

**TABLE 12-1 A Summary of Models of the Drugs–Crime Connection****Drugs and Crime**

Model	Empirical Support
Enslavement model	Partial
Predisposition model	Partial
Intensification model	Complete (Inciardi, 2002)

**The Drugs–Violence Nexus**

Model	Proportion of Cases
Psychopharmacological model	Minority of cases
Economic-compulsive model	Minority of cases
Systemic model	Majority of cases (Goldstein et al., 1989)

**Heroin and Addiction and Violence**

Model	Studies
Before 1970: economic-compulsive/enslavement model	Many
After 1970: predisposition and systemic model	Many

**Alcohol Consumption and Violence**

Model	Studies
Cognitive-guidedness model	MacAndrew and Edgerton, 1968
Disinhibition/psychopharmacological model	Pernanen, 1991

Researcher James Inciardi argues that a third model, the intensification model, explains the drugs–crime connection. This model agrees that illicit drug use and criminal behavior grow out of the same tendency to engage in illegal, hedonistic, risky behavior. And it also agrees that becoming addicted, even though it does not create criminal behavior from scratch, at least escalates or intensifies the number and seriousness of criminal acts. The same person, when addicted to heroin, commits many more, and more serious, crimes than he or she does when not addicted. Neither the enslavement nor the predisposition model is completely faithful to the facts; only the intensification model, which is something of a synthesis between the two, accounts for the observed relationship between drug use and criminal behavior.

What's the connection between drugs and violence? The connection (or nexus) between the world of drugs and the world of violence has also been subjected to a three-part framework. The psychopharmacological model argues that when high, in their agitated condition, users become excitable, belligerent, hostile, and violent, striking out and even killing others as a result. The economic-compulsive model, much like the enslavement model of the drugs–crime link, argues that drug use and violence are connected because in committing economic crimes, addicts may inadvertently lash out against their victims—for instance, if the victim struggles or resists. It is not the drug that made the addict commit violence but the need to earn money to support the drug habit. And the systemic model argues that the world of drug, especially cocaine, dealing is inherently competitive,