

CHAPTER- I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction:

Certain concepts need to be cleared to know about drug addiction. These are: Drug, drug use, drug abuse, drug addict, drug dependence, and drug habituation. We must keep in mind that no concrete definition of the term ‘drug’ has been given. The dictionary defines drug as ‘any substance used in the composition of medicine’. Here in this study the term ‘drug’ means an illicit consumption which is used occasionally or regularly and as a result of which individuals become habituated, addicted or dependent on it. The National Youth Policy (2003) defined youth from the age group of 13 to 35. National Youth Policy (in 2014) modified and defined youth from 15 to 29 years. The study will consider 15-29 age groups as youth for the purpose of this study. The use of drugs by the youth is expected to depend to a large extent on the availability of and accessibility to drugs, on the one hand and socio-cultural environment on the other.

1.2 Statement of the Problem:

Although drug addiction is supposed to be individual phenomenon, it is now accepted as social phenomenon. Drug addiction could be traced to the beginning of human civilization. Historically drug use and abuse were viewed or accepted by the religious perspective but later on as a result of social development, spread of knowledge, drug abuse or addiction behaviour were increasingly viewed from social perspectives which makes it a subject of sociological study.

The concept of drug abuse and addiction is defined differently by the different societies because they have their own ideas, values, rites and rituals. As a result of evolution or social change societies have experienced changing dimensions of institutions (formal or informal) which take care of the stability and security of the members of a particular society. When the social processes are at work, then the society changes rapidly along with the behaviour pattern and interaction among its members because it gets complex in nature day by day. There lies the reason for the growth and enhancement of drug abuse and addiction. The alarming evidence of the prevalence of drug addiction is indicated by the growing number of addicts which shows the need for research 'What', 'How', 'Why' the youth have started using gateway drugs rapidly. Each and every moment society is changing and a new dimension of addiction extends the scope of research on drug abuse and addiction which emerges from society itself. Drug abuse and addiction as already mentioned has become one of the serious social problems not only in India but all over the world.

It is very difficult to develop theories that explain human behaviour particularly the drug abuse because the aspects of drug abuse and addiction behaviour is always changing and vary on the basis of age, experience and background of the participants. In sociology, drug addiction is always viewed as aberrant behaviour. It means, addicts violate the norms without questioning their legitimacy and attempt to escape the penalties for violating the norms without proposing changes in them. Here, for the sake of causation of drug abuse and addiction sociologically it can be analyzed or viewed from social structure and social processes. First perspective defines the relationship of drug abuse and addiction with social structure as well as it helps to trace where the drug abuse lies and is

taking place within society. The latter one defines through which process exactly the addicts are being produced. It always depends on certain reinforces through which drug abuse occurs and can explain what, how and why youths are engaging themselves in drug addiction.

In sociology, the study on drug abuse and addiction behaviour is always important and a major concern because it nowadays has become a big social problem which is indispensably associated with crime. The rate of crime always shows the development of any particular society. So, we can establish a causal relationship between drug abuse and crime; Drug use, abuse and addiction are deeply associated with crime and criminal behaviour. There is plenty of evidence which shows that the rate of crime is increasing due to the intoxication of drugs. The main problem lies within the drug taking actions of youths and for such practice crime is also increasing in the form of shoplifting, property crime, drug dealing, violence and aggression, and road accidents due to their feeling of being invincible and unstoppable. This kind of activity of adolescents and youths can turn them into criminal and can paralyze their future. Possibly, if administration could control the drug abuse and addiction then the rate of crime will be controlled automatically.

As a result of social transformation, society is getting complex day by day alongside the traditional mentality, we feeling, togetherness is also getting weakened and individualism is rising. As a result of social change everything has got changed like, self-identity, life style, class, status etc. and individuals are suffering from loneliness, social isolation, identity crisis, egoism which results in normlessness within a society. This kind of situation can produce anti-socials or offenders. To escape from this kind of sufferings youths are indulging in drugs to relax themselves, to avoid the hard realities or to live a

hedonic life without any stress. Adolescents and youths are very sensitive and emotional and easily get influenced by others which could turn them and their future as drug addicts or deviant.

Earlier the different institutions like, family, peer groups, schools, religion etc. controlled the behaviour of the individual or society through social control. It is a process to regulate the behaviour of individuals or community abiding by the rules and regulations, norms of the society. Due to social change these institutions undergo certain process like, globalisation, industrialisation, modernisation and urbanisation which minimises the level of regulatory mechanism of social control.

In India, religion has a very close association with drug use and abuse activity. Many religious activities (shivratri, charak etc.) encourage drug use and abuse occasionally. This kind of religious activities helps youth to start gateway drugs and afterwards it becomes a major part of their life event not only for occasion but for the lifelong activity. Religion is one of the major reinforcing agents to influence drug use and abuse practice. It is the above context in which the statement of the problem lies.

Drug addiction is not only a social problem; it is also cultural and economic as well. If individuals fail to achieve cultural goals through legitimate institutionalized means, leading towards deviance, that results in non-commitment towards culture and other institutions, (Merton, 1938) which could lead youth to drug abuse and addiction because they are not conforming themselves anymore to law abiding activities. Their moral values, attitudes towards norms are deteriorating. Illegal drug business is the leading one

in recent times. On the basis of capitalist mode of production producers target a section of youth for their business.

As a strategic mechanism of capitalism media of all kinds are playing a vital role in countenancing drug related activities in recent times. Media is very much influential on culture which lead youths towards a virtual world. Here in the name of advancement, modern culture, enjoyment and such trends, drug use and abuse are promoted by the business groups. These situations are always encouraged by media although there is self-regulating mechanism enforced by the government. Officials are using different banners, awareness programs and also promotes anti-drug abuse measures on TV whenever any drug or substance related scene occurs. Different NGOs are repeatedly working on that but that is not enough to reduce the harm of this menace.

The age of transformation of adolescents is not an easy stage. It includes many physical and psychological changes. At this stage of life, they become very curious about experiencing new things. So, adolescents could easily get attracted to anything which looks interesting for them (actual or virtual). Consumerism affects today's youths very much as it called 'consumers age' from business perspective. It guides youths to have hedonic pleasure by indulging themselves in drug related practices. Bar culture is one of them. As a force of globalization mass advertising drives youth towards an insatiable appetite for consumption by luring them with different substances and with different pleasures (Mathur, 2013). To fulfil this psychological hedonism (unrealistic pleasure) youths are acquiring different habits that ultimately leads them to become abusers as well as offenders. This hedonism is not a universal phenomenon because it varies from society

to society. This is the result of the system which sets out a particular ideology to achieve a concerned hedonic pleasure within a society.

1.3 Conceptual Clarification with Available Theoretical Explanations:

Drug addiction and related activities have a wide dynamicity of different terms, thereby to understand such behaviour firstly we need to have some idea on the different terms that associates with the practice. These terms are: Drug, drug use, drug abuse, drug addict, drug dependence, and drug habituation. These terms which need clarification are as follows:

Drug-use: it means occasional or regular use of drugs.

Drug-abuse: when a drug is used excessively without any necessary or medical advice or is used beyond a schedule dose is called drug-abuse.

Drug-addict: one who habitually takes drug becomes addicted.

Drug-dependence: it refers to a mental state characterized by a compulsion to take a drug on a continuous or periodic basis in order to experience its psychic effects and sometimes to avoid discomforts in its absence. With some assumption, drug dependence has been determined on the basis of, number of drugs taken and the length of time or period of consumption of drugs. Shoham (1974) mentioned that, people become drug dependent under the compulsion of circumstances.

Drug-habituation: it means regular taking of drugs without little or no tendency to increase the dose. In this case there is absence of physical dependence on drugs.

The study focuses mainly on youths. So, the definition of youth needs to be clarified. The period from adolescent to middle age termed as youth. UN adopted the age group 15 to 24 for defining youth. The National Youth Policy (2003) defined youth from the age group of 13 to 35. National Youth Policy (in 2014) modified and defined youth from 15 to 29 years. The study will consider 15-29 age group as youth for the purpose of this study. The use of drugs by the youths is expected to depend to a large extent on the availability of and accessibility to drugs, on the one hand and socio-cultural environment on the other. Drugs are of various kinds but the socio-cultural life of India has been kept in mind while selecting the drugs. There are many drugs which are consumed by the people; these are Acetic Anhydride, Amphetamine, Cocaine, Ephedrine, Ganja, Hashish, Heroin, Methamphetamine, Methaqualone (Mandrax), Morphine, opium, Pseudoephedrine, Magic Mushroom, Solution etc. This drug list has been provided in the annual report on narcotics in India (Table No. 1 & 2). In order to understand the situation prevailing in India the drugs which have been brought into consideration of the study are of three types- Firstly, Opiate narcotic (opium, heroin and morphine); Secondly, Depressants (alcohol); and Lastly, Hallucinogens (cannabis or marijuana, magic mushroom); which are widely used in India by the addicts. The study will deal with only first and last one.

The following tables provide an idea of the magnitude of the problem.

TABLE NO. 1: SEIZURE LIST OF MAJOR DRUGS IN INDIA, QUANTITY IN KGS.

Name of the drugs	2014	2015	2016
Ganja	108299.72	94403.03	182622.85
Hashish	2280.48	3350.73	2489.64
Opium	1766.37	1686.74	2016.19
Heroin	1370.87	1416.01	1600.05
Ephedrine	1330.02	826.83	44984.11
Amphetamine	195.58	166.29	1682.61
Methaqualone	53.99	89.78	24106.53
Ketamine	20.37	211.61	66.06
Cocaine	14.68	113.15	22.73
Mephedrone	00.00	1267.94	173.31

Source: Annexure-2, Annual Report of Narcotics.

TABLE NO. 2: SEIZURE LIST OF MAJOR DRUGS IN WEST BENGAL, QUANTITY IN KGS.

NAME OF THE DRUGS	2014	2015	2016
Cocaine	00.00	14.88	0.28
Ganja	16765.81	15785.88	16678.80
Hashish	13.99	12.93	32.33
Heroin	40.44	50.79	36.02
Methaqualone (Mandrax)	00.00	00.00	3.84
Opium	24.78	34.79	116.37
CBCS (NO. OF BOTTLES)	00.00	20933	335233
Poppy Husk and Poppy Strain	1416.2	5938.85	14802.29
Tablets of all type in number	32625	10000	9200
Morphine	00.00	00.00	1.00

*CBCS-Codeine Based Cough Syrups.

Source: Annexure-2, Annual Report of Narcotics.

1.4 Theoretical Explanation:

Research needs to be supported by the relevant theories and literature. Here in this research study, I have only considered major sociological theories relating to the drug use, abuse and addiction which explains What, How, Why people have started involving themselves in this behaviour. There are many popular sociological theories among which some are inevitably important with the study. The following section seeks to explain these theories.

1.4.1 Strain Theories:

Durkheim was the first to develop the concept of 'Anomie' into a sociological theory. Durkheim viewed anomie as an outcome of rapid social and economic change from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity, from homogeneity to heterogeneity on the basis of division of labor. This social change leads towards high individualism, fragmented social relation highlighting individual differences in status, class and identity crisis. Less homogeneity creates great loneliness which cause chaos (normlessness) and provide an environment in which antisocial activities may be developed. R K Merton's theory on 'Social Structure and anomie' was published in 1938 in 'American Sociological Review' and further developed in his book 'Social Structure and Social Theory' (1949: 57,68). His theory of anomie was based on the analysis of how individuals deviate prescribed pattern of behaviour or conduct and how the deviant practice varies within different social structures. Merton borrowed Durkheim's concept of anomie to form his own theory called strain theory. Merton argued that, his theory differs somewhat from Durkheim's theory in a sense that the real problem is not created by the sudden social change but rather by a social structure that holds out the same goal

to all its members without giving them equal means to achieve them. It is the discrepancy between what the culture calls for and what the structure permits that causes deviant behaviour. Merton described the breakdown of the normative system. Merton noted that the society emphasized on certain goals and provides certain legitimate means to achieve the goals but not everyone has the equal access to the legitimate means to achieve them, then the stage is set for anomie. R. K. Merton characterizes five modes of adapting to the strain caused by the restricted access to socially approved goals and means. He did not mean that who was denied the access to society's goal became deviant. Rather the modes of adaptation depend on the individual attitudes towards cultural goals and the institutional means to attain them. Conformity is the most common adaptation in stable societies. Here, individuals accept both cultural goals and approved means of achieving them. In innovation, individuals have accepted societal goals but have few legitimate means to achieve them. So, they innovate (design) their own means to means to achieve them. It may be through robbery, embezzlement or other such criminal acts. Ritualism, the third adaptation, here, individuals abandon the goals they once believe to be within their reach. In effect, individuals scale down their aspirations to a realistic level and dedicate themselves to their current lifestyle. At the same time, they continued to abide by rules and have a daily safe routine. Retreatism is the adaptation of those who give up not only the goals but also the means. They often retreat into the world of alcoholism and drug addiction. They escape into a non-productive, non-striving lifestyle. The final adaptation, rebellion occurs when the cultural goals and the legitimate means are rejected. Individuals create their own goals and means, by protest or revolutionary activity.

Robert Agnew (1985; 1992; 2001) has led the revitalization of strain theory with a more social-psychological version called General Strain Theory. This theory focuses more on individual by positing important affect variables that influence strain or deviant behaviour relationship. He argues that unequal opportunity can produce negative feelings that make innovative adaptations to anomie. He mentions there are three types of emotional conditions which occur among individuals which create strain- Firstly, when the expectations and results are not matched. Secondly, when an individual loses sources of stability such as loved one and thirdly when individual is confronted with negative stimuli such as is abused by his/her own relatives. These are conditions under which strains are created.

1.4.2 Conflict Approach:

Social-conflict approach view society as an arena of inequality and conflict. Here, Marx and Engels try to understand society by class conflict. In different societies conflict arises over uneven distribution or disparities in material (example- wealth, property) and immaterial (i.e., power, ideology, group identity). Here they view conflict as the byproduct of capitalism, where conflict exists in terms of exploitation. Those who have control over production they exploit those who have nothing. Marx and Engels believed that the capitalist system is the sole determinant of deviance or crime as well as causative element in all social, political, religious, ethical and material life. Capitalism is characterized by surplus value or profit maximization concept which operates through exploitation which breeds dissatisfaction and alienation comes in. This alienating situation is the causative factor for deviance. MacIver said that, mode of production is the sole determinant of culture. So, on the basis of relations of production approach drug

related activities are influenced in the name of culture. Marx and Engels viewed that, conflict would resolve with the abolition of social classes. Here they differentiate with Durkheim's functional approach as because he says crime is inevitable and the indicator of social development which is normal within the society. Frank Tannenbaum also blamed the capitalist system for growing strain or deviance within the society. He mentioned that, in capitalist society, high individualism concentrated on, only one's own self and that leads to selfishness and loneliness irrespective of moral activities of society. So, capitalism breeds social irresponsibility and contributes to deviance. It creates a situation which is very much favorable and influential for deviant behaviour.

1.4.3 Labeling Approach:

In drug addiction related studies socio-psychological theory is widely appreciated. Becker and K. Erickson gave an approach called the 'Social Reaction Approach'. They say a person becomes drug dependent under the pressure of being labeled as an addict but it fails to explain why people first engage in drug related activities that gets them socially labeled as deviant addicts. When one individual is being labeled as delinquent that means social reaction push that delinquent to commit more delinquent activity which makes it difficult to re-enter into the conventional world. Here social reaction is performed as a punishable measure instead of therapeutic activity.

1.4.4 Sub-cultural Theory:

The Chicago school first used the concept 'subculture' in their explanation of delinquency. Subculture theory holds that different groups within society are socialized into different sets of norms accepted by one group but rejected by another. These groups are characterized by specific norms, values, mores and a specific pattern of behaviour

which sets them apart from the mainstream or the society. When young people claim that adults are hypocritical to ban cannabis in a society where alcohol drinking is socially permissible and when adults denounce cannabis as more dangerous substance than alcohol, two subcultures are fighting over whose norms shall prevail. Thus, drug is the result of clash in sub-cultural values of the young and the adults. One of the assumptions about 'subculture' is the lower, subordinate or deviant status of social group's labeled as such. These groups are distinguished by their status, class, ethnicity, language, poor working situations, and age of generation (Bell, 1971). Albert Cohen went as far as developing Merton's anomic propositions in his seminal work, 'Delinquent Boys' (1955). He argued in his theory Delinquent Subculture that a large number of male members had developed a culture with its norms, values and expectations contrary to the dominant culture. He concludes that, this delinquent subculture is 'non-utilitarian', 'malicious' and 'negativistic'. This subculture study was very much influenced by William F. Whyte's work 'Street Corner Society', (1943).

Sutherland's Differential Association Theory (1939): Although this theory of differential association theory has been developed with prior concern to understand crime and criminal behaviour but as we all know all crimes most of the time, are very much influenced by the drugs and drug induced actions, so this theory has its direct connection with drug addiction and addiction practices. When Sutherland's theory is applied to drug usage it explains drug taking as ways that learnt from others, principally from small intimate groups. He explains that the deviant behaviour is learnt from others and it depends on the relationships and activities of the concern group. The major advancement of Sutherland's theory is enhanced by Akers theory of 'Differential Reinforcement'

which is especially popular in the field of drug and alcohol use, abuse and addiction related studies. Akers and Burgess used the term 'reinforcement' to explain that drug dependence is conditioned learning and that reinforces are coming from the association. This reinforcing effect of drugs outweighs negative and undesirable outcomes. Elliott's Integrated Model of Delinquency is an expansion to Sutherland's differential association theory to drug use especially among teens. He extends the ability of social learning theory to explain drug use by combining the elements of social control and strain theory. His main focus was on strong bonding with deviant peers as the primary cause of drug use. That type of bonding is always motivated by weak ties to parents, schools and social disorganizations.

Social Bond Approach: This approach has been given by Ram Ahuja, (1982). He explained drug abuse in terms of weakening of social bond between individual and the society due to maladjustment (in status), unattachment (to social groups), and non-commitment (to social roles). It is attachment to others, commitment to his social roles and adjustment to various situations that determine values about what is good or desirable, his behaviour pattern and his motives in deviating from the dominant values of culture.

1.4.5 Social Disorganization Theory:

It is most popular and the earliest of social structural theories. This theory first appeared in the works of Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay's on Delinquent Boys in Chicago (1930). They found that crime and delinquency did not exist similarly in all the regions. It varies from one area to other. They mentioned that drug use is caused by neighborhood

and environmental factors which is influenced by ethnic heterogeneity, crowding, poverty etc. These factors always create opportunities for delinquent behaviour.

1.4.6 Social Learning Theory:

Albert Bandura is considered the leading proponent of this theory. This theory is the expansion of differential association theory. It focuses on the idea that people can learn by observing the behaviour of others and the outcomes of those practices but depict the fact that, it has increasingly become cognitive and learning may not be shown in their performance. This may or may not result in a behaviour change. Drug abuse is altogether a learnt phenomenon. It comes under social learning because the behaviour is completely learned by observing others. Each and all drug users or abusers always try to hide their actions from the rest of the World except the differential associations (those who are already in this process).

Sociologist Gabriel Tarde has given the Imitation Theory which depicts that the close contact with others is the reason for imitation. It may be unconscious, partly mysterious but these imitations always occurred from inferior to superior. Lower strata masses always try to imitate the behaviour of upper strata. For example, drunkenness, moral offences etc. are offences derived from upper strata and all these are transmitted through the process of imitation.

1.4.7 Social and Self-control Theory:

One of the popular social process theories has been given by Hirschi, that is 'Social Control Theory'. This theory focuses on almost exclusively on deviant behaviour (theft, vandalism etc.) and drug use. He mentioned that, socialization is the sole factor for the

deviant behaviour. He says, we have the profound impact of institutions (that is, families, peers and schools) which are responsible for socialization especially on children and adolescents. Through this process moral bonding is created between individual and society. He argued that, ineffective ties to socialization, non-commitment (to educational and occupational success) would be an outcome that leads to deviant behaviour, like drug use. Self-control theory by Walter C. Reckless depicts that, the 'Self' is a key factor for the delinquent actions. If the self is strong then it makes a strong buffer which is positive to law abiding activities and if the self is weak then it creates a negative buffer which is favorable to the delinquent behaviour (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990.).

1.4.8 General Theory of Addiction:

Alfred R. Lindsmith first formulated his theory of addiction in 1930s on drug addiction. His theory is considered classic sociological theory of drug addiction. He was a member of Chicago school of thought who advocated psychical interactionism and qualitative sociological research methods. Lindsmith used the semiotic approach to the meaningful experience of drug effects. He was the first to develop a distinctively sociological approach to the phenomenon. Lindsmith promoted the idea that, meaning and social learning are essential components of the addiction process. He emphasized, the process of becoming addicted is communication regarding the effects of drug use. He highlighted two phenomena language and interaction that are truly sociological for communication among people for the transformation of a non-addict to an addict. He points out the meaning and the practical relevance of brute physical sensations exclusively in terms of conscious awareness mediated by the significant symbols provided by the society (Lindsmith, 1938). Lindsmith has inherent mind-body dualism in following Blumerian

social psychology approach but he repeatedly held that, in the absence of linguistic competence neither addiction nor relapsing behaviour could occur.

Following Lindsmith's classical approach Darin Weinberg has given '**Praxiological approach**' (1997), to eliminate the mind-body dualism which is carried by Lindsmith. By the light of praxiological approach it becomes easy to examine meaning and social learning, the meanings and the practical relevance that attach to drugs and its effects. In classical approach, Lindsmith mentioned that, all social learning is symbolically transmitted and language is the essential feature of it. In praxiological approach Weinberg mentioned that, though the animals lack language skills altogether they are capable of such learning through symbols. So, language cannot be considered as important feature of it. He said people are convinced themselves by the uses to which they can put given drugs and come to incorporate drug use into the conduct of their lives. People always use drugs as resources in given fields of practical action, the concept developed by the Bourdieu (1990) is 'Practical Sense' (conditioning drug taking behaviour with their day-to-day work). This approach suggests that if drug use is experienced under particular practical conditions, it become conducive to competent performance and it embodied into an individual's repertoire of techniques for coping with similar practical conditions. These techniques should be understood fundamentally in praxiological terms. It is not the stored system of symbolic knowledge, as well as set of techniques for merely representing in a given setting. It should be understood as a pre-symbolic set of embodies dispositions or habitus that acts as a loosely organized but largely setting specific 'schemata of perception and appreciation' (Bourdieu and

Wacquant, 1992). Only in the perceived demands of particular practical environments this habitus is actively responding.

Relevant theories that are found suitable have been used in the study and triangulation of theories has been used throughout the research as per the need and applicability of the theories.

1.5 Objectives of the Study:

The present study aims to uncover and discuss the pattern and social implications of drug addiction in the Darjeeling district of the state West Bengal. In order to study the pertinent aspects of the problem, the present study has set before itself the following objectives. It aims at:

1. To find out the nature, pattern and extent of drug addiction among the youths and the importance of the area in its easy accessibility thereby making it a serious social menace.
2. To make an in-depth study of the causes of drug addiction in the area and find out its socio-economic impact on the everyday life of affected people.
3. To look into the role of the family background and family disorganization in driving the youth towards drug addiction.
4. To find out whether religious rules, rituals and traditional ties play any role in drug addiction among youths.
5. To look, if any causal relation exists between drug addiction, deviance and crime.
6. To find out major socio-economic-cultural-political and pertinent factors deeply associated with drug addiction among youths.

7. To find out how and why the peer group plays a vital role in increasing or spreading drug addiction.
8. To look into the present situation of drug addiction sociologically.

1.6 Significance of the Study:

After the discussion of different theoretical approaches now I would like to discuss the relevance of the study. The previous section explained different theories with their claims which were truly sociological and that the study should consider realistic research structure in respect of field situation. Drug addiction is a worldwide problem nowadays. Drug addiction has become one of the most destructive agents not only in the western countries but also in third world countries; India is no exception to this pattern. Drug addiction or abuse is posing serious threat to our society, to our youths and future generations. Many of the western countries consider drug addiction as a social problem since long but India is experiencing this social problem in recent few decades and is rapidly increasing. It is said that India has become not only an important transit center for drug smuggling but also a big market to sell and to store. The prevalence of drug in India has increased alarmingly within last few decades and it causes deterioration of the youth's physical and mental conditions. The study area is very sensitive and a high alert area due to its geographical strategic location. This region shares national as well as international borders which make it a high alert area for smuggling of drug, to selling and storing of drugs along with other criminal activities. Cross border smuggling and peddling of drugs pushes the rate of abusers to a maximum because, variety of drugs are now available in the markets of this region. This availability triggers the rate of abusers along with different other problems in the study area.

The study is very important because different ethnic, caste and religious groups reside in this region which nurtures different sets of values, mores and practices. Each and every group have their conventional cultural activities which also encourages people to participate in different activities of the different groups. As a secular state, in India every religious community has equal right to perform their rituals and practices. In one's religious occasion other religious groups participates and enjoys. So, that means, we are trying to adopt those cultures which are out-side of our own culture or practice. For example, during Shivratri which is truly Hindu practice different religious groups participate not for their respect to the deity but for the smoking practice of *ganja* and *bhang* (local terms). This kind of cultural exchange practice is very much influential to lead to gateway drugs for the abusers not only for the occasions but for lifelong events.

District Darjeeling consists of two parts: Hills and the Plains. These two parts are home to their own cultural groups. Different processes which are at work like globalization, modernization etc. helps to create different subcultures, which differ from the mainstream culture of this region. Here in this region, we can find drug cultural groups, which are very active and impacting the mental setup of youths in particular and society in general. Youths are the assets of any nation; drug can paralyze the new generation which is like slow poison which will gradually paralyze the nation as well. There is non-availability of research work in this particular region on this issue which provides a space to research.

There are many forces working in present day situation which results in disorganization of the family. Urbanization, Globalization, Industrialization, cultural trends etc. are the causes of family disorganization. When family members are not playing their expected roles properly, then, disorganization comes in which may reveal itself in the form of

family desertion, divorce, frequent conflicts, deviant behaviour of the children etc. This kind of environment within the family provides the atmosphere of drug abuse behaviour because the situation directly impacts the mental setup of the members. It hampers the socialization process, it cannot proceed as expected, and on the other hand the member is not in the state that he or she could adopt the benefits of the process of socialization. This kind of situation makes an individual alienated and hence grows the feeling of anomie which gradually leads toward the drug induced behaviour. Family disorganization directly impact on their value judgement and they fail to make the decision about the correctness of their behaviour. They engage themselves with drug culture only to escape from the harsh realities of life and engage in some sort of pleasure.

Drug addiction in contemporary society is mediated to a large extent through material and social conditions affected by the production and distribution of the products. Behind drug induced behaviour political economy is working continuously not only at the national levels but also in the international levels. The profit maximization ideology controlled and managed by the relevant political ideology and seeks to distribute products in the framework of consumerism. It always tries to keep its pace with the market situation by introducing new substances with demonstrable features to satisfy consumer needs. In the globalized time, we are actually passing through an age of consumerism. consumer's age. Consumerism is very influential implicative of globalization. Nowadays consumption is the route to happiness. It helps to form an identity of consumers. It leads towards a hedonic pleasure which will increases endless appetite to consume and it grows with each passing day. Insatiable appetite is created by the markets of globalization and is presented as the solution to problem, advertisement is playing a vital role for these

aspirations because it offers everything. Drug culture is also influenced by the globalization and profit-making mentality which provides everything for the sake of profit without any business ethics. There are 739 different New Psychoactive Substances from 2009-2016 which were available on the markets worldwide (World Drug Report, 2017). These drugs are sold to the minors as well as to the adults without prescriptions or sometimes by manipulating the prescriptions. Sometimes with prescription over doses are provided to the consumers (NSP medicines are- fentanyl, analogues, benzodiazepine derivatives etc.). As a result of modernization along with the privileges provided by the globalization bar and disco culture is increasing rapidly in the study area. These entertainment places become hubs of the drug culture where any one can realize their hedonic aspirations. This is the vital influential factor which triggers the menace.

Besides this, due to the development of information technology and communication and administrative supervisions situation is getting so complex that people have started giving home delivery of drugs to the abuser by charging overhead prices. This type of changing behaviour of the peddlers and abusers has increased the propensity of drug abuse or addiction within the society.

As we all know that drug abuse is a very much influential factor for crime. So, causation exists in this region between crime and drug abuse behaviour. In last few decades the rate of crime has increased rapidly and in most of the cases it was reported that criminals were under the influence of drug. So, if administration needs to control crime then firstly they need to control drug abuse thereby, the rate of crime will automatically decrease.

Along with this, another important indicator is the growing number of drug rehabilitation centers in the concerned area which proves the fact that the number of drug addict is

increasing day by day. Approximately on an average each and every rehabilitation center admits 1000 addicts within three months. In this concerned study area, there are 14 rehabilitation centers operating. Rehabilitation centers and governmental hospitals are serving to combat and curb the menace but the fact that unless or until proper research work is conducted by the researchers the actual picture of the problem cannot be identified and the problem cannot be solved. There lies the significance of the research of this issue.

1.7 Review of Literature:

A literature review is a text written by a research scholar who considers the current knowledge including substantive findings, as well as theoretical and methodological contribution in relation to a particular topic. Literature is a secondary source, and also a literature review can be interpreted as a review of an abstract accomplishment.

Sudip Kumar Choudhury in his book, 'Drug Addiction among the Youths of Calcutta' (2004) argue that the phenomenon of drug or drug dependence brings to the fore essentially, a contradictory form of human behaviour. In recent times, the problem has acquired alarming proportions: not only have newer and more potent psycho-active drugs appeared in the open market but their use also has started filtering down to highly vulnerable sections of the society. He also mentions, educational dropouts including the school-age children are taking drugs that seem to be a dangerous social problem. He has made an attempt to explain the problem in the view of sociological and psychological perspectives. The work is purely sociological and gives stress to locate the causal factors behind drug addiction, such factors include availability of drugs, peer group pressure,

strained intra-family relations, stresses of urban life, mental frustration, family background etc.

Ravinder Singh Sandhu in his book 'Drug Addiction in Punjab: A Sociological Study' discusses the rapid rise of drug addiction cases in Punjab, one of the wealthiest states of India. The study reveals that the main reasons for the rapid growth of drug addiction in Punjab are unemployment, poverty, easy availability of drugs and corruption in the society which leads to inefficient implementation of drug prevention and lack of awareness among the people and the government. The study also reflects that the victims are almost the silent sufferers and community as a victim is unaware and unconcerned. This is an exploratory study which aims to know the nature and extent of the problem in the state. The problem of drug addiction is so complex that its nature and extent vary from area to area and group to group.

Jason M. White wrote a book, 'Drug Dependence' in the year (1991) which gives a non-judgmental overview of drug dependence approaches, the subject from historical, psychological and social perspectives. It introduces the reader to a wide range of drugs used both medically and non-medically. It discusses about the plants used over thousands of years from traditional to modern pharmaceuticals, explains the origin and history of each drug. To reflect a contemporary study of drugs, all information is organized according to the general principles underlying drug use rather than by different types of drugs. Here, White mentions, all drugs have a great deal of commonality in the factors determining use and dependence whether accepted like caffeine, restricted like alcohol, or prohibited in the case of heroin.

A. K. Sen and Anis Ahmed in their book 'Drug Abuse and Youth', (1999) explores that the drug abuse per se is just not a problem of an individual or his/her family. It sparks off a host of complex problems which the society at large has to face. The study analyses various causes of drug abuse and their effects on the behaviour of the individuals. This book contains a comparative study between the drug abusers and the non-abusers on same psycho-social characteristics.

Rajinder. M. Kalra's book 'Drug Addiction in School' is an endeavor to look into the problems of drug addiction among school pupils in India with special reference to Delhi, Haryana and Chandigarh. It gives an overview of drug menace at international and national level. The evil is spreading on an alarming scale in India. Parents can no longer sit back in the soothing comfort of being free from warning about their wards getting hooked on drugs. The book focuses on the role of the community, teacher, school administration and preventive educational strategies in the school system.

Ram Ahuja in his book 'Social Problems in India', (2003) explains and discusses the major social problems of drug abuse and addiction. Here, he is trying to explain the nature and extent of drug abuse or addiction in the present-day situation on the basis of empirical study. He puts emphasis on the socio-cultural factors that are solely responsible for the growing rate of drug addiction among the adolescents and adults. He precisely explains the causal relationship of drug addiction with the help of several theories of psychological, socio-cultural, sociological and physiological. He has given the social bond approach to examine the drug addiction behaviour.

Molly Charles, et al. in their 'Drug Culture in India' (1999), says, young people are more receptive and today's drug abusers are younger, well-off and try a range of drugs even the economically backward drug addicts continue to exist. They say, the social acceptance of and easy access to drugs that explain the dynamics of change in the drug pattern today. They state the fact that, the problem of drugs- cocaine and heroin are on a decline, while pharma abuse is on a high. Drug cocktailing, mix-and-match of synthetic chemical is the new flavor.

Thomas, Dorothy and Hoobler, (1988) in their work 'The Encyclopaedia of Psychoactive Drugs, Drugs and Crime, views the problem of drug-habit from a criminative perspective and regards the user as merely a criminal person. Here they mentioned, the central theme behind is that, due to certain criminalist attitude the users of the drug (heroin, cocaine etc.) would pay any price to support their habit, whatever be the cost to them or their families. Even when the drugs are quite expensive, some users would turn to street crimes such as robbery and burglary for money. They mention that people turn to, or become dependent on the habit-forming drugs because of enhancement of their delinquent behaviour.

Social strain assumes that man is a highly moralized creature who not only respects the rules of his society but internalizes them, so that deviance is very unlikely. Perhaps even unthinkable under normal conditions but the cause of deviance is found to lie in some major dislocation of the social fabric, a dislocation by which man is 'frustrated', alienated, deprived or suffers from anomie. Durkheim's concept of collective consensus operationalizes by collective consciousness and change in solidarity. Robert. k. Merton's concept of dysfunction which characterized by the discrepancy of goals and means with

the question of social approval. Here Blum, et al., in their book 'Society and Drugs, Drugs and Crime' (1974), mentions the rising number of young people engaging actively in crime. It suggests that chronic drug intake was related to the pattern of disorganization. Edgerton, in his work 'Deviance: A Cross-Cultural Perspective' (1976) concerns with various psycho-active drugs or narcotics in social sciences has progressed from an early moralism. He observes that, it can be traced under the relationship of such substances to deviance in non-western societies. He points out that drug such as heroin not only leads to problems of physical addiction but also crime.

Stanley Einstein, in the book 'Beyond Drugs' (1975), indicates that, drug-use is legally linked or involved in crime which is applicable in a resale system for stolen goods or to sale of illegal drugs in order to continue their drug habit. He also remarked that increasing dosages of heroin or any other narcotics will often encourage the users to engage in criminal activities. Ivan Illich in 'Towards a History of Needs' (1977), says that the relationship between alcohol and crime is a peculiar one. Although some authorities feel that alcohol is generally related to most criminal behaviour. He observes that, the more serious crimes directly related to alcohol felony and drunk-driving.

Khan in his book 'Drug Use Amongst the College Youth' (1985), has stratify addicts into five strata. These are: accidental addicts who became dependent upon drugs due to certain functional disorder, neurotic addicts who resort to drugs to relieve symptoms like anxiety, obsession, compulsion, and sense of guilty, psychopathic addicts who suffers from emotional imbalance and inner tension, psychotic addicts who use drugs in order to put up a better appearance, symptomatic addicts who are affected by mild emotional or personality disorder. Narayanan, in 'Can Drug Addiction Be Cured' (1988), says people

especially the youths who come from broken homes, usually prefer group pressure and seek drugs to get relief from such emotional stresses as poverty and parental neglect. In the book 'The Deviant Imagination' (1975) Pearson mentions, on the other hand suggests that frustration due to unemployment is undoubtedly one of the major reasons of regular or occasional drug take. Hofmann and Hofmann, in their book 'A Handbook on Drug and Alcohol Abuse' (1975) have found psycho-social factors including personality, pleasure, hopelessness and peer influence as the important etiological factors in drug abuse.

Dattagupta, in her book 'Contemporary Social Problems in India' (1964), argues that, technological change and urbanization brings a series of change in the social institutions (family) as the society moves from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity. As a result, a variety of social problems have emerged including alcoholism and drug addiction. In the book 'Preventing and Controlling Drug Abuse' (1990), Gossop and Grant denote that, the spread of drug and its mode of administration may occur due to migration, affluence, urbanization and rapid cultural change. They mention that, alienation and anomie stemming from migration and urbanization have also been emphasized in relation to drug-abuse.

Zygmunt Bauman has put forward his idea of 'Liquid Modernity' by examining the forces which are responsible for the unification of people in modern era and put less emphasis on the differentiation. He specially focuses and points different reinforces which are playing vital and significant role in unification which is exclusively peoples' fragility, temporariness, vulnerability, and inclination towards constant change in modern societies. Further he says, in modernity people get modernized obsessively, compulsively

to keep their identity intact only to follow the statement of 'to be modern', and the process is always will be 'becoming' which avoid completion and stay underdefined.

He observes and goes on saying that, as time passes on modernity changes and new forms of modernity come up which is called post-modernity but Bauman termed that phase as 'Liquid Modernity'. He exemplifies his intention to put a new term aside of the existing one. He says, before hundred years or so 'to be modern' followed to chase the 'final state' of perfection but in 'Liquid Modernity' it is an infinity of improvement or perfection with no 'final state' in mind and none is desired. Here, uncertainty is the only certainty and change is the only permanence because people running deep into this with continuous update (Bauman, 2000, 2001).

Addiction field has become a very significant area of research in criminology and sociology nowadays. Plenty of research have been done by several scholars on the issue but there is still space can be located in which research can be done. The current scholar has reviewed many research works and come out with some major research gap; these are-

- i. Most of the research deals with the major causes and impact of the problem but no one has tried to portray the drug cultural process as a whole to understand how the addiction process works.
- ii. Researchers have put importance on how religion and culture associate with the current issue but lack sufficient explanation on it.

- iii. The following study aspires to enquire about the nexus between crime and drug addiction sociologically as the perspective is still neglected in Indian regional context.
- iv. The study seeks to investigate how a region and its development attach with such behaviour and showcase the importance of a region concerning the illegal behaviour.
- v. There is no sociological work done on the problem of drug addiction in Darjeeling district or any part of North Bengal.

Above mentioned research gap will be filled, present study does not take into consideration some of the areas from which in due course could be the fruitful areas for the other researchers. This study is unable to incorporate the legal perspective with relevant impact on the society. This portion is left behind with a reason that much work has already been done from the perspective sociologically thereby, the researcher focused on other spaces to investigate. The present study has put less emphasis on the quantitative approach to accomplish the task. These are the dimensions that are considered in the course of the present study.

1.8 Universe and Methodology:

District Darjeeling is located at northern part of the state in eastern part of India. The study area is very much sensitive due to its strategic location. The district consists of two parts: Hills and the Plains. The area is having four Sub-Divisional towns, Darjeeling, Siliguri, Kalimpong and Kurseong. Siliguri is the largest town of the district and my prior study area as well. Rapid urbanization process is taking place in Siliguri and it is changing so quickly along with the cultural and behavioural patterns of the inhabitants

which make the area very vulnerable for the study. Hill areas of the district administered by the 'Darjeeling Gorkha Autonomous Hill Council' (an autonomous administrative body under the State Government of West Bengal). The foot hill area of Himalaya is known as Terai which is directly administered by the State Government. Administratively the district is divided into twelve Community Development Blocks. The total population of the district as per 2011 census is 18,46,823 of which 11,18,860 are from rural and 7,27,963 are from urban areas. The density of population is 586 per sq. km. in 2011 along with the sex ratio of 970. Here, major religious communities are Hindus, Buddhist, Christians, Muslims, Sikhs and Jains which shows a mix population with a mix cultural tradition in the concern region. The study happens to cover a place of strategic prominence both geographically as well as politically. The area is considered to be the chicken neck thereby connecting the North Eastern States along with Sikkim and Bihar. It also shares international borders with Nepal, Bangladesh and China through Sikkim. In this region, due to the different social processes the behaviour and interaction of the people changed and different social institution has come up. In last two decades there is growing number of drug rehabilitation centers in the area under study. There are near about ten to twelve drug rehabilitation centers in service along with the Governmental hospitals to curb drug addiction behaviour in this area. The leading Rehabilitation centers are- Kripa Foundation, Siliguri Hope Foundation, New Life Rehabilitation, Sevoke Prayas Foundation, Moksh Foundation etc. These centers treat one thousand addicts in three months. There are serious drug related activities carried out by the youths of this region. The local newspapers have identified many areas of this district as the hub of drug addicts and peddlers. The study will collect information from these rehabilitation centers

as well as from the local areas which are identified as the hub of drug activity. So, there are many forces working in the area which interests me and made me to choose this region for the study.

Methodology: In research work, the selection of proper methodology and research methods is a crucial task. The study has adopted and applied different methods as per the field situations. The study uses both qualitative and quantitative approaches which are based on secondary as well as primary data. Concrete knowledge and development of the concepts relating to the topic are done by assessing different published and unpublished materials, journals, books, newspapers, etc. Different official reports are consulted in this manner. Fieldwork has been done to collect empirical data for the study. To get the exact location and information of the drug hubs and drug addicts in the district pilot survey was conducted separately for hills and plains of the region under study. After the identification of the areas through the pilot survey a list of the rehabilitation and non-rehabilitation centres have been made and communicated to the NGO officials for their consent to give the information of the addicts who are in rehabilitation centres (rehabs).

1.8.1 Universe:

Darjeeling district of the state of West Bengal has been considered as the study universe. Areas where there was a concentration of drug addicts both in the rehab and local hubs were taken up for the study. Identification of the prime locations for rehabilitation and non-rehabilitation centres (local drug hubs) through pilot survey enabled the researcher to consider the universe of the study methodically to collect the empirical data from the district.

The current study considered some units for the collection of data from the field by looking at the sensitivity and complexities of the current topic and the researcher has divided the region into two parts that are hill areas and the plains for the collection of field data. Further, the divisions are classified into two categories that are urban and rural areas of the district to see the comparative nature of the work. Data were collected from two areas where addicts are found that are- rehabilitation centres and non-rehabilitation centres (local drug hubs) of the district. Respondents were equally selected sex-wise (male and female) from the field irrespective of their family structure, age, education, community, religion, occupation et cetera.

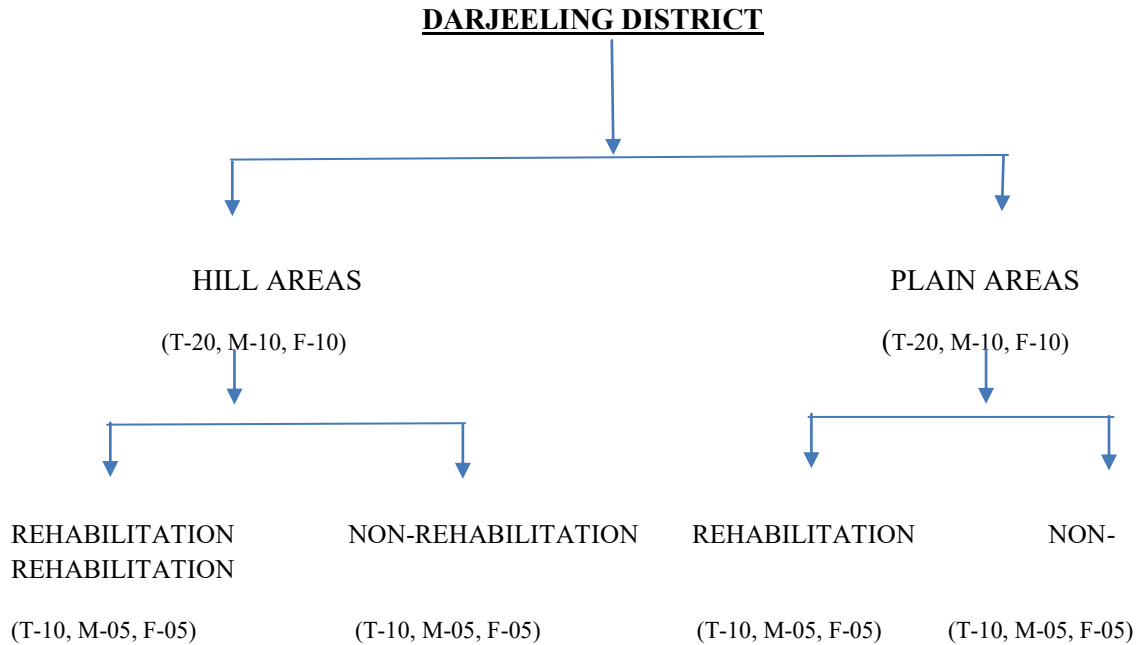
1.8.1.1 Units of Analyses:

1. Hills and Plains
2. Rehabilitation Centre and Non-Rehabilitation Centres (local hubs)
3. Male and Female

Respondents were covered equally on the basis of above units for the study and we can understand that easily by looking at the diagram below-

Diagram Number- 3:

Display of Sample Size



***T- for Total, M- for Male, F- for Female**

Last unit of analyses is distributed throughout the diagram on the basis of other units of the study. We can consider any of the units and the total number of respondents will be forty and amongst them twenty are males and twenty females.

1.8.1.2 Sample Size:

The current research has taken up a total of forty in-depth cases from the region under study. The study has taken total respondents as- twenty detailed case study of respondents (ten males and ten females) from hill areas and the same from the plains area of the district. As the study is based on addiction hence, the classification of respondents has been made on addicts from rehabilitation centres and non-rehabilitation centres (local

hubs). Out of two hundred addicts the study collected total twenty cases from rehabilitation centres of the district, amongst them ten respondents are males and ten are females. So, the total number of addicts is two hundred and ten percent of the total respondents have been considered as sample of the study from rehabilitation centres of the district.

For non-rehabilitation centres (local drug hubs) of the district twenty detailed cases (ten males and ten females) were taken up for the analyses. As we know the identification of addicts is a tough task to perform, hence the study used snowball sampling for the identification and took twenty cases from local drug hubs of the district for the in-depth case study. We will discuss the procedures for data collection from the field in consecutive discussion.

1.8.1.3 Sample Collection:

Empirical data from the field has been collected in four phases. These phases are as follows-

In the first phase, data has been collected from the drug rehabilitation centres of the plains. The Rehabilitation Centres from which data have been collected are- New Life Rehabilitation, Serenity Home, Twelve Step.

In the second phase, data were collected from the drug rehabilitation centre of hill areas of the district which is Kripa Foundation.

The third phase of data collection covered the collection of data from non-rehabilitation (local drug hubs) of plains area of the district. The local newspapers have identified many

areas of the plains of this district as the hub of drug addicts and peddlers, and also, researcher has identified some areas through pilot survey. These hubs are different wards of Siliguri Municipal Corporation, Matigara, Siliguri Junction, Bagdogra, Panitanki, Phansidewa. Detailed cases are taken from different drug consumption-prone areas of the plain region of the district.

Last phase of data collection was done from non-rehabilitation centres (local drug hubs) of the Darjeeling Sub-Division and also from panchayat areas of Pulbazar, Jorebunglow and Sukhiapokhri.

For data collection from the respondents structured and unstructured interview schedules have been prepared. Twenty cases have been taken as a sample from drug rehabilitation centres and the same from outside rehabilitation centres (from local drug hubs).

1.8.2 Methodology:

The study took detailed case studies of respondents from drug rehabilitation centres and non-rehabilitation centres through ethnographical as well as phenomenological understanding of their day-to-day experiences and lifestyle. The study followed ‘thick description’ method that was discussed by C. Geertz for the detailing information of respondents.

1.8.2.1 Methods:

The snowball sampling method was employed to get information on addicts from non-rehabilitation centres (from local drug hubs) due to the secret identity of the abusers. In drug rehabilitation centres individuals are already identified as drug addicts and they are taking treatment from the centres to be free from their drug-related behaviour. No secrecy

prevails with their behavioural identity but in the case of local hubs, identification of an individual as a drug addict is tough. Once identification is done then convincing them to give their interview is another problem to resolve. In this kind of situation, snowball is an appropriate technique to get in touch with them by taking the help of a peer group (differential association) of addicts. After identification of the addict from local hubs the study considered twenty cases and got the detailed information on their illegal behaviour.

For rehabilitation centre, data were collected through simple random sampling method as the addicts were already identified as addicts. Therefore, there were no need to apply snowball sampling.

The interview method was applied to get in-depth details of the respondents on drug-related activities and experiences from rehabilitation as well as from non-rehabilitation centres of the region under study.

Case study method was used to get in-depth history of the respondents that were collected from the field empirically and followed the thick description approach to detail every information of the respondents of the study.

Non-participant observation has been conducted to get the actual scenario of the problem. It helped the researcher to identify the changing behaviour of the respondents from the time when they were not taking drugs to the period when they completed the drug intake on a particular day.

1.8.2.2 Tools and Techniques:

A focus group discussion method has been employed to collect respondents' opinions on a single issue and also to cross check the available experiences as well. The study has consulted opinions of different Government and NGO's officials' along with annual reports of several organizations to come to concrete results.

1.8.2.3 Data Analyses:

The analysis of the data is based on the simple percentile distribution in a tabular form. Tables were prepared in a comparative manner with different variables to assess the existing relations between variable.

Lastly, all the steps and procedures have been verified and cross-verified under the guidance and instruction of the supervisor.

1.9 Chapterisation of the Thesis:

Chapter-1: This chapter contains Introduction, Statement of the problem, theoretical approaches, Review of literature, Major Objectives, Significance of the study, Universe and Methodology.

Chapter-2: This chapter explains the problem of drug addiction in India, Nature and spread of drug abuse and its sociological implication from the perspective of political economy.

Chapter-3: This chapter has discussed the specificities of the issue of drug abuse in the plains and hill areas of Darjeeling district and tries to get a sociological understanding of the problem.

Chapter-4: This chapter analyzes the data collected during field study and gives a sociological explanation of the same.

Chapter-5: This chapter deals with Covid-19 and Drug Addiction in the region under study.

Chapter-6: Summary and Conclusion. This chapter has summarized the findings of the study and draw a conclusion of the study undertaken.

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