that current substance use rates among high-school students within DFC communities are significantly lower than national rates (Office of National Drug Control Policy, 2009). Specifically the study found that for students' grade 9-12 between 2006 and 2007: marijuana use among high school students in DFC communities was 9.9% lower than the reported national average; the average youth alcohol use in DFC communities was 23% lower than the national average; annual tobacco use was 10% lower in DFC communities. This

study finds success of the DFC program which talks positively about the administration of the program and the way resources are utilized.

Student Drug Testing

Since the student drug testing program is one of the most controversial prevention strategies the evidence about how efficient have been resources utilized to finance student drug testing programs is ambiguous and inconclusive. Supporters of the program (including President George W. Bush) state that Random Student Testing have contributed to smaller amounts of first time illicit drug users, considerable reductions in the drug use among youth, and a higher perception of social and health consequences that come with drug use.

On the contrary, the Michigan Study 2003 found that there is practically no difference in the rates of drug use between schools that have and do not have drug testing programs. Authors of the study stated that “drug testing did not have an impact on illicit drug use among students, including athletes” (Michigan Study, 2003, pg vii Abstract). Among the many findings in this study that do not talk in favor of the RSDT program are: (a) relatively few schools report testing students for drug use, (b) little evidence of a time trend in the prevalence of student drug testing in American schools between 1998 and 2002, (c) drug testing still is found not to be associated with students’ reported illicit drug use—even random testing that potentially subjects the entire student body, (d) drug-testing policies, either drug testing for cause or for suspicion or random, were not a significant predictor of marijuana use. A follow up of the Michigan Study that includes a larger sample of schools, more years of data and an increased focus on random testing programs concluded that drug testing did not prevented or inhibited student drug use. Particularly random drug testing of all students and of just student athletes did not produce hopeful results.

d) Regarding the relationship between the program and the target population

Given that there is not enough information available to this author regarding the relationship between the program and the target population, the following section focuses instead on offering a brief discussion of some of the reported outcomes of the programs, which indirectly reflect the type of relationship between the programs and the target population.

Anti-Drug Media Campaign

Participants of the Anti Drug Media Campaign, youth and their parents/caregivers, reported to react positively to the ads diffused by the Campaign. In general, youth report stronger attitudes and perceptions about drug use and the importance of remaining drug free. Additionally, the Campaign appears to have an effect of parent exposure on parent behavior, but no clear positive effects of parent exposure on youth outcomes (Westat, 2006). The lack of definitive results on the final outcomes¹⁴⁸ raises doubts regarding the relationship between the ADMC program and its target population.

Drug Free Community Support

Participants of the DFC program in fact participate in follow up behaviors required by the program by providing the four outcomes measures (age of onset of any drug use, frequency of use in the past 30 days, perception of risk or harm, perception of disapproval of use by parents) to CADCA (Batelle) . Unfortunately, information available to this author did not provided a way of making an assessment of participant's (coalitions) satisfaction.

Student Drug Testing

Information regarding the relationship between participants of the Student Drug Testing Programs and the program itself is ambiguous and inconclusive. On the one hand, there are a group of school principals, school board members, parents and students that express their

¹⁴⁸ Authors of the evaluation report three possible reasons for the lack of effects of the Campaign on outcomes. These are: Campaign effects on parent outcomes might be mistaken, talking behavior and talking cognitions, the outcomes with the clearest evidence for effects for parents, were not related to youth marijuana use, and the fact that indirect effects are hard to detect. (Westat, 2006)

satisfaction with the program and its results. And on the other, we have a group of these same individuals that express their discontent with many aspects of the program. The tone of the information provided depends completely on who is the source that reports it and on what side it takes on the Student Drug Testing debate.

Among the program supporters we find the Zio-Benton Township High School District, Zion, Illinois whose former superintendent, Gary Fields, call the program a “six-year success story (Fields, 2003.); Durant School District, Oklahoma whose school director tells stories of students that have thanked him for a program that gives them an excuse to refuse drugs (Palma & Kleinman, 2008); Hunterdon Central Regional High School District, Flemington, NJ former principal, Lisa Brady who stated that under student drug testing measures, student drug use was dramatically reduced, and they have remained committed to the program even in the face of legal challenges (Brady, 2003); Jefferson Parish Public School System, Louisiana where teachers, principals and parents say that testing does deter student from future drug use (Edwards, 2008; School Board member, “Op-ed: Random drug screenings move into the locker-lined halls of learning,” Atlanta Journal Constitution, June 8, 2003); among many others.

On the other hand, program opponents include: Scot Dahl, president of school board in Guymon, Oklahoma who claimed for the inefficiency of the program compared to the money spent on it; Harry M. Ward, Superintendent in Mathews County, Virginia¹ who agreed that drug tests is really a parental responsibility that is not the job of the school; Laura Rowe, President of Band Aids, a parent association of the high school band program in Oconomowoc, Wisconsin who mentioned the many problems with SDT programs due to budgetary issues and the changing of the focus of education to the creation of a intimidating environment; Hans York, parent and Deputy Sheriff in Wahkiakum, Washington exposed his arguments against urine-testing claiming that it is an invasion of privacy, and that schools should teach students how to think critically instead of policing them. Additionally, a report created by researchers at the University of

Michigan found that drug testing of students in schools does not deter drug use. Authors found that rates of drug use of students in 8, 10 and 12 grade that attended schools that had drug testing was virtually the same than that of schools that did not had drug testing (Michigan Evaluation). This holds true even for the case of athletes that are supposed to be the main target of the student drug testing programs.

Given the variety of opinions regarding the program, and the lack of a reliable, national, objective study of how the student drug testing program works is implemented and its relationship with its participants, available to this author, this dissertation withholds making any conclusions about the relationship between the program and the target population and simply exposes the different points of views individuals directly involved by the Student Drug Test Program.

In summary, the Anti-Drug Media Campaign and the Drug Free Community Support programs appear to be targeting properly their programs. Regarding the services they provide, it seems that the ADMC program offers good quality and quantity services. There is no available aggregate level information that correctly inform about the provision of DFC program's services. Despite, there is some evidence on irregularities found in the way DFC grants are made that raises doubts about services provided. Both, the ADMC and the DFC programs show signs of being effectively addressing drug control issues. These signs also talk positively about the administrations of both of these programs. There is no available information that describes the relationship between the programs and their target population, consequently there are no conclusions concerning this area. Lastly, nothing can be concluded about the Student Drug Testing program because available information is incomplete and/or inexistent.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1) Conclusions Process Evaluations

The following conclusions are based on the available existing information that was used as sources for the previously discussed process evaluations¹⁴⁹. Although most of the previously published evaluations about drug control policies in Colombia and the United States, available to this dissertation's author, lack rigor and specificity, they do offer basic information useful to make up general conclusions about the program. This dissertation is not re-affirming or contradicting data provided by the previously published evaluations utilized to make this report, instead it summarizes existent information with the purpose of providing a more detailed perspective of the implementation of various drug control policies in Colombia and the United States.

In general, none of the four drug control policies studied for the cases of Colombia and in the United States were well documented, explained, and organized. Previous evaluations of these programs lack rigor and specificities which makes it tremendously difficult to analyze the implementation of these programs. As a whole, the Alternative Development drug control policy in Colombia seems to be on the right track with no major implementation flaws. Nevertheless, there are lots of areas that could be improved in order to achieve better outcomes. Both the Productive Projects and the Forester Families programs aim to address drug production issues by not only providing a stable and legal economic alternative, but also by strengthening the sense of

¹⁴⁹ Therefore, the validity and reliability of these conclusions is dependent on the quality¹⁴⁹ and quantity of information collected by third parties. What is certainly true is that given the information collected this is what can be concluded.

community and focusing on the importance of social networks and capital. Important implementation hits and flaws are discussed in the following paragraphs.

On the other hand, two of the studied drug control policies focused towards preventing consumption of drugs in the United States, the Drug Free Communities Support Program and the Random Student Testing policy, are too fragmented throughout the country. This makes it very complicated to evaluate the process of implementation of these. On the contrary, the Anti Drug Media Campaign appears to be a well organized, well implemented and administered program. The case of the Drug Free Communities Support Program is the one of a very intelligent idea of focusing needs of each particular community by providing funds to these. There is a substantial lack of information¹⁵⁰ at a coalition national level that makes it hard to make strong conclusions about its implementation process. Regardless, the information available shows signs of important strengths and also crucial deficiencies. Finally, the information that this author was able to collect, regarding the Student Testing Program throughout the country, is of deficient quality and provides ambiguous and inconclusive facts. Therefore, nothing can be said with certainty about this drug prevention program.

COLOMBIA

Because of the broad and multiple numbers of objectives of the Alternative Development Program it is complicated to have a clear description of how the program is organized, and how the participants and the administrators must function. Although by searching Accion Social webpage and looking in related documents it is possible to infer details about the way the programs work, there is a crucial deficiency of accessible information about the ‘modus operandi’ of the Productive Projects and Forester Families Programs. There is no consolidated report of the logic theory behind each of the programs, assumptions in which the program’s functioning is

¹⁵⁰ A new and more complete evaluation of the DFC program is coming out soon and is being elaborated by Batelle.

based, and/or responsibilities of program's participants and operators. These deficiencies affect in a substantial manner the theoretical organization of the program that probably also has an impact on the program's outcomes. In addition, the objectivity of the program evaluations done by UNODC at Colombia to the PP and FF programs is questionable. Given that the Alternative Development Strategy is a United Nations strategy the objectivity of the evaluation of the AD in Colombia will be less compromised if it was performed by an external organization that had nothing to do with the program. The questionability of the evaluation is a huge flaw due to the importance of good quality and objective evaluation in order to improve program's functioning.

Regarding the Target Population

Both of the components of the Alternative Development Program, the Productive Projects Program and the Forester Families Program, seem to be targeting the program consistent with what is described in their goals. However, there are several aspects of the programs regarding the target population that need more attention. By better addressing these flaws, both the PP and the FF programs, could expect to have a more accurate implementation and consequently more successful outcomes.

The PP program attends to the intended number of farmers throughout the Colombian territory, nevertheless it has not reached yet the amount of land desired in the program goals. The PP program is present in areas with higher violence rates, less than average social conditions, less amount of investment from the government, and more historic presence of illicit crops as is described in the target population. In addition, most of the areas and people attended by the program have been victim of very high rates of violence. These individual/familiar characteristics show that beneficiaries appear to be individuals who are in need of the program in areas with precarious conditions. All of these aspects are consistent with the programs' goals. The PP program could improve by aiming to increase the coverage of the program not only in

terms of participants, but also in terms of territory covered. In addition, the program could also give more importance to the environmental requirements of the program to better address these issues.

The FF program involves a number of beneficiaries that goes beyond the expected goal, and attended areas of the country that are affected and/or at risk of getting involved in illicit cultivation. Although the program does reach Afro-Colombian and indigenous populations, given that they are the main target of the program, these groups participation should be even higher. In addition, 66% of the families covered by the program were at risk, instead of actually being linked, of getting involved with illicit crops. While certainly families at risk should be treated, the program could try to involve more of the already affected families to have a greater impact on the quantities of illicit crops produced.

Regarding the Service

The general overview of the services provided by the PP program appears to be positive. The products selected by the program have showed to be profitable and financially viable, and additionally these associate a great number of employment opportunities. In addition, organizations linked to the PP programs report that they do participate in training sessions and provide various important services to the community (offer training programs, technical assistance, buy associated products, etc). As well, a great proportion of the projects (76%) report that they do have an environmental component. All of these are characteristics that are in accordance with the goals of the services that the program should offer. Additionally, participants demonstrate a lot of interest in the program (they really need it) and there is evidence of strong collaboration among the community.

The FF program shows successes and some failures regarding the provision of the services they offer. Although the program is providing economic incentives to its participants,

changes in the duration of the program and the amount of the economic incentive given, during Phases III and IV of the FF program, have compromised the long term sustainability of the program. Things such as the security provided by the participation in the FF program disappeared due to this. On the positive side, families do inform saving important proportions of their income, which is an important goal of the program. In addition, the program does emphasize on environmentally friendly practices in accordance to the environmental requirements of the Alternative Development program. As well, the program is reaching individuals who are in need of it in accordance with program's assumptions. There are some indicators of greater trust generated among the forester families, which are fundamental to warrant solidarity and cooperative relationship, due to the presence of the program. Nevertheless the reliability of these indicators is questionable depending upon how anonymous the surveys were or how confident the people felt in expressing their feelings. Lastly, some important program assumptions are met because participant families did expressed lack of economic options, no viability of any other economic activity besides illicit crops, presence of big drug traffickers, and environmental problems due to deforestation.

Regarding the Administration

There is not enough available information to make a strong conclusion about the administration of the Alternative Development program in Colombia. Though, aspects related to the program's use of resources and staffing were analyzed given the existent information. The AD program receives strong support from the Government, banks and international cooperation that offers them resources to finance their activities. Twenty one percent of the organizations are financed through credits, twenty three percent with communities' savings, twenty seven percent with donations and five percent with the support of Accion Social.

The use of resources of the Productive Projects program appears to be efficient, over 82% of the organizations associated with the PP program reported utilities. Hence, reporting advances in the availability of legal economic options in these regions. Yet, there is an 18% of organizations that reported losses and whose administration must be re-considered. An important aspect about the staff that administers the PP program that is not currently considered when hiring personnel is “human talent”. Human talent refers to people that through their abilities, experiences and knowledge look for intelligent ways to solve problems of certain occupation (Equipo Academico del C.E.D., 2005). The inclusion of this type of personnel in the administrative staff of the PP program is necessary for the development and leadership within these organizations. In addition, organizations linked with the PP program rate to have a very good relationship with program administrators (93.2% reported it to be good or excellent).

Case studies about the functioning of the Forester Families program show that resources utilized by these programs seem to be used efficiently. These case studies reported that communities have strengthened institutions in the area, have increased their quality of life and have now higher trust levels. All of these, although not generalizable to the entire FF program, speak positively about the way the FF program is administered in these regions of the country. Regarding the relationship between the program and the target population

Another important aspect of the implementation of the Alternative Development program that could compromise the effectiveness of the program is how satisfied program’s participants are with program’s personnel and procedures, and their behavior regarding required follow-up activities that they must comply after receiving the service. Both of the programs that compose the AD program, the PP and the FF programs, report a satisfactory relationship between the program and the target population.

Evaluations of some organizations linked to the PP program (Organizaciones Productivas) report a high level of satisfaction with the program. As well, case studies of these

organizations report high participation in the procedures that compose the program. Participants of the FF program report a recovery in confidence of the institutions of the central government (including program administrators), increases in social capital, and others. Although there are some studies that find a negative relationship between areas with presence of FF program and homicide rates (that could be used as a proxy of presence of illegal armed groups), still the intimidation/retaliation of illegal armed forces to population that participates in the FF program continues to be an important aspects that deserves careful attention by programs' administrators.

USA

In order to make conclusions about the target population, services provided, administration of the programs, and relationship between the programs and its target population of the Anti-Drug Media Campaign, Drug Free Community Support Program and Student Drug Testing this dissertation utilized previously diffused program evaluations (Westat, 2006; GAO, 2008; and Michigan Study, 2008). Similarly to the Colombian case, the evaluations of the Drug Free Community Support Program and Student Drug Testing lack theoretical and methodological rigor; they report no logic theory behind each of the programs, assumptions in which the program's functioning is based, and/or responsibilities of program's participants and operators. These flaws in the design compromise the usefulness of their results towards improvements of programs' implementation. The contrary is true for the evaluation of the Anti Drug Media Campaign program which offers a considerable amount of detail and is well theoretically based evaluation.

Regarding the Target Population

There is not enough information to make a strong conclusion about the population treated by two of the prevention policies, DFCS and SDT, analyzed for the case of the US. The only program that provided good information regarding this issue was the ADMC.

In general, the ADMC program appeared to be well targeted. The Campaign does in fact address youth and parents and other adults that have central relevance in the lives of teens. Statistics reported showed that 72% of all parents and 77% of all youth recalled weekly exposure to any type of anti-drug ads. In addition, campaign research data collected through November 2008 reports that an average of 81% of the Campaign's teen target audience was aware of *Above the Influence* anti-drug advertisement. Although percentages could be higher, attention given to target population appears appropriate.

Specific data about the coalitions that are beneficiaries of the Drug Free Community Support was unavailable at an aggregate level, to this dissertation's author. Consequently the analysis of how pertinent was the target population addressed is given by an analysis of the states receiving the coalitions. States with the highest illicit drug use rates are the ones that receive greater number of DFC grant (in proportion to their population). This shows that grants are getting to the areas that need it the most. General statistics (Drug-Free Communities Program, ONCDP (August 2009) inform that there are 747 grassroots community coalitions across the US that are receiving funds through DFC grants: 566 are continuing grantees, 10 are mentor¹⁵¹ continuation grantees, 161 are new grantees, and another 10 are new mentoring grantees. Nevertheless, it is necessary to have a database that aggregates all of the coalitions that receive DFC funds and describe the characteristics of each of these and the anti-drug proposals they offer, to be able to make conclusions about the target population the DFC program treats.

Lastly, information about the Student Drug Testing program comes from particular samples that are not representative of the population of schools with SDT programs. These data (from 1998 to 2002) revealed that drug testing was employed in approximately 18.8% of schools in the study which contained 19.4% of all students in the national sample (Michigan Study,

¹⁵¹ The DFC Mentor grants are awarded through a competitive peer review process to community coalitions that wish to mentor other community coalitions that are less developed. This is a supplemental grant, meaning that an organization must be in current receipt of a normal DFC grant to receive a mentor grant.

2003). Specifically, 23.6% of high schools (containing 24.4% of students in the school sample) employed drug testing. Only 5.3% of the schools tested student athletes and 2.4% other extra-curricular activities. A big proportion of the students tested were tested because of suspicion of drug use which is not among the targets discussed in the theoretical frame of the student drug testing program. The lack of data that include all the SDT programs across the United States makes impossible to make a conclusions about the appropriateness of the target population addressed by the program.

Regarding the Service

Services provided by the three prevention programs analyzed in this dissertation reflect how variable the services provided across the country are. This particularity makes it very complex to analyze the quantity, quality and amount of services provided by each of the programs as a whole.

Available information dealing with the quantity and quality of services about the Anti-Drug Media Campaign inform that services provided by the program appear consistent with the program's theory. Unfortunately, although the quantity and the quality of services provided seems to be appropriate, there are great difficulties in evaluating the true impact of the program and therefore its efficiency. The majority of the ads publicized by the campaign that are focused towards the youth market were related to the Negative Consequences of Drugs (for the period between 1999 and 2004). Another important proportion focused on the idea that most youth do not use drugs and/or that others expect the youth not to use drugs (Normative Education/Positive Alternatives). Ads directed to parents were mainly messages related to Parenting Skills/Personal Efficacy/Monitoring. All of these aspects recognized as important areas in the ADMC program's theory. In addition, Westat's 2006 evaluation reports that the quality of the TV advertisement of the Campaign has increased, and consequently the quality of the services provided has also

improved. Lastly, recall of the Campaign brand increased substantially between 2001 and 2004 (from 61% to 89%) and consequently increased ADMC reach. Unfortunately, although the program appears to have effects on the intentions to consume certain drugs (such as marijuana) the consumption rates of these do not seem to be very affected.

Serious flaws in the conditions followed to provide financial resources to the participating DFC coalitions were identified by a previous evaluation. The grant award process did not always adhere to key internal control to ensure only eligible coalitions were awarded grants (GAO, 2008). The lack of thoroughness in the grant provision process makes questionable the type and quality of services offered by the DFC program. The most important condition of good provision of services is to give the grants to coalitions that meet the criteria and develop the required activities. More detailed information regarding the granting process would allow a more thorough and complete conclusion regarding the provision of services of the DFC program.

Data regarding the services provided by the Student Drug Testing programs across the country were not available to this dissertation's author. Given that each school/ school district implements a different type of SDT program and that there is no available data on a national level regarding this program, this dissertation cannot make conclusions of the services provided by the SDT. The information provided by several case studies is very inconsistent and to some extent contradictory (Yamaguchi, Johnston and O'Malley, 2003; Ringwalt, et al., 2008; Edwards, 2008). In some cases people report how good and well oriented is the SDT program implemented in their school, and in some others individuals relate the many flaws and mistakes of the SDT programs, including that many of the assumptions the program does not hold. Because of this, there is no way to make one general conclusion given the very scarce and unreliable information available.

Regarding the Administration (resources used efficiently, staff, etc)

A correct administration of drug control policies in the United States is a requirement for the correct implementation of the program and the attainment of efficient outcomes. Previous evaluations about the ADMC give us information to make conclusions. Nevertheless, the DFC, and SDT programs offer scant to almost no information about the administration and staff that carries on these programs.

The ADMC program appears to be reaching youth and parents, but there is no way of telling if these actually had an influence on drug consumption rates¹⁵². Regardless, it is a fact that these educative and informative programs are positive influences that offer good prevention services to the population; though, issues arise when thinking about its cost-efficiency. This dissertation concludes that the relationship of the program and its collaborators is good, that the campaign is well organized, and that the program and program's evaluations offer good, reliable information. All of these speak positively about the administration of the ADMC program.

Preliminary reports about the outcomes of the DFC program show that it has been effective in reducing illicit and licit drug use among youth. To provide better and more complete conclusions it is necessary to provide detailed information about how the DFC program works as a whole, but also how all of the participants' coalitions function as well. Lastly, it is impossible to conclude something about the administration of the SDT programs because of the lack of information available. Therefore, the necessity to get national information that covers all of the existent SDT programs.

Regarding the relationship between the program and the target population

Most of the evaluations of the ADMC, DFC and SDT programs do not go into the details of explaining levels of satisfaction of participants with the services provided by the program and

¹⁵² Although there is some evidence that the campaign does reduce marijuana consumption

the follow-up behavior of the participants. The few things this dissertation can conclude regarding this topic is that: for the case of ADMC youth do report stronger attitudes and perceptions toward drugs; Participants of the DFC program do participate in follow up behaviors, but there is no information about the satisfaction of coalitions; the information regarding the SDT program is ambiguous and inconclusive to make any conclusions about the relationship between the program and the target population. All of these programs need to report and analyze how the relationship between the program and the target population is. Only after knowing how this work they would be able to recognize new and more efficient ways to implement the ADMC, DFC and SDT policies.

5.2) General Conclusions

In conclusion, drug control policies are not, and cannot be simplistic. From a macro level it is evident that both demand and supply environments need to be simultaneously addressed through concerted international cooperation and collaboration. Both the supply-focus and the demand focus have produced a multiple of programs and diverse efforts without coordination or evaluation. This manuscript has attempted to “simplify the complex” by doing a process evaluation of programs in each environment. It is not an outcome evaluation. The following conclusions come from a general analysis of all the theoretical and empirical information discussed in the previous sections.

1) Data on illicit drugs and the many strategies used by both the United States and Colombia have been presented. The rates of illicit drug production and consumption in these countries appear to be constant across the years. Therefore, there is evidence to suggest overall the drug control strategies of both countries have had little impact save maintaining consistent supply-demand equilibrium. While the drug market has remained stable, the goals were to reduce both supply and demand, a condition not evident in this research. According to this research this

could be a consequence of the lack of any theoretical basis for the policies that have been implemented, or to deficiencies in the implementation of the policies. From this research it is not possible to determine which.

2) Criminal Justice Theory tends to focus much more on individual deviant behavior and does not adequately focus enough on how theories could be applied to drug production. In order to design and implement good drug control policies regarding drug production, Criminal Justice, Economics, and other disciplines need to develop appropriate integrated theories that could be utilized as theoretical backgrounds. Theories such as Institutional Anomie (Messner and Rosenfeld, 2001) and the Social Disorganization theory of Groves and Sampson (1989) offer insightful ideas of the importance of institutions and the external environment as causes of crime that have potential to be utilized to design better drug control policies.

3) While the official American Drug Control Strategy states that 1) addiction is a disease and 2) addiction is treatable (White House, 2009),¹⁵³ implementation in the United States focuses most heavily on interdiction and to a lesser extent on prevention and treatment. The demand for treatment in the United States continues to be much greater than the programs in place to address them (National Survey on Drug Use and Health (2010). Drug addiction is considered an illness in need of treatment (Nestler, 2002), consequently there is a need for more programs and institutions that are focused on a treatment response rather than the often prioritized criminal justice and incarceration response. Drug addiction is also a never ending cycle that fosters drug production, trafficking, violence and crime if the demand is not reduced.

4) Drug control policies invest much of their time and resources to reducing the supply, therefore increasing the price and making the drug producing business even more profitable. At the same time, the proportion of consumers who are addicted to drugs do not respond to changes of prices because their demand for the product is inelastic. Although people addicted to drugs are

¹⁵³ White House (2009) National Drug Control Strategy: 2009 Annual Report. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office

a minority of drug consumers, users with substance abuse disorders account for around 80% of the volume in the market of an addictive drug (Kleiman, 2007). Consequently, by focusing on supply reduction drug control policies in Colombia and the U. S. are inadvertently fueling the very problem they intend to curb.

5.3) Policy Recommendations

1) It is recommended that drug control policy should rely more on theory and research than on political assumptions, ideology, bureaucracy or conflicts of interest. Programs designed and implemented must take into consideration insight provided by research and by appropriate evaluations.

2) Current drug control strategies in Colombia and the U.S. show more emphasis on attacking the production of illegal drugs rather than attacking both consumption and production simultaneously. Given that the majority of drugs are not produced and consumed within the same countries, it is necessary to have joint responsibility- joint policies between countries that attack both sides of the market. Colombia and the US should work more closely in the design and implementation of drug control policies that complement each other.

3) Criminal Justice and Economic theories suggest focusing on the environment as a way to prevent crimes such as drug consumption and production. The majority of policies implemented in the US and Colombia do not emphasize enough the importance of organized communities, stronger institutions (education, family, polity), and the generation of stronger social support systems (for example treatment programs¹⁵⁴) as suggested by Social

¹⁵⁴ For example the National Survey on Drug Use and Health (2010) showed that there was an imminent need of substance use treatment for around 3.7 million people living in poverty.

Disorganization and Institutional Anomie theories¹⁵⁵. The influence of institutions and the environment are aspects that need to be better addressed by drug control policies in both Colombia and the U.S. when aiming to diminish drug production and consumption.

4) There is a need for more programs and institutions that are focused on more and better treatment responses that correspond to the high number of drug addicts who live in the U.S., rather than the often prioritized criminal justice and incarceration response.

5) There is a need for more research, in both the Economic and Criminal justice literatures, analyzing why individuals or countries are more prone to produce illicit crops. Researchers must address this gap in the literature with the ideal of offering strong theoretical background to the design of policies that target drug production.

6) Drug control policies should be better conceptualized and designed, and should be subject to strict analysis and high quality evaluations. Programs in Colombia and the U.S. should be followed and documented thoroughly in order to have better accountability and possibilities of improvement. Evaluations should start by presenting a detailed description of the programs, a concise logic model of how the program should work, detail the nuances about the implementation of the program to be able to make conclusions about their effectiveness.

¹⁵⁵ This is not the case of the programs analyzed in the case studies: the AD and the SI Campaign. On the contrary, these two are examples of programs that do take the environment and the importance of the social component into account.

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