Accessing drugs online:
Some user experiences and policy implications

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Monica Barratt
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Acknowledgements

- Dr Adam Winstock for allowing us to use unpublished Global Drug Survey data
- Prof Mathew Allen – ideas and scholarship
- The anonymous participants of the Global Drug Survey and the Silk Road Project

- Apology: I’m no expert, but my co-authors are! Errors are mine, insights are theirs
Overview

- Context – clear/surface web and dark web
- Quantitative data on reasons for buying and not buying drugs from Silk Road from Global Drug Survey
- New qualitative data – our current study
- Conclusions and implications
Context

- **Surface web (Clear web)**
  - Websites selling NPS
  - Social media
  - Drug discussion forums – largely info seeking

- **Hidden web (Dark web)**
  - TOR and Bitcoins
  - Silk Road and the newer drug cryptomarket places
  - Dynamic systems - FBI actions etc.
Annette Markham’s three metaphors of the internet

Internet as tool

Internet as place

Internet as way of being
Drug discussion forums

- Largely drug info sharing and seeking (e.g. Bluelight.ru)
- Drug seeking discouraged by moderators –
  - open, public
  - concerns re official pressure/actions
- Is complicated, both:
  - Harm Reduction
  - Counter public health - pleasure – ‘PMA sounds fun’
    (See Barratt, Allen & Lenton 2014)
- Have/will DLE and official actions, e.g. increased surveillance of online behaviour, move people to dark net?
- Continue despite other channels (e.g. Facebook) possibly due to increased perception of anonymity, encryption, etc.
Accessing drugs on the surface web
Silk Road – what is / was it?

• The Silk Road is the most well known of, now, a number of online drug marketplaces, similar to eBay, with drug listings, vendor ratings, sales, a discussion forum, etc.
• Silk Road is accessed via Tor, through the hidden web, and drugs are bought using Bitcoin, an encrypted virtual currency.
• Tor & Bitcoin, used correctly, apparently make transactions untraceable.
• Drugs delivered through the postal system in ‘stealth packaging’.
• Normally, funds are only released to vendors when buyers receive their goods and are satisfied with them.
Silk Road timeline

- Online drug market place operated from February, 2011
- June 2011 Gawker article thrust into limelight
- Total number of drug listings:
  - 485 in June 2011,
  - 880 in November 2011,
  - 1159 in March 2012,
  - 6411 in March 2013
  - ~13,000 in October 2013
THIS HIDDEN SITE HAS BEEN SEIZED

by the Federal Bureau of Investigation,
in conjunction with the IRS Criminal Investigation Division,
ICE Homeland Security Investigations, and the Drug Enforcement Administration,
in accordance with a seizure warrant obtained by the
United States Attorney’s Office for the Southern District of New York
and issued pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 983(j) by the
United States District Court for the Southern District of New York
# Silk Road 2.0

**Overview:**

Silk Road 2.0 was a dark web marketplace that operated as an online peer-to-peer e-commerce platform. It allowed users to buy and sell illegal goods, including drugs, under the guise of being an anonymous market.

## Categories:

**Psychedelics**
- 1868 Psychedelics
- 2C-Family 181
- 4-ACO-Family 45
- 4-HO-Family 0
- 5-MeO-Family 0
- NBOMe 230
- LSz 1
- LSD 349
- TMA Family 0
- Shrooms 108
- MET 1
- LSA 1
- Entheogens 0
- DPT 8
- D0x 28
- DMT 87
- Bufotenin 1
- AMT 4
- AL-LAD 7
- Salvia 20
- Alcohol 424
- Apparel 384
- Art 15
- Biotic materials 2
- Books 548
- Computer equipment 26
- Custom Orders 223
- Digital goods 770
- Drug paraphernalia 174
- Drugs 14007
- Electronics 49
- Erotica 115
- Forgeries 110
- Hardware 14
- Herbs & Supplements 3
- Jewelry 131
- Lab Supplies 26
- Lotteries & games 21
- Medical 6
- Money 347

## Browsing Psychedelics:

- **(10) Gram - GROUND- Cubensis Mush Shroom Powder by MUSHBUD - Shipping WORLDWIDE:**
  - Vendor: MUSHBUD
  - Ships from: Canada
  - Ships to: Worldwide
  - Price: $0.074567

- **200ug Shiva LSD Blotter - 1**
  - Vendor: aKid
  - Ships from: Undeclared
  - Ships to: Worldwide
  - Price: $0.022696

- **10 x 1000ug 25i-NBome Blotters HPBCD Complexed**
  - Vendor: DahBome
  - Ships from: United Kingdom
  - Ships to: Worldwide
  - Price: $0.027519

**5/5/2014**
Agora
numbers of online drug marketplaces

From Digital Citizens Alliance, DeepDotWeb, April 2014

“The current number of total drug listings is 176% of pre-TSR take down levels. This growth has come with increased competition …”

“Silk Road 2.0 is the market leader with a 43% market share. TSR had 71% at the time of its seizure.”

“Agora currently carries 26% of drug listings and has seen major growth in listings, as well as credibility, since the hacks of Silk Road 2.0 and Pandora. Agora further differentiates itself from Silk Road 2.0, Pandora, and BlueSky by offering weapons.”
## Comparison of Darknet Markets

If you see an error please contact vault43@safe-mail.net

**LINK** http://vault43z5xvy3vn3.onion/chart.php?sort=

### Market Attributes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Market</th>
<th>URL</th>
<th>Uptime</th>
<th>Listings</th>
<th>Grams</th>
<th>Helix</th>
<th>Open Registration</th>
<th>MultiSig</th>
<th>Seamless</th>
<th>Transactions</th>
<th>Warnings</th>
<th>Commission</th>
<th>Fee/Bond</th>
<th>Reset Sort Order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evolution</td>
<td>k5zq47/j6wdc3wbdvq.onion</td>
<td>95.04%</td>
<td>15851</td>
<td>28.56%</td>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0.5 BTC</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Agora</td>
<td>agoraheoawayfoe.onion</td>
<td>81.54%</td>
<td>15662</td>
<td>27.87%</td>
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<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Centralized</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
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<td>0.6 BTC</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Silk Road 2</td>
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<td>94.54%</td>
<td>11028</td>
<td>19.48%</td>
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<td>Closed</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>94.5%</td>
<td>6286</td>
<td>9.07%</td>
<td></td>
<td>Referral Link</td>
<td>None</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.5 BTC</td>
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<td>Cloud-Nine</td>
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<td>99.72%</td>
<td>4311</td>
<td>7.77%</td>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
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<td>90.48%</td>
<td>1596</td>
<td>2.98%</td>
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<td>None</td>
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<td>0 / 30 USD</td>
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<tr>
<td>BlueSky</td>
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<td>1476</td>
<td>2.88%</td>
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<td>5 - 10%</td>
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<td>Cannabis Road</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>43z5mwyvxнюd62z7v.onion</td>
<td>87.09%</td>
<td>1145</td>
<td>2.06%</td>
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<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
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<td>1776 Market</td>
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<td>96.42%</td>
<td>900</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>Onionshop</td>
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<td>99.24%</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>1.19%</td>
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<td>None</td>
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<td>3%</td>
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<td>0.0 BTC</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pirate Market</td>
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<td>97.04%</td>
<td>957</td>
<td>0.87%</td>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Centralized</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.06 BTC</td>
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<td>Tor Bazaar</td>
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<td>99.23%</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>0.84%</td>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
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<td>Centralized</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.1 BTC</td>
<td></td>
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<td>BlackBank</td>
<td>wztyb7yf76d4xd.onion</td>
<td>99.30%</td>
<td>952</td>
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<td>None</td>
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<td>Alpaca</td>
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<td>95.88%</td>
<td>291</td>
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<td>0.0 BTC</td>
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<td>0.82%</td>
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<td>None</td>
<td>Centralized</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
<td>Per Listing</td>
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# The Hub forums

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marketplaces</th>
<th>Posts</th>
<th>Topics</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Featured Vendors</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>New Marketplaces</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Vendor Review</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Agora Market</strong></td>
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<td>216</td>
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<td><strong>Evolution Market</strong></td>
<td>868</td>
<td>129</td>
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<td><strong>Onionshop</strong></td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td><strong>Pandora Market</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>The Silk Road</strong></td>
<td>2033</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Marketplace.12P</strong></td>
<td>155</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Majestic Garden</strong></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
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</table>

*Marketplaces of The Hub forums, listing featured vendors, new marketplaces, vendor reviews, and other discussions.*
The Hub forums
# The Hub forums

## The Hub - Statistics Center

### General Statistics

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<tr>
<th>Metric</th>
<th>Value</th>
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<tr>
<td>Total Members:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Posts:</td>
<td>36669</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Topics:</td>
<td>3370</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Categories:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Users Online:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Most Online:</td>
<td>213 - February 13, 2014, 11:08:50 pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Online Today:</td>
<td>98</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total page views:</td>
<td>6272273</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average registrations per day:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average posts per day:</td>
<td>154.55</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average topics per day:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Boards:</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td>Latest Member:</td>
<td>YOGI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average online per day:</td>
<td>64.63</td>
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<td>Male to Female Ratio:</td>
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<td>Average page views per day:</td>
<td>22481.27</td>
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</table>

### Top 10 Posters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poster</th>
<th>Posts</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ghost</td>
<td>1203</td>
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<tr>
<td>EvilGrin</td>
<td>1129</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boogie</td>
<td>663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mary666</td>
<td>657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wit</td>
<td>539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willowsmom</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory House</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Harkness</td>
<td>379</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ziggy</td>
<td>352</td>
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</table>

### Top 10 Boards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Board</th>
<th>Posts</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Off Topic</td>
<td>8119</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Hub Discussion</td>
<td>7246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vendor Review</td>
<td>3964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Silk Road</td>
<td>2033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>1993</td>
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<tr>
<td>Silkkite Market</td>
<td>1870</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agora Market</td>
<td>1629</td>
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<tr>
<td>Under The Bridge</td>
<td>1545</td>
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<tr>
<td>Evolution Market</td>
<td>868</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cryptocurrency Market</td>
<td>743</td>
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</table>
The Hub forums
Drug safety discussion board

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject / Started by</th>
<th>Replies / Views</th>
<th>Last post</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ENERGY CONTROL: DRUG TESTING SERVICE FOR DEEP WEB USERS Started by EnergyControl « 1 2 »</td>
<td>24 Replies 2702 Views</td>
<td>October 11, 2014, 01:55:59 pm by EnergyControl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ask a Drug Expert Physician about Drugs &amp; Health Started by DoctorX « 1 2 »</td>
<td>35 Replies 1929 Views</td>
<td>October 07, 2014, 06:36:12 am by blowmeplease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hub's Harm Reduction &amp; Drug Awareness Thread Started by Gregory House « 1 2 »</td>
<td>22 Replies 1447 Views</td>
<td>May 24, 2014, 08:31:17 pm by Wtt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug Kit Started by I R Drugs</td>
<td>0 Replies 447 Views</td>
<td>October 07, 2014, 08:47:12 pm by I R Drugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why 420 isn't safe - the dangers of cannabis Started by 2hutes « 1 2 3 »</td>
<td>53 Replies 3402 Views</td>
<td>October 04, 2014, 06:07:17 am by Angel Eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buying Your Drugs Online is Safer Started by Joseph Cox « 1 2 »</td>
<td>25 Replies 1609 Views</td>
<td>September 22, 2014, 09:25:31 pm by dandanthecreamman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pure Obsessive compulsive disorder &amp; anxiety, solution? Started by Hordok</td>
<td>1 Replies 293 Views</td>
<td>September 20, 2014, 02:48:51 pm by tub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DMT Business Started by platinumhead5050</td>
<td>6 Replies 365 Views</td>
<td>September 20, 2014, 02:12:25 pm by GosuKmchi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Have you received advice from DoctorX? Started by OxFreelancer</td>
<td>4 Replies 333 Views</td>
<td>September 20, 2014, 03:20:57 am by tub</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Global Drug Survey

- GDS is an independent drug use data mapping agency that conducts annual, online, anonymous, surveys.

  Limitation: findings are not representative of drug using population

- Questions about access, purchase from Silk Road, & motivations for use/non-use.

- The base sample (n=9470) reported recent drug purchase and resided in the United Kingdom (n=4315, median age 24, 76% male), Australia (n=2761, median age 32, 76% male) or the United States (n=2394, median age 21, 80% male).
Drugs purchased on SR
From Global Drug Survey 2012 see Barratt, Ferris & Winstock (2014)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>UK (n=422)</th>
<th>Australia (n=193)</th>
<th>USA (n=421)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drug</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Drug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>MDMA (All)</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>MDMA (All)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cannabis (All)</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>MDMA powder</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>MDMA powder</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Cannabis (All)</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Cannabis Skunk</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>LSD</td>
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<td>LSD</td>
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<td>MDMA pills</td>
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<td>Cannabis Resin</td>
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<td>Cocaine</td>
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<td>MDMA pills</td>
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<td>Cannabis Skunk</td>
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<td>2C (All)</td>
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<td>2C (All)</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>2C-B</td>
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<td>Amphetamine (All)</td>
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<td>NBOMe (All)</td>
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<td>Prescription drugs (All)</td>
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<td>Prescription drugs (All)</td>
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<td>Ketamine</td>
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<td>DMT</td>
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<td>NBOMe (All)</td>
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<td>Cannabis Grass</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>DMT</td>
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<td>2C-B</td>
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<td>25I-NBOMe</td>
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<td>Magic Mushrooms</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Benzodiazepines</td>
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<td>Amphetamine</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Magic Mushrooms</td>
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<td>25I-NBOMe</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Amphetamine (All)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25C-NBOMe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Amphetamine</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Benzodiazepines</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Base sample = Respondents who usually buy their own drugs (including ‘legal highs’) and report having consumed drugs that were purchased through Silk Road

ndri.curtin.edu.au

GLOBAL DRUG SURVEY
Reasons for accessing drugs on Silk Road
From Global Drug Survey 2012 see Barratt, Ferris & Winstock (2014)

- SR has a wider range of drugs than I can usually access ***
- SR drugs are better quality than I can normally access
- It is more convenient to order drugs online
- I feel more confident buying from sellers with high ratings
- I want to avoid physically meeting with drug dealers
- It is more anonymous to buy through SR **
- SR prices are lower ***
- I don’t have adequate access to drugs through my own networks ***

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

% Respondents

- UK (n=432)
- Aus (n=199)
- USA (n=429)
Reasons for NOT accessing drugs on SR
From Global Drug Survey 2012 see Barratt, Ferris & Winstock (2014)

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001
The NDRI Silk Road study
(Barratt, Lenton & Maddox, ongoing)

- Aims to understand Silk Road use from a buyer’s perspective.
- People who purchased drugs from Silk Road 1.0 were invited to complete anonymous, encrypted, online instant messaging interviews.
- The (n=17) interviews took a life history approach to ascertain drug use trajectories and drug purchasing trajectories, exploring the contexts of online drug purchasing and drug use.
- We are also interested in how drug use and harms are affected by increased access and the availability of a wider range of substances through Silk Road.
- We also discussed their tech context: computer skills, Internet use and experiences of Tor, encryption and Bitcoin.
- Will present some interim results here today
The NDRI Silk Road study
(Barratt, Lenton & Maddox, ongoing)

- Wider range of drugs than I can access offline
  4:46:32 pm [interviewer]: After reading the gawker article, what was it that motivated you to access SR? ie, what in particular where you going there for?
  4:47:31 pm [P21]: initially, it was disbelief, "there's no way that this can be real," sort of thing
  4:48:05 pm [P21]: and then i compared the amount and variety of drugs available on there along with the prices to drugs locally
  4:48:40 pm [P21]: it just made more sense to order from SR instead of buying locally

- SR drugs are better quality or cheaper than I could access offline
  9:13:59 am [P15]: “…I only started really buying consistently out of necessity. I live in an area where the quality of marijuana is not up to par to someone with a tolerance like me. It was very difficult to get medical-grade weed, such that would come from a dispensary. When it was available, it was expensive and there were no price breaks. It just became impractical…”
The NDRI Silk Road study
(Barratt, Lenton & Maddox, ongoing)

- More convenient than purchasing drugs offline
  10:24:09 am [P11]: I didn't move online. I was always online, I've never purchased drugs in person. I don't like the idea of it.
  10:25:09 am [Interviewer]: what appeals to you about being able to buy cannabis online ...
  10:25:48 am [P11]: ...It's so easy to order cannabis online. You pay someone, an anonymous person, anonymously, and the drugs arrive a day later.
  10:26:09 am [P11]: No worries, and almost no risk when purchasing domestically.

- Confidence in buying from sellers with high ratings
  7:52:08 am [Interviewer]: what made you trust the environment enough to purchase? (or was this not an issue?)
  7:55:01 am [P15]: Well, I'm the kind of person that obsessively researches any chemical I'm taking so I know exactly what the risks are, what the dosage should be like, and just safety in general. SR was able to facilitate that because I could pour through a vendor's reviews, as well as read through their forum review thread.
  The rating system and feedback were enough to quell any misgivings. It wasn't like I was unfamiliar with how the mail system works in relation to chemicals being sent to me
The NDRI Silk Road study
(Barratt, Lenton & Maddox, ongoing)

- I want to avoid physically meeting with drug dealers in person
  1:04:16 pm [P22]: I preferred the experience of buying online really. I could shop around get the product I wanted and it felt much safer.
  1:05:01 pm [P22]: Than going to some dodgy car park in the middle of the night to meet some bloke to buy whatever it was he had to sell.

- It’s more anonymous to buy drugs through SR
  11:16:55 am [P11]: The simplicity of it all. A quick online search, a simple step-by-step guide to follow, and not much later you have illegal substances in your mailbox. And no one knows I did it! (Except the vendor...)
The NDRI Silk Road study
(Barratt, Lenton & Maddox, ongoing)

- Avoid having drugs ‘pushed’ to you

Quote 1
10:31:10 am [P11]: Also regarding purchasing drugs online; I don't like the fact that the [offline] dealer could potentially try to make me buy more (or other) drugs than I want. He can advertise on Silk Road all he wants, but I can choose to ignore it there. I feel that if I meet him in person, he'll be able to... well, act differently. (Could be a she!)

Quote 2
9:00:45 am [P15]: Yes, I've bought locally. It's pretty universal for dealers to oversell their product. The very few that don't are the successful and more business-oriented ones. The reason there was no pushing on SR was simple- the rating system let the product speak for itself. It's very common for a vendor to get very very high quality product. Once a few orders go out and the great feedback starts building up, vendors can get so many orders that they get swamped and have to temporarily take down their listings while catching up

9:01:58 am [P15]: I saw it happen a lot when the general quality of a particular drug across the entire site is lacking. A vendor will get some great product, word gets out, and everyone flocks to them
The NDRI Silk Road study

(Barratt, Lenton & Maddox, ongoing)

- Movements between markets online.

[Interviewer] @ 1:25: so what made you decide to purchase drugs on SR, it seems you had a good supply network already established?

[P24] @ 1:26 everyone was moving to sr to capitalise on the traffic and popularity, so even my supplyers were migrating there

[Interviewer] @ 1:27 Can you tell me how your early experiences of purchasing there compared to your previous channels?

[P24] @ 1:29 not much besides the escrow and being able to try new things my other people may have not had access to and the convenience of searching and sorting products

[P24] @ 1:30 I would always read the sr forums daily so i knew what was going on and who i could trust
The NDRI Silk Road study  
(Barratt, Lenton & Maddox, ongoing)

- Turn to direct dealing after SR seizure

[Interviewer] as you mentioned earlier SR 2.0 is now down and other market places are coming and going pretty quickly. the hub has started up.
[Interviewer] how have you been affected by these changes?
[P16] I window shop on many sources, I'm beginning to have direct deals with known vendors as a first choice more than buying from listings
[P16] I also like to think that I already had my "peak" on online drug purchase.
[line deleted as asynchronous interviewer question]
09:54:26 [P16] and I'm spending less time online on the markets.
The NDRI Silk Road study
(Barratt, Lenton & Maddox, ongoing)

- Middleman
  7:17:26 am [Interviewer]: I'd like to talk about how you found out about SR. Can you tell me a bit about what took you there in the first place? (ie motivation to get on it and places where it first came to your attention, for example)
  7:19:18 am [P20]: I heard about it through an Internet friend (met in an online discussion forum) whom I haven't met in person, it was exciting to hear that I could discreetly get shipped drugs, especially psychedelics which I had been wanting to get but hadn't previously had the knowledge to acquire otherwise
  7:19:48 am [P20]: I also saw the possible profit incentive in getting bulk marijuana mailed
Conclusions

- Although NPS are not the most frequently accessed drugs, there are between country differences which probably reflect local drug market factors.

- Motivations for buying drugs online are varied and include:
  - Variety of drugs available
  - Quality
  - Convenience
  - Price
  - Confidence provided by online seller rating schemes

- The dynamic nature of the online drug market places, including the impact of drug law enforcement actions and responses to these, means this aspect of the NPS story is one that is rapidly changing.
Conclusions cont.

- Clamping down on surface web drug discussion may send people to dark web
  - Harder to monitor
  - More of a supply/access focus
  - Further marginalisation/distance

- Drug market effects
  - New products rapidly find way into the market
  - Mail delivery of small amounts – clusters of harm
  - Labelling not valid, content & purity unknown
  - Secondary supply – especially for young, inexperienced users