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Impact evaluations of drug decriminalisation and legal regulation on drug use, health and social harms: a systematic review

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ABSTRACT

Objectives. To review the metrics and findings of studies evaluating effects of drug decriminalisation or legal regulation on drug availability, use or related health and social harms globally.

Design. Systematic review with narrative synthesis.

Data sources. We searched MEDLINE, Embase, PsycINFO, Web of Science and six additional databases for publications from 1 January 1970 through 4 October 2018.

Inclusion criteria. Peer-reviewed articles or published abstracts in any language with quantitative data on drug availability, use or related health and social harms collected before and after implementation of *de jure* drug decriminalisation or legal regulation.

Data extraction and synthesis. Two independent reviewers screened titles, abstracts and articles for inclusion. Extraction and quality appraisal (modified Downs and Black checklist) were performed by one reviewer and checked by a second, with discrepancies resolved by a third. We coded study-level outcome measures into metric groupings and categorised the estimated direction of association between the legal change and outcomes of interest.

Results. We screened 4860 titles and 221 full-texts and included 114 articles. Most ($n=104$, 91.2%) were from the USA, evaluated cannabis reform ($n=109$, 95.6%) and focussed on legal regulation ($n=96$, 84.2%). 224 study outcome measures were categorised into 32 metrics, most commonly prevalence (39.5% of studies), frequency (14.0%) or perceived harmfulness (10.5%) of use of the decriminalised or regulated drug; or use of tobacco, alcohol or other drugs (12.3%). Across all substance use metrics, legal reform was most often not associated with changes in use.

Conclusions. Studies evaluating drug decriminalisation and legal regulation are concentrated in the USA and on cannabis legalisation. Despite the range of outcomes potentially impacted by drug law reform, extant research is narrowly focussed, with a particular emphasis on the prevalence of use. Metrics in drug law reform evaluations require improved alignment with relevant health and social outcomes.

Strengths and limitations of this study

- This is the first study to review all literature on the health and social impacts of decriminalisation or legal regulation of drugs.
- We systematically searched 10 databases over a 39-year period, without language restrictions.
- The review was limited to study designs appropriate for evaluating interventions; nevertheless, most included studies used relatively weak evaluation designs.
- Included outcomes were heterogeneous and not quantitatively synthesised.
- Heterogeneity in the details and implementation of decriminalisation or legal regulation policies was not considered in this review.

INTRODUCTION

An estimated 271 million people used an internationally scheduled ('illicit') drug in 2017, corresponding to 5.5% of the global population aged 15 to 64.¹ Despite decades of investment, policies aimed at reducing supply and demand have demonstrated limited effectiveness.^{2,3} Moreover, prohibitive and punitive drug policies have had counterproductive effects by contributing to HIV and hepatitis C transmission,^{4,5} fatal overdose,⁶ mass incarceration and other human rights violations^{7,8} and drug market violence.⁹ As a result, there have been growing calls for drug law reform^{10–12} and in 2019, the United Nations Chief Executives Board endorsed decriminalisation of drug use and possession.¹³ Against this backdrop, as of 2017 approximately 25 countries had implemented *de jure* decriminalisation or legal regulation of one or more previously illegal drugs.^{14–26}

A wide range of health and social outcomes are affected by psychoactive drug production, sales and use, and thus are potentially impacted by drug law reforms. Nam and

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