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Hamid's Relational Model of Drugs and Crime: Darjeeling District in Critical Context

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Abstract: Drug addiction and crime are ubiquitous in nature and have a negative impact on society widely. Several pieces of research conducted on the said issues, yet require systematic analysis to comprehend the dynamic nature of the above-mentioned activities sociologically. Hamid's relational categorization has been used in the Darjeeling district as the region has become vibrant on drugs and crime-related activities, and also an attempt has been made to check the applicability of categories in the region under study, linking detailed case histories of respondents that were collected through qualitative methods (structured and unstructured open-ended questionnaire, observation, collection of in-depth interviews et cetera) to identify the relation. Results showed a fine application of different relational categories discussed by Hamid in the region under study and also a critical appreciation has been made by the researcher on the relationship between drugs and crime in contemporary times.

Keywords: Drug, Addiction, Crime, Structural Factors, Darjeeling, Relational Model.

Introduction

Drug (illegal consumption/ abuse/ addiction) and crime are two words that need no introduction to signify their importance in discussions and research, even then we need to know their definitions to assess their proper relationships. Both terms bear negative attitudes (stigma) on them due to their destructive violent nature and magnitude, and both are considered as major social problems in every society which may only differ on their rate and patterns. In India continuous research work is taking place to analyse and to identify the extent and pattern of drug addiction and crime. Both the issues are very complex and dynamic in nature and reveals new patterns every time which makes it a significant topic for research.

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Before discussing the relation between drugs and crime further, definitions of drug addiction and crime must be taken up. The definitions are as follows-

Drug Addiction: "A state of periodic or chronic intoxication, detrimental to the individual and to society, produced by a repeated consumption of the drug (natural or synthetic). Its characteristics include: (1) an overpowering desire or need (compulsion) to continue taking the drug and to obtain it by any means; (2) a tendency to increase the dose; (3) a psychic (psychological) and sometimes a physical dependence on the effects of the drug." (World Health Report 21, 1950).

Crime: "(1) any behavior that violates any criminal law. (2) any behavior that violates any law (criminal, civil, military) that prescribes punitive action against offenders. (3) any behavior contrary to the group's moral codes for which there are formalized group sanctions whether or not they are laws. (4) any antisocial behavior harmful to individuals or groups" (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1970).

By assessing the above definitions one thing can be said with certainty that both the terms and their related behavior are considered illegal in almost all societies. In this paper we will try to locate and analyse the relational grounds of drugs and crime and will substantiate the relation by citing special case details which were collected from Darjeeling district, West Bengal through an empirical field study. The current study is conducted on the basis of qualitative approach to identify the relation and quantitative approach has not been used in the analyses. Detailed case histories of the respondents are attached after each relational category between drugs and crime. The study follows Ansley Hamid's categorization on drugs and crime which he discussed in his book 'Drugs in America' and the research scholar has tried to locate the applicability of those relations in Darjeeling district and has considered different sociological theories to understand the situation and link the relations properly.

Nexus Between Drug abuse and Crime

Activities induced by drugs are increasing every day and with drug-induced activity, deviance and crime are also growing rapidly although drug abuse itself is a crime. Drug abuse provides an atmosphere for deviance and crime. Road traffic accidents, prostitution, theft, robbery, murder, rape, etc. are increasing with the growing number of drug addicts and it is reported that most of the deviance and crime cases have happened under the influence of drugs or alcohol (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990). Drug abuse and addiction behavior increase the propensity for crime. Drug-induced behavior becomes very interesting and complex as well when it is linked with deviance and crime because people willingly engage themselves with drug abuse and addiction which is illegal activity or crime, on the other hand, they are taking drugs which lead them to commit other crimes. We may assume that they are taking drugs before

committing other crimes because it provides strength, fearless attitude, and feelings of being invincible and capable of doing anything, in short, they become prone to commit any crime irrespective of consequences for their future, their families and prestige. Drug abuse and addiction behavior have a direct relationship with the growing cases of different crimes.

Drugs are mostly sold and bought from the black market for illicit use that means, although drugs are available for medical use on printed prices but, if someone needs those medicine without prescription or the buyer is a minor then the price of drugs gets a hike instantly whatever the price actually levied on or printed. It may cost double or triple times of the actual price due to realization by the sellers that those drugs are going to be abused, hence, buyer has to pay overhead prices, that is why the term black market is being used.

Furthermore, in black market, adulteration of different substances works as a major strategy to enhance the volume of profit. In the region under study, sellers of drugs have started to mix other substances with the drugs and sell them on overhead prices. That means, profit comes from both sides. For example, on the one hand, with marijuana (ganja) they mix similar-looking weeds which increases the quantity of their total possession and the mixed marijuana is sold at overhead prices which enables them to double their profit. Often animal bones are collected, dried and turned into dust. This dust is mixed with drugs which are available in powder form like brown sugar, cocaine et cetera (Ghosh, 2021). This adulteration also causes serious health issues for the addicts but the practice continues through which the dealer increases his profit with impurity.

These practices with the sole purpose of profit maximization will harm the abusers more and more. The youths are consuming drugs from the black market along with some unknown substances for their desired pleasure. Based on the composition of two substances originality of the concerned drug is compromised. On the one hand, we may think that, if the purity of any particular drug is compromised then it could be less harmful than the original drug. On the other hand, it may be possible that although the originality is gone it could be more harmful as it was mixed up with other substances and will have more side effects than the original product. We do not know how other substances may react when mixed up and consumed with a particular drug, that may bring serious health problem for the addicts.

To control drug abuse behavior different policies and programs are initiated and implemented by the government from time to time. Different slogans are raised to curb the menace, for example, drug addiction is like a slow poison, 'Say No To Drugs and Yes To Life'. NGOs are providing their continuous service to control the menace and are trying to spread awareness on different effects and consequences of drug abuse behavior but the fact is that the numbers of addicts are growing manifold.

Critical Appreciation of Hamid's Relational Model

Ansley Hamid is an Associate Professor of Anthropology at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, the City University of New York. He is a renowned academician and a writer in the field of anthropology. He wrote many books on several issues and drug is one of them. His famous books on drugs are 'Drugs in America' and 'The Ganja Complex: Rastafari and Marijuana'. In this paper the former book has been taken up for a critical appreciation of the relational categorization of drugs and crime that he has discussed. Another motive for considering Hamid's work is that, Drugs in America is a very good book that will surely help researchers and students to understand the concepts related to drugs systematically and the book is rated highly by the readers world-wide because of the aspects and approaches covered by Hamid in the book. The current work is done to assess the applicability of Hamid's work 'the relational aspects of drugs and crime' in Darjeeling district of West Bengal, India.

Categorisation of the Relationship of Drugs and Crime

Ansley Hamid in his book 'Drugs in America', (1998; 132-33) discussed the relationship between drugs and crime and has categorized their relation into four categories. We will be discussing different types discussed by Hamid and will cite information as an example collected during fieldwork from the region under study. As per Hamid the relationship between drugs and crime are as follows-

- (i) Drug Use Causes Crime: Here, in this first type, Hamid has established a causal relationship between drug abuse and crime. He said, "drug users may commit acquisitive crime to raise money to obtain more drugs". Hence, drug abuse guides abusers to commit a crime only to sustain their addiction to different drugs. For example, one of the incidences occurred in the Junction area of Siliguri Sub-Division, one of the addicts of that area murdered one stranger by hitting him with a stone on the head and robbed him only to get his desired drugs. This was the incident of the year 2021. His urge to have drugs made him kill someone to get money and to buy pleasure in the form of drugs (Siliguri Times, 2020). These type of incidents show how an addict is pushed to commit murder only to satiate the craving for drugs.
- (ii) Crime Causes Drug Use: In this type, Hamid mentioned, "persons who are criminally predisposed also take drugs, drug use is seen as integral or normative to a criminal lifestyle." Furthermore, in most cases, criminals commit crimes under the influence of drugs or abuse drugs to celebrate the success of a crime. Hence, drugs are abused by the criminals in both cases- before committing a crime or after. Some criminals take drugs before a crime only to enhance their

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confidence and courage and some criminals take drugs after the successful operation of a crime or both cases may appear in a single operation of a crime. For example, one of the respondents from Siliguri region mentioned that, she is very much predisposed toward crime and criminal activities. She had started committing crime by stealing things from her neighbourhood, school bags of her peers, and even from strangers to satisfy herself. She said, that drugs were not her motive but crime helps her to fulfil her other desires. One day she got caught and was sentenced to three months' confinement in a juvenile home. She had the opportunity to live with like-minded people and found that she was not alone. She is still obsessed and predisposed to crime.

Initially, she used to commit crimes unplanned and unintentionally but during the days of punishment she learned how to plan for a crime and leave no clues behind. After her release from the juvenile home, she started to plan crime as she was able to create a group with some like-minded individuals who were in the juvenile home and get release together. They taught her how to abuse drugs in order to enhance her courage before committing a crime and to celebrate their success. Since then she is in drugs and continuing her obsession with crime. For an example, the girl uses different tactics to attract men and lures them into relationships. The scheming she indulges in reflects changing value system in society and the vulnerability of relationships the youth engage in. She lures her target that is the man with whom she has developed a relationship to a distant place where her accomplices keep watch in silence from a distance. She indulges in intimate behaviour which is recorded and then the victim is accosted by the members of the group who demand money and other belongings including mobile phones and bikes et cetera which enables them to purchase drugs.

(iii) Drug and Crime Involve a Third Variable: In this third type Hamid has mentioned, "the relationship between drugs and crime is said to exist only concerning one or more additional variables, they result from a common cause such as social dissatisfaction or legal-political factors otherwise there is no connection between the two variables." One of the respondents mentioned that poverty, unemployment, lack of skills for particular jobs, daily expenses, failure in relationships or career, and easy money easily links individuals and pushes them either into drugs or crime.

Ronak (pseudonym) is from the hills of Darjeeling district and completed his schooling in 2016 but did not have the economic strength to pursue higher studies as he had the responsibility to look after his family which constitutes

of father, mother, and a sister. His father is a paralyzed patient and his mother is a maidservant. His sister is continuing her schooling and she is in class seven. After the completion of school study, Ronak had to do something to earn money for his family but due to his low skills, he did not get a suitable job that could meet his family expenses till the end of the year 2017.

One of Ronak's senior friends who had passed from the same school offered him a courier job in Darjeeling hills. He had the responsibility to deliver packages from Siliguri to different places of Darjeeling hills and the turnout would be Rs, 1000 per delivery, for locals Rs, 500 per delivery along with travel and daily allowances. Two to three deliveries he used to make per day from Siliguri to Darjeeling and in local areas of Darjeeling. This was a pretty good job to earn money for his subsistence.

Everything was smooth and perfect but after a couple of months, he found himself with drugs in those packets which he used to deliver to different places when police caught him on drug trafficking charges in the middle of the year 2018. He was surprised that he trafficked and delivered drugs to his regional drug dealers but on the other hand, he was thinking about money and a job for his family because he was doing well for his family. One question was poking his mind, what will be next? Suddenly he saw his senior friend who was talking to the police in the police station. The very next morning police released him on bail. He was very happy that at least seniors helped him and set him free from the police station as he was unaware of the drug trafficking fact and he was innocent. After release, he had a conversation with his seniors and got to know that they paid five lakhs for his release and they are intentionally using him to carry out drug trafficking in hill areas of Darjeeling.

Now, Ronak was in a dilemma that whether he will be with his seniors or will find some other work. Ronak's seniors came again to him and offered him double the amount which he used to get in earlier deliveries but his job responsibility changed as he was identified by police. So, he could not traffic drugs anymore from Siliguri to Darjeeling but he could circulate drugs in the interiors of Darjeeling and arrange for new recruits to traffic drugs from Siliguri to Darjeeling hills. Ronak agreed to his seniors' proposal consciously and gave his consensus to do so but after his arrest, he was very nervous and scared to carry out his job again. This was the time when his seniors introduced ganja (marijuana) for consumption before brown sugar. He had expertise in abusing other substances like smoking cigarettes, chewing gutka, etc. but for the first time, he took ganja only to deliver drugs to his clients. Now, he is an expert in abusing drugs of every kind whether natural or synthetic.

Therefore, it can be said that drugs and crime sometimes involve a third variable(s) that links both. Here, Ronak's case speaks in detail of the relationship and the process, how a third variable pushes someone to link himself with crime and drugs. Hence, poverty and unemployment played a vital role in Ronak's life and led him to be consensually intertwined with drugs and criminal activities.

(iv) There is a Reciprocal Relationship Between Drugs and Crime: This is the last but not the least important of the classifications of relationship between drugs and crime where Hamid says, "drug use and offending are seen as interrelated lifestyles". According to him, drug abuse and crime overlap one another. In the region under study (Darjeeling district) a section of youth are found who are situating themselves and carrying a lifestyle in which crime and drug abuse overlap one another. We can consider one of the respondent's information by discussing daily life and lifestyle to understand how drugs and crime overlap or interrelates.

Rukmini (pseudonym) is a student of a college in the Siliguri Sub-Division area and is 19 years old. Her family constitutes of father, mother, and a younger brother. Her father is in the police department, her mother is a school teacher and her brother is a school student. She lives in the Siliguri area.

Rukmini is a modern girl who has every access to the resources to become a responsible and productive citizen. She had grown up in a healthy environment but has eventuated as a criminal due to her extravagant lifestyle. she is in rehab now at the age of 19 taking treatment for drugs and crime.

At the age of 16 Rukmini first visited a disco with her friends when she tasted alcohol and got to know her tolerance level for the first time. As she had enough access to money, freedom, and friends to visit those places she continued to visit almost twice a week. Within a very short period, she was besotted with the nightlife style of disco and bar. At the age of 17, she first smoked marijuana (ganja) and afterward moved towards different drug pills. She shifted herself from alcohol to drugs due to many reasons. People would easily understand that she is in under the influence of alcohol as they would smell it while with drugs those issues are nominal. When she first smoked marijuana and returned home no one realized that she had taken something but with alcohol her parents caught her several times and then, scolded and punished her. She had a very good family environment and socialization but

she never listened to her parents as she considered that they were controlling her life.

Her aversion toward her parents' supervision and growing interest in substanceabusing culture led her to spend an insecure life without any restraints. Within a couple of months, she got into brown sugar as her tolerance increased and, marijuana and pills were not giving her the same pleasure that she used to get earlier. From this shift, her life changed and that shift put her in struggle for money management to get her desired drugs.

Initially, different substances abused by Rukmini were economically affordable as she could manage the expenses with her pocket money but with brown sugar, her expenses on drugs were getting higher day by day just like her tolerance and demand to have brown sugar. Drug doses and expenses for drug purchase are correlated by their nature and extent. Increasing tolerance cost Rukmini lots of money per day and it became impossible to arrange drug doses with her pocket money along with her other savings like scholarship and other sources. As we have already discussed that drugs are sold at street prices Rukmini used to spend Rs, 300 to 400 per day when she first encountered brown sugar and soon (a month) it became Rs, 600 to 800 but due to the increase in drug doses the expenditure rose to Rs, 1200 to 1400 within a couple of months. After a year she used to spend Rs, 2500 to 3000 per day. This growing amount put her in a struggle to arrange more money daily. She used to have eight to twelve doses per day (powder form) along with two drug-filled injections. Soon she became an Injecting Drug User (IDU).

Now, we will discuss Rukmini's way of money management. Initiation of a cosmopolitan lifestyle brings new sets of refreshment and recreational areas like nightlife parties, bar and disco culture is one of them in Darjeeling district. This cultural shift from traditional recreational areas to the modern one has put a section of youth in a vulnerable situation in which they are inadvertently entering the world of crime and Rukmini is one of them.

Rukmini has a very good economic background to lead her life on but she eventuates as an addict due to the easy access to money and excessive parental supervision. In her initial stage of substance abuse, she did not face any difficulties with the money needed for substance consumption as she was allotted a handsome amount as her pocket money, and also she had access to her mother's ATM card. She used it several times and withdrew a small amount of money from her mother's bank account. Her mother never realized that, due to the small amount but when she shifted herself to the next level of abusing substances to drugs then she started facing problems to manage money for her consumption and getting caught. Initially, the time invested was nominal for substance abuse, it was like two to three hours per day just because she had to spend her time only on consumption. That was the time when she did not have to bother herself to manage money because of the easy access to money but in the next stage of abuse, she had to invest her time for the consumption as well as for the money management as her tolerance increased along with the drug purchase amount. Hence, in the next stage, she had to invest double time and money of what was invested earlier in the initial stage.

For the management of consumption expenses mainstream spaces (whether social, cultural, political, or economic) played a vital role, and losing up of these spaces is not a good sign for a drug abuser. Losing of those spaces put an addict in a situation where struggle begins to manage money for drug consumption.

After being caught by her mother for ATM theft, Rukmini was forbidden from the use of the ATM card of her mother. That means she started losing her mainstream spaces as her mother held a space in mainstream and that mainstream space was helping Rukmini with her abuse. Rukmini's mother complained and reported to her father about what was going on. Eventually, her father stopped her pocket money by saying that, they will provide directly whatever she needs. Her parents tried to take control over every activity of Rukmini but it did not yield positive results. Her friends with whom she started alcohol consumption, are still on alcohol and left Rukmini as their companion just because she shifted herself from alcohol to different drugs. Alcohol is to some extent accepted in mainstream society and culture but not drugs. Now Rukmini has a new set of friends who are already on drugs.

After the choking of every mainstream management way, Rukmini has been left with no choice but to use illegal means to be in the drug culture irrespective of her parents' control. At the start, she mortgaged all her gold jewelry to a drug dealer to get her desired drug. Those pieces of jewelry were made for Rukmini's wedding by her parents. The original cost of those pieces of jewelry was Rs, 5 lakhs and Rukmini mortgaged it for Rs, 1 lakh. She wasted that money within six months. This was an incident that happened in the mid of the year 2018.

In and around the Darjeeling district and specific to Siliguri Sub-Division brown sugar is available and it costs Rs,1500-2000 for one gram but if

someone can purchase one kg directly from the dealer then the cost falls to Rs, 800-1000. As Rukmini had money so she decided with her friends to buy brown sugar in much more quantities compared to her prior purchase. She visited Murshidabad and Kaliachak to buy drugs. She came back with nearly half a kg of brown sugar and decided to sell drugs to others along with her consumption. She started dealing drugs and continues her business in drug dealing. She continued it for six months and at last was left with nothing in her hand because of the high level of consumption. She was not alone to consume brown sugar from her capital drug. Her friends also used to take a share in consumption due to their participation in the purchase of drugs and distribution.

After the end of the business with a great loss, she started practicing prostitution for three months and saved some amount of money apart from her drug consumption to start her business again and also decided to sell her new scooty (two wheelers gearless vehicle) at a nominal price of Rs, 30,000, so that she could buy some quantity of brown sugar. Rukmini and her friends moved to Murshidabad to bring drugs but unfortunately, they got caught by the Phansidewa police (Siliguri Metropolitan Police) with drugs when they were returning home.

This was the time when her parents took a stand and released her from police and put her in a rehabilitation centre where I met her. This was the detailed case of how drug related cultural life activities lead addicts to crime and criminal activities. Life of addicts' and criminals' becomes reciprocal at a certain point of time to sustain one another (drugs and crime).

This is all about Hamid's classification with relevant case details of the current study. All the types put forward by Hamid on relationship between drug and crime are very much relatable and associated with the information collected during field work from Darjeeling district. Apart from the above discussion of different types the researcher found something new which Hamid did not consider in his study. Basically, the types of drug and crime relationship discussed by Hamid is internal choice of individuals and completely initiated on addicts' or criminals' will. When they felt the necessity to initiate drug or crime into their behavior for their survival only then they initiate it as their strategy. This decision completely relies on themselves (a section of youth who are either into crime or drugs) and it is very much internal and an individual choice. However, there are drug addicts who never committed crime to sustain their drug induced behavior or we can say there are many criminals who never intoxicated themselves for their crime. Although the relationship of drug and crime is dependent on many factors.

Discussion

Hamid discussed only internal factors and in third category has given hint as external and common cause which countenance the relationship but there are structural factors as well on the basis of which the relationship gets influenced. In sociology structural factors generally indicates the relationship of broader political, economic, social and environmental conditions that links with a particular issue. Drug and crime are usually linked with all the above mentioned structural factors which plays a vital role in the dissemination of drugs, crime related activities and in establishing a strong relationship between drug and crime. Different institutional control mechanisms can check the growth of crime and related activities but, if the magnitude and grip of control mechanism gets loose and fails to ensure moral values then social change starts. Failure of effective micro controlling elements like, community, family, socialization, parenting et cetera in contemporary situations put a section of youth in a hopeless situation where future is unguaranteed in every respect. There are plenty of structural factors that pushes failed individuals towards drug and crime irrespective of individual initiation when the structure become dysfunctional.

To explain structural factors in brief in connection with drug and crime the researcher assumes that political economic perspective would be sufficient to explain how structural elements pushes and force people into drugs and crime. Political economy refers to the broader relationship of economy with the political system which impacts upon other aspects of all social life such as religious, social, cultural, environmental et cetera. Organisation of production is the substructure of all social life and influences all the aspects that is why the researcher considers political economy to explain the external objective reality that pushes people in crime and related activities irrespective of individual initiation. Here, we are considering collective shared events that are favourable to and attached with the illegal activities like drugs and crime.

Education is one of the powerful processes that helps in generating positive thinking in the youth and guides them to become responsible citizens of the nation. In recent decades we have already seen plenty of protests taking place and is still going on regarding the employment in schools and colleges in West Bengal because the incumbent government has failed to provide a secure future to the eligible and qualified candidates. Goals are fixed but legitimate means are not secured to achieve those goals as has happened recently the responsible former minister and employment board members of West Bengal government have been taken into custody by Enforcement Directorate (ED) on the charges of selling government jobs of teachers (NDTV, 2022).

Faith in the efficiency of government is failing as the moral value of being educated is also falling day by day as the educational system is not able to generate a healthy future to the worthy job aspirants. Failures of the system has already started to frustrate those who are in the process of acquiring education.

R K Merton in his modes of adaptation theory wrote that, when goals are not achieved through legitimate means the strain comes in (Merton, 1938) but if the legitimate means are undermined there is no scope for adaptation. Recent situations are providing platform in bringing deviance and strain into the lives of the young as a collective entity. Hence, one of the quotes from Durkheim is more likely to be applicable in this situation, which is, **'all social change begins with some form of deviance** and **yesterday's deviance becomes today's norm' (Durkheim**, *1895*). On the basis of the above quote we can get an insight into how the deviances are getting institutionalised and causing strain for the youth.

Market is one of the strong factors that influences the relationship of drugs and crime as it creates a huge amount of profit. Political economy of drug trade is also involved as individuals linked to drugs can be there without becoming an addict or a criminal (in front of mainstream society) but trader, dealer or businessman can survive by channelizing others in drugs and crime without drawing anyone's attention (police, administration etc.). Drug trade needs a huge amount of capital to operate. As we have already mentioned above that, one gram of brown sugar is worth Rs. 2000-3000, so one can easily calculate what amount of money is needed to run a regional, national or international level business. One of the drug seizures was made by Directorate of Revenue Intelligence (DRI) at Mundra Port, Gujrat, which is under the control of Adani Group 3000 kg of heroin was seized from three containers which was worth twenty-one thousand crores (Uttarbanga Sambad, 2022). The political angle is that the authorities are not inclined to catch the ones really running the business only small players get caught.

Another example that will substantiate the fact that druggists are a very important group in the illegal business of drug is that, there was an operation conducted by the Siliguri Police when three druggists were arrested for the storage and selling of huge amount of contraband drugs in and around Siliguri Sub-Division. Arrested people reported that, they were running contraband drug business since seven years and this business is a business that generates unlimited profit. One of the arrested said, he earned nearly ten million within a year by selling contraband drugs to the young by himself. They have druggist license and can store drugs to some extent for the business. They put overhead prices for any of the contraband drugs that can be taken by the young without a medical prescription (Uttarbanga Sambad, 2022; Siliguri Times, 2022). Arrested culprits are not addicted to any of the contraband drugs but they are producing new sets of addicts only to gain profit.

So the point is, there are people who are working behind the scene and leading a section of youth into the behaviour of drug abuse and crime. This is purely an external factor that is actually producing a new set of addicts and criminals for their business and creating market demand which forces drug and crime to come closer.

Political motivations of politicians also motivate a section of youth to indulge in drug induced behavior by committing crimes for political purposes of their leaders. In contemporary times, a section of youth is leading a precarious life in terms of employment, impoverishment, social dissatisfactions and alienation etc. that easily lures them towards earning easy money. Nowadays, a huge number of young people are engaging themselves in drug carrier jobs only to earn huge amount of easy money not for abuse and addiction (Jha, 2022). Hence, there are plenty of structural factors that force individuals to relate themselves with drug and crime, although drug induced behavior itself is a crime irrespective of subjective initiation into the drug and crime.

Therefore, Hamid only considered internal factors which motivates individual to relate with drugs and crime. Hamid established a fine relational categorization of drugs and crime but ignored the structural and political economic factors that plays a crucial role externally for the initiation of an individual or a group into the illegal behaviour which increases the vulnerability and magnitude of the relation between drugs and crime as a whole.

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