

Palestinian Criminal Policy in Combating Drugs:

A Sociological Approach to Interpreting the Effectiveness of Formal Social Control over Criminal Drug Phenomena

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Abstract

This study examines Palestinian criminal policy in combating drugs from a sociological perspective by analyzing the limits of formal social control in reducing drug-related criminal behavior in Palestinian society. It argues that criminal policy effectiveness depends not only on punitive severity but also on integration with informal social control and addressing structural determinants of deviance. Using a descriptive-analytical methodology and reviewing Palestinian anti-drug legislation, particularly Law by Decree No. (18) of 2015 and its 2020 amendment, the study finds that Palestinian criminal policy has expanded punitive and digital-criminalization frameworks but remains constrained by structural causes of deviance, weak preventive institutions, and declining informal social control. The study concludes that anti-drug effectiveness requires an integrated socio-criminal policy beyond punitive deterrence.

Keywords: Criminal Policy; Formal Social Control; Drugs; Sociology of Crime; Social Deviance.

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1. Introduction

Drug-related crimes represent one of the most complex contemporary criminal phenomena because their effects extend beyond individual behavior to affect the social, economic, moral, and security structures of society. Drugs threaten public order, weaken human capacities, undermine youth development, and create conditions for additional criminal activities such as trafficking, organized crime, violence, money laundering, and exploitation. In this sense, drug crimes are not merely isolated offenses but a multidimensional social problem requiring a comprehensive analytical approach (Al-Asfar, 2004).

In Palestinian society, the issue of drug abuse and trafficking has gained increasing public and institutional attention. The concern is heightened by the fact that youth and adolescents are among the most vulnerable categories targeted by drug markets and deviant peer networks. This vulnerability is not only biological or psychological but also social, as it is shaped by family structure, peer relations, economic insecurity, political instability, and the availability of informal mechanisms of social control. Therefore, a strictly legal analysis is insufficient to understand the phenomenon. A sociological approach is necessary because it connects criminal behavior to the structure of society, the effectiveness of institutions, and the interaction between formal and informal control mechanisms.

Palestinian criminal policy has attempted to respond to this phenomenon through legislative development, particularly by issuing Law by Decree No. (18) of 2015 on Combating Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances. This law represented a major legislative step toward unifying anti-drug regulation and strengthening the punitive response to drug-related crimes. Later, Law by Decree No. (29) of 2020 amended some provisions of the 2015 law by expanding criminalization to include digital and cyber-related drug activities. This amendment is particularly significant because it

reflects the transformation of drug-related crime from traditional physical spaces into digital environments, where websites, encrypted communication, and information technologies may be used to promote, market, or facilitate drug trafficking.

However, the central sociological question remains: Can formal criminal policy, even when strengthened and modernized, effectively control drug-related crime if the social causes of deviance remain active? This question is especially important in societies facing structural pressures such as unemployment, social marginalization, political instability, family disintegration, and limited institutional capacity. From a sociological point of view, punishment may produce deterrence, but it cannot alone eliminate the social conditions that generate deviance.

The research problem of this study is therefore based on the apparent gap between the expansion of formal criminalization and the persistence of social conditions that contribute to drug-related deviance. Despite the development of Palestinian criminal legislation, the effectiveness of anti-drug policy remains linked to the broader social context in which the law operates. Accordingly, the main research question is: **What are the limits of Palestinian criminal policy effectiveness in combating drugs in light of sociological interpretations of social control and deviance?**

This study is based on three main hypotheses. First, Palestinian criminal policy in combating drugs remains predominantly punitive and deterrence-oriented. Second, formal social control is limited in effectiveness when it is not integrated with informal social control institutions such as the family, school, religious institutions, and community organizations. Third, structural and contextual factors in Palestinian society undermine the practical effectiveness of criminal policy, regardless of the severity of legal sanctions.

The study aims to analyze Palestinian criminal policy in combating drugs from a sociological perspective; to interpret the limits of formal social control in reducing drug-related crime; to identify structural and social

factors that weaken criminal policy effectiveness; and to examine the impact of recent legislative developments, particularly the 2020 amendment, on the evolution of formal social control in Palestine. Methodologically, the study adopts a descriptive-analytical approach based on reviewing sociological and criminological literature and analyzing Palestinian anti-drug legislation.

2. Theoretical Foundations of Criminal Policy in Drug Control

2.1 Concept and Dimensions of Criminal Policy

Criminal policy refers to the comprehensive framework through which the state formulates its legal and institutional response to criminal behavior by defining prohibited conduct, establishing sanctions, and designing mechanisms of prevention and correction. In contemporary criminological thought, criminal policy is no longer viewed merely as a punitive reaction to completed offenses; rather, it is understood as an integrated system that includes legislative criminalization, procedural intervention, institutional enforcement, rehabilitation, and preventive social strategies (Surour, 1972).

From a sociological perspective, criminal policy reflects the relationship between law and social order. It embodies the state's attempt to preserve collective values by identifying behaviors deemed threatening to social stability and by institutionalizing mechanisms to deter, sanction, or reform those who violate legal norms. Consequently, criminal policy is not a neutral legal instrument; it is shaped by prevailing social values, political priorities, institutional capacities, and perceptions of social risk. Drug criminalization, for example, reflects not only concern for public health but also the perception that drug-related behaviors threaten family structures, youth stability, public morality, and social cohesion.

The criminal policy approach adopted toward drugs therefore reveals how the state conceptualizes the nature of the threat posed by narcotics. A policy centered exclusively on repression and punishment suggests a perception of drugs as a primarily security-based threat, whereas a balanced policy

incorporating prevention and rehabilitation indicates recognition of the social and health dimensions of the phenomenon. In this regard, the structure of criminal policy itself becomes a sociological indicator of how the state interprets deviance and social harm.

2.2 Objectives and Components of Criminal Policy

The objectives of criminal policy include deterrence, social protection, crime prevention, offender rehabilitation, and restoration of public confidence in the legal system. Deterrence aims to prevent crime by increasing the expected cost of criminal behavior. Social protection seeks to defend society from harmful conduct. Prevention focuses on removing or reducing the causes and opportunities that lead to crime. Rehabilitation aims to reintegrate offenders into society by addressing the individual and social factors behind criminal behavior (Hamu, 2010).

In drug control, these objectives require coordination between legal, security, health, educational, and social institutions. Security agencies may detect and arrest offenders, but they cannot alone prevent addiction or rebuild weakened family and community structures. Courts may impose sanctions, but punishment without treatment may lead to repeated offending. Schools may raise awareness, but their impact depends on family support and community stability. Health institutions may treat addiction, but stigma and fear may prevent users from seeking help. Thus, criminal policy in this field must be understood as a multi-institutional system.

The preventive component of criminal policy is especially significant. Punishment occurs after harm has already been produced, while prevention seeks to intervene before deviance becomes entrenched. Preventive policy includes early awareness, family support, school-based education, youth programs, community policing, social services, and economic interventions targeting vulnerable groups. This confirms the sociological principle that crime control cannot rely solely on coercive law; it must also address the social environment that produces crime.

2.3 Criminalization, Punishment, and Prevention

Criminalization policy determines which behaviors are considered harmful enough to justify state punishment. In drug-related crimes, criminalization covers a wide range of behaviors because drugs threaten not only individual health but also social stability and public security. The expansion of criminalization may be justified when new forms of crime emerge, such as cyber-facilitated drug trafficking. However, excessive criminalization may also create problems if it fails to distinguish between levels of danger or if it increases prison populations without solving underlying causes.

Punitive policy is necessary but not sufficient. Severe punishment may deter some offenders, particularly rational actors involved in trafficking for profit. Yet its effect is weaker when individuals are driven by addiction, social exclusion, or lack of alternatives. Sociological literature emphasizes that deterrence depends not only on the severity of punishment but also on certainty, fairness, legitimacy, and the broader social context. If offenders perceive the legal system as distant, inconsistent, or unable to address their realities, punishment may lose much of its preventive power.

Preventive policy addresses the roots of crime. It aims to reduce risk factors and strengthen protective factors. In the case of drug abuse, risk factors include weak family supervision, deviant peer networks, unemployment, school dropout, psychological stress, social marginalization, and exposure to criminal markets. Protective factors include strong family bonds, school attachment, employment opportunities, community participation, religious and moral guidance, and accessible treatment services. Therefore, criminal policy must be integrated with social policy.

2.4 Schools of Criminal Policy and Social Defense

The development of criminal policy has been shaped by several intellectual schools. The Classical School emphasized legality, individual responsibility, proportionality of punishment, and protection against arbitrary criminalization. Its contribution remains important because it

established the principle that there is no crime and no punishment without law. This principle protects individual freedom and prevents the state from criminalizing behavior without clear legal basis.

The Positivist School shifted attention from the abstract legal act to the offender and the causes of criminal behavior. It argued that crime should be studied scientifically by examining biological, psychological, and social factors. Although some early positivist assumptions were later criticized, the school contributed to the emergence of criminology as a scientific field and emphasized the need to understand causes rather than rely only on legal punishment (Banhdou, 1999).

The Social Defense School introduced a more humanistic and rehabilitative orientation. It viewed crime as a social problem requiring protection of society while also respecting the dignity and reintegration of the offender. Mark Ancel's concept of new social defense emphasized the need to maintain criminal law but make it more humane, preventive, and rehabilitative (Ancel, 1967). This perspective is highly relevant to drug policy because drug addiction is often both a legal and a social-health problem. A purely punitive approach may deepen marginalization, while a social defense approach seeks to combine accountability with treatment and reintegration.

3. Sociological Interpretations of Drug-Related Deviance

3.1 Drug Use as Social Deviance

Sociology of crime views drug use and trafficking as forms of deviance that reflect a relationship between individual behavior and social structure. Deviance does not occur in a vacuum. It emerges within contexts where norms weaken, social bonds decline, opportunities become blocked, and deviant subcultures become attractive or accessible. Drug use may begin as experimentation, peer imitation, coping behavior, or reaction to stress, but it may gradually become part of a deviant identity reinforced by social networks and stigma.

Drug-related deviance is therefore both individual and collective. It involves personal choices, but these choices are shaped by social conditions. Youth who experience marginalization, unemployment, family conflict, or weak institutional support may become more vulnerable to deviant peer influence. Trafficking networks exploit such vulnerability by offering money, belonging, or escape from frustration. Thus, the sociology of crime examines not only the act itself but also the social environment that produces and reproduces it.

3.2 Functionalist Explanation

Functionalist theory interprets deviance as a sign of imbalance in the social system. When individuals fail to perform expected roles, or when institutions fail to integrate individuals into the normative order, deviant behavior may emerge. Drug abuse can therefore be seen as a symptom of dysfunction in family, school, labor market, and community institutions. If youth cannot achieve socially valued goals through legitimate means, they may turn to alternative behaviors that provide temporary relief, identity, or belonging.

This approach helps explain why punishment alone is insufficient. If drug use reflects institutional failure, then the solution cannot be limited to punishing users. It must involve restoring the capacity of social institutions to integrate individuals, regulate behavior, and provide meaningful opportunities. The family must regain its supervisory and emotional role; schools must strengthen their preventive and educational functions; and community institutions must provide alternatives to deviant networks.

3.3 Social Learning Theory

Social Learning Theory explains drug use as behavior acquired through interaction with social groups that normalize and reinforce deviant conduct. Individuals do not simply consume drugs in isolation; rather, they often learn motives, techniques, justifications, and attitudes favorable to drug use

through association with peers or networks where such behavior is accepted or encouraged (Al-Musharraf & Al-Jawadi, 2011).

In the Palestinian context, this theoretical explanation is particularly relevant among adolescents and young adults, where peer group influence frequently shapes behavioral experimentation and identity formation. In environments characterized by weak family supervision, limited recreational opportunities, and unstable social conditions, deviant peer networks may become alternative spaces of belonging and recognition. Within such environments, drug use may evolve from experimental behavior into normalized group practice.

This suggests that anti-drug criminal policy should not be confined to penal intervention after the behavior occurs but should also seek to disrupt deviant learning environments through youth engagement programs, educational interventions, mentorship initiatives, and the creation of prosocial peer alternatives.

3.4 Social Disorganization Theory

Social Disorganization Theory links crime and deviance to weakened community structures. When communities experience poverty, instability, weak collective efficacy, and institutional decline, their ability to regulate behavior decreases (Al-Sarsar, 2002). Drug markets often flourish in environments where social control is weak and where residents lack the capacity or confidence to resist criminal networks.

In the Palestinian context, social disorganization may be intensified by political instability, mobility restrictions, economic hardship, and fragmented institutional authority. These factors may weaken community supervision and create opportunities for trafficking networks to operate. The problem is not simply the presence of offenders but the weakness of local social organization that would otherwise prevent the spread of deviant behavior.

This theory supports the argument that formal control must be supported by community-level prevention. Police and courts cannot replace community cohesion. Effective anti-drug policy requires strengthening local institutions, neighborhood cooperation, school-family partnerships, and community awareness. The stronger the informal social fabric, the less pressure falls on formal control institutions.

3.5 Labeling Theory and Stigma

Labeling Theory focuses on the social reaction to deviance. It argues that labeling individuals as deviant may reinforce deviant identity and make reintegration more difficult. In the case of drug users, stigma may prevent individuals from seeking treatment because they fear social rejection, family shame, or legal consequences. Once labeled as addicts or criminals, they may find it difficult to return to normal social roles (Al-Marsafawi, 1981).

Stigma is particularly harmful because it transforms a treatable problem into a hidden problem. Families may conceal addiction, users may avoid treatment centers, and communities may respond with exclusion rather than support. This increases the likelihood of continued use and association with deviant groups. Therefore, effective criminal policy must reduce stigma and promote treatment and reintegration.

A sociological approach does not deny legal responsibility but argues that social reaction matters. If society responds only through exclusion, the offender may become more deeply embedded in deviant identity. If society combines accountability with rehabilitation, reintegration becomes more possible. This is why drug policy should include confidential treatment services, family counseling, social support, and public awareness that distinguishes between traffickers and users in need of treatment.

4. Development of Palestinian Criminal Policy in Combating Drugs

4.1 Historical Legislative Background

The Palestinian legal system inherited a complex legislative environment. Before the development of unified Palestinian legislation, different legal frameworks were applied in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This included Jordanian laws in the West Bank, laws inherited from the Egyptian administration and British Mandate in Gaza, and additional legal effects resulting from Israeli occupation. This fragmentation created legal inconsistency and complicated the development of a unified anti-drug policy.

After the establishment of the Palestinian Authority, efforts were made to unify and modernize legislation. Drug control became one of the areas requiring legal reform because old laws were not sufficient to address the growth and transformation of drug-related crimes. The creation of specialized anti-drug institutions and national committees reflected recognition that the problem required both security and social responses. However, institutional efforts faced practical challenges, including limited territorial control, lack of full sovereignty over borders, and constraints affecting enforcement capacity (Al-Sabah, 2006).

4.2 Law by Decree No. 18 of 2015

Law by Decree No. (18) of 2015 represented a major transformation in Palestinian anti-drug legislation by introducing a unified and modernized legal framework governing narcotic and psychotropic substances. Beyond its technical legislative function, the law reflected a broader strategic shift toward strengthening formal social control and centralizing the state's response to drug-related deviance.

The law expanded the scope of criminalization to include multiple forms of conduct associated with drug markets, ranging from cultivation and trafficking to facilitation, promotion, and possession under specified circumstances. It also intensified punitive measures against trafficking and organized drug activity, thereby demonstrating a legislative orientation grounded primarily in deterrence and incapacitation.

However, from a sociological perspective, the law also reveals the state's prioritization of coercive legal mechanisms over broader preventive and social interventions. Although treatment-oriented provisions were incorporated, the overall architecture of the legislation remains predominantly punitive. This indicates that the Palestinian legislator continues to conceptualize the drug phenomenon primarily through a criminal-security lens rather than through an integrated socio-preventive framework.

4.3 Law by Decree No. 29 of 2020 and Digital Criminalization

Law by Decree No. (29) of 2020 amended the 2015 law by addressing the use of electronic networks and information technology in drug-related crimes. The amendment criminalized creating or publishing websites or using information technology for trafficking, promotion, drug use facilitation, encryption of websites used by traffickers, and dissemination of information on manufacturing, marketing, promoting, or using narcotic substances and psychotropic substances (Palestinian Law by Decree No. 29 of 2020).

This amendment is significant for two reasons. First, it shows that Palestinian criminal policy is adapting to technological transformations in crime. Drug markets are no longer limited to physical locations; they may operate through digital platforms, encrypted communication, and online networks. Second, it reflects the expansion of formal social control into cyberspace. The state now seeks to regulate not only physical drug activities but also digital environments that facilitate drug crime.

Sociologically, this development shows how deviance evolves with social and technological change. As communication technologies expand, criminal networks adapt. The law must therefore respond to new forms of criminal opportunity. However, digital criminalization also requires technical capacity, cyber investigation skills, and coordination between legal and technological institutions. Without such capacity, digital criminalization may remain more symbolic than effective.

4.4 Palestinian Criminal Policy between Deterrence and Social Prevention

The Palestinian approach reflects a strong deterrent logic. Severe punishments aim to prevent trafficking and promotion by increasing the cost of crime. This approach is understandable given the seriousness of drug crimes and their impact on youth and social stability. However, the sociological critique is that deterrence must be combined with prevention and treatment.

A comprehensive anti-drug policy should distinguish between supply-side and demand-side strategies. Supply-side control targets traffickers, smugglers, promoters, and organized networks. Demand-side policy addresses addiction, prevention, youth vulnerability, family support, and social reintegration. If the policy focuses mainly on supply-side punishment while neglecting demand-side prevention, the social roots of the problem remain active.

Thus, Palestinian criminal policy needs to further institutionalize treatment, rehabilitation, and community-based prevention. Such measures would not weaken the law; rather, they would increase its effectiveness by reducing the social conditions that feed drug markets. In this sense, the strongest criminal policy is not the most punitive one, but the one that integrates punishment with prevention and social reconstruction.

5. Limits of Formal Social Control Effectiveness in Combating Drugs

5.1 Structural and Economic Determinants

Drug-related deviance is influenced by structural determinants such as unemployment, poverty, social exclusion, weak opportunities, and economic insecurity. These factors do not automatically produce crime, but they create environments in which deviant alternatives may become more attractive. When legitimate opportunities are blocked, some individuals may seek belonging, income, or escape through deviant networks.

In Palestinian society, structural pressures are intensified by political and economic conditions. Youth unemployment, restricted mobility, unstable livelihoods, and the psychological pressures of occupation may increase vulnerability to drug abuse and trafficking. A criminal policy that focuses only on punishment cannot fully address these structural realities. It may punish the visible act but leave the underlying environment unchanged.

Therefore, anti-drug policy must be connected to development policy. Employment programs, youth empowerment, education, community activities, and psychosocial support are not separate from criminal policy; they are part of prevention. Reducing the social demand for drugs requires strengthening the social conditions that protect individuals from deviant pathways.

5.2 Weakness of Informal Social Control

Informal social control refers to the regulatory role of family, school, religion, peer groups, neighborhood, and community values. These institutions shape behavior before formal law becomes involved. When informal control is strong, individuals internalize norms and receive early correction. When it weakens, the burden shifts to police, courts, and prisons.

The family is the first institution of socialization. It provides emotional support, supervision, discipline, and moral orientation. Family disintegration, weak parental monitoring, domestic conflict, or absence of communication may increase vulnerability to drug use. Schools also play a preventive role by building awareness, discipline, and future aspirations. If schools become disconnected from students' realities, their protective function declines.

Religious and community institutions can also reinforce moral norms and provide social support. However, their effectiveness depends on their ability to communicate with youth in realistic and non-stigmatizing ways. If

prevention discourse is limited to moral condemnation without addressing social pressures, it may not reach vulnerable groups effectively.

5.3 Social Stigma and Barriers to Treatment

Stigma is one of the major obstacles to effective anti-drug policy. In many societies, drug users are viewed primarily as morally corrupt or dangerous, rather than as persons who may need treatment and reintegration. This stigmatizing view discourages users and families from seeking help. It also delays intervention until addiction becomes more severe.

From a sociological perspective, stigma produces secondary deviance. The individual may internalize the deviant label and become increasingly isolated from conventional society. This isolation increases dependence on deviant groups that provide acceptance. As a result, the social reaction to drug use may unintentionally contribute to the continuation of deviance.

Effective policy must therefore reduce stigma while maintaining legal accountability. Public awareness should distinguish between organized traffickers and addicted users. Treatment services should be accessible and confidential. Reintegration programs should help recovering users return to education, work, and family life. Without reintegration, punishment may lead to repeated offending.

5.4 Political and Security Constraints in the Palestinian Context

The Palestinian context presents specific challenges to formal control. Limited control over borders and certain areas affects the ability of law enforcement institutions to monitor trafficking routes and criminal networks. Political fragmentation, movement restrictions, and security constraints complicate coordination and enforcement. These conditions distinguish the Palestinian case from states with full territorial sovereignty.

This specificity means that Palestinian criminal policy operates under exceptional structural constraints. Even a well-designed law may face

implementation difficulties if enforcement institutions cannot fully access all areas or control all routes. Consequently, the effectiveness of policy depends not only on legal texts but also on political and institutional capacity.

These constraints also strengthen the importance of community-based prevention. When formal enforcement faces territorial limits, informal social control becomes even more important. Families, schools, local communities, and civil society organizations can provide early detection, awareness, and support in ways that complement formal institutions.

5.5 Limits of Punitive Deterrence

Punitive deterrence assumes that rational individuals will refrain from criminal behavior when the expected legal consequences outweigh anticipated benefits. While this assumption may hold greater relevance for organized traffickers and profit-driven offenders, its explanatory power is weaker in relation to drug users and socially marginalized individuals whose behavior is shaped by addiction, peer pressure, psychological distress, or structural deprivation.

In drug-related deviance, punishment often addresses the legal manifestation of the problem without resolving its social foundations. Severe penalties may discourage some actors from participating in trafficking networks, yet they are considerably less effective in preventing individuals from engaging in drug use when such behavior functions as a coping mechanism, social adaptation, or result of dependency. This highlights the limited reach of deterrence-based strategies when criminal conduct is not the product of rational cost-benefit calculation alone.

Furthermore, excessive reliance on punitive deterrence may generate secondary harms, including prison overcrowding, reinforcement of stigma, disruption of rehabilitation prospects, and expansion of criminal identity through institutional labeling. Consequently, modern criminological approaches increasingly argue that deterrence should be integrated with

treatment, prevention, and social reintegration rather than treated as a self-sufficient strategy.

6. Discussion

The findings suggest that Palestinian criminal policy has moved from fragmented legal regulation toward a more modernized and comprehensive legislative framework. Law by Decree No. (18) of 2015 unified and strengthened anti-drug regulation, while the 2020 amendment expanded criminalization to digital spaces. This reflects legislative awareness of the changing nature of drug-related crime and the need to adapt formal control to new criminal techniques.

However, from a sociological standpoint, punitive modernization alone does not guarantee effectiveness. Drug-related crime is embedded in social structures, peer networks, community organization, stigma, and political constraints. The persistence of structural inequalities, unemployment, weak informal control, and social exclusion limits the deterrent capacity of criminal law. Therefore, the legal system may respond to crime after it occurs, but it cannot alone prevent the social production of deviance.

These findings are consistent with broader criminological literature emphasizing the limited effectiveness of punitive deterrence when structural determinants of deviance remain unaddressed. They also support the view of social defense theory, which calls for combining legal protection of society with rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders. In this sense, Palestinian criminal policy would be more effective if it strengthened the link between criminal law and social policy.

The Palestinian case demonstrates that criminal policy effectiveness depends on integration. Formal control must be linked with informal control, punishment with prevention, and law enforcement with treatment and social reintegration. A fragmented approach may produce legal severity without social effectiveness. An integrated approach, by contrast, addresses both the criminal act and the social conditions that enable it.

7. Conclusion

This study concludes that Palestinian criminal policy in combating drugs has developed significantly, particularly through Law by Decree No. (18) of 2015 and its 2020 amendment. These legislative developments strengthened formal social control, expanded criminalization, and adapted the law to digital forms of drug-related crime. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of this policy remains limited by structural, social, and political factors.

The study confirms that drug-related crime cannot be controlled through punishment alone. While deterrence is necessary for confronting traffickers and organized networks, it is insufficient for addressing addiction, youth vulnerability, stigma, and the social environments that reproduce deviance. Therefore, the most effective criminal policy is one that integrates punitive measures with prevention, treatment, rehabilitation, and community-based social control.

Based on these findings, the study recommends strengthening community-based prevention programs, enhancing coordination between formal and informal social control institutions, expanding rehabilitation and reintegration mechanisms for drug offenders, reducing social stigma surrounding treatment, and developing specialized technical capacities to address cyber-related drug crimes. Such an integrated approach would make Palestinian criminal policy more responsive not only to the legal form of drug crime but also to its sociological roots.

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