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From Bombay to Mumbai: Understanding 'Postmetropolis' via Jeet Thayil's N*arcopolis*

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Abstract:

Mumbai has witnessed several incarnations in the course of history. From an archipelago of seven islands, it has evolved into one of the largest megacities in the world. The paper intends to highlight the spatial transformation of Old Bombay by critically examining Jeet Thayil's *Narcopolis*. It seeks to analyse the shifting socio-spatial dynamics of the city within the framework of spatial theories, particularly, the notion of 'Postmetropolis' by Edward Soja. Reflecting on the spatial reconfigurations of the city at the thresholds of industrial restructuring and the intensified processes of globalisation, it focuses on the striking disappearance of opium dens from Old Bombay and the emergence of illicit drugs subculture in the transformed urban setting. The paper also seeks to understand how the colossal transformation of socio-spatial structures impacts the characters in the novel.

Keywords: Bombay/Mumbai, space, postmetropolis, opium den, globalisation.

Of late, cities have undergone notable restructuring in their physical manifestation, economy, social configuration, governance and topography. With the culmination of the 'Spatial turn[i]' in humanities and social sciences, the study of space has found new theoretical significance in the contemporary era and certain new ways have been explored to approach the idea of space. As held by many urban theorists, we are now living in an epoch of 'posts': postmodernism, postmetropolitanism, postsuburbia, postindustrialism and postfordism. The approach to study cityspace[ii] as a Postmetropolis has become an important theoretical and pragmatic standpoint in contemporary critical studies. Edward Soja's *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions* is an influential work in urban theory. While explaining the term 'Postmetropolis', he argues that the prefix 'post' denotes the transition of the city from the modern metropolis to some new postmodern forms and patterns of urban life that are continuously challenging well-established modes of urban analysis. The processes of transition are a continuation and overlaying of the modern urban processes and patterns but they are different from their past expression in terms of intensification of global

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consciousness and the expanding scope of global relations. Thus, the postmetropolis represents an outgrowth or an extension of the modern urbanism "a still partial and incomplete metamorphosis that will always bear traces of earlier cityspaces" (Soja, *Postmetropolis* 148).

According to Soja, the 1970s witnessed a "sea change" in which the dominant tendencies of previous forms of urbanization faded and certain new ideas developed in various disciplines to understand the design of multicultural societies, multiple flows, fragmented spatiality and dynamic networks in space (Soja, *Postmetropolis* 149). In order to make "the practical and theoretical sense of new urbanization processes and their effects on the spatial specificities of contemporary urbanism" (155), Soja dwells on six different post-structural and postmodern conceptualizations[iii] or "takes" on cities in general and Los Angeles in particular, assimilating the significant aspects of spatiality in coeval times. He elucidates how the geohistory[iv] of cityspace moves forward towards the contemporary emergence of the postmetropolis which is a product of the most recent wave of crisis-generated restructuring. Soja regards 'Flexcity'[v] and 'Cosmopolis'[vi] denoting the primacy of production and the primacy of globalization respectively, as the most powerful general forces of change affecting contemporary space. The new processes of urbanization have affected the cityspaces worldwide with varying degrees of intensity as Soja writes, "Lagos, Sao Paulo, Bombay, or Singapore provide as revealing a window from which to comprehend the postmetropolis as Los Angeles, Paris, Chicago, or Manchester" (153). Therefore, through a close analysis of *Narcopolis*, the paper attempts to study how Mumbai (erstwhile Bombay), one of the emerging postmetropolises in the world, is adapted to the processes of urban restructuring.

The developing postmetropolis is viewed largely as "a space, a territory, a region, a world of production" with chains of great influence extending into every aspect of urban as well as regional development (Soja, *Postmetropolis* 157). Historically referred to as the 'Urbs Prima in Indis,' Bombay has received enormous attention as a colonial city and as a city of trade. It has witnessed several incarnations over different periods of time and has been a site of tremendous spatial negotiations in the last few decades. Sujata Patel writes, the city is "in the process of transition" (*Bombay and Mumbai* ix) and considered to be the foremost city to

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have experienced "economic, technological and social changes associated with the growth of capitalism in India" (3). At the outset, Bombay was a centre of trade and commerce that subsequently developed its global urge. During the early phases of commercial and industrial development, British colonial authorities developed the multilateral trade agreements. The two trade businesses i.e. Opium trading and textile industry made the city prosperous and a centre for business. Amar Farooqi in his book *Opium City: The Making of Early Victorian Bombay* asserts that the rise of Bombay was facilitated by the so-called outsiders. During 1800-1840, Bombay became a primary exporter of opium and raw cotton, mainly to China (Farooqui xi). He suggests that "it was primarily opium that linked Bombay to the international capitalist economy" and the western Indian hinterland in the nineteenth century (xiii). In a sense, he writes "modern Bombay has its genesis in poppy fields of Bihar" (18). Nevertheless, from the mid-19th century, the Bombay opium merchants channelized their capital into industrial development, particularly, the cotton textile industry.

In *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre acknowledges the city as the site of modernity and the centre for all economic activity. It is here that the fullest effects of urbanization and industrialization are realized. Until the 1950s, Bombay remained a Fordist city and a "cosmopolis of commerce" (Appadurai, "Spectral Housing" 631), dominated by trade, and manufacturing, especially in the realm of textiles[vii]. As part of the wider economic and spatial reorganisation of Bombay, "the crisis generated restructuring" that Soja elaborates in his *Postmetropolis*, embarked on with the decline of the textile industry in the decades after independence leading to huge demographic changes in the city. Gyan Prakash comments, "Where once the city had hummed to the rhythm of its cotton mills and docks, now there was the cacophony of the postindustrial megalopolis" (*Mumbai Fables* 11). Therefore, the reorganisation of Mumbai's urban economic space and the development of a flexibly specialized 'Postfordist industrial metropolis[viii]' with high technology based production, craft-based industrial districts, and the new urban-industrial space economy consisting of finance-insurance-real estate firms (the FIRE sector) have a significant impact on the spatial structure of the city. Appadurai interprets that the emerging geography of postfordism in Mumbai has a set of dying factories at its center, a growing service economy, a working class of fragmented unions, and a workforce that has particularly shifted to the service sector—

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with jobs in restaurants, small offices, the film industry, domestic service, computer cafes, street vending, and the university system ("Spectral Housing" 641). Therefore, from 1980s onwards, Bombay became linked with the world economy and hence transformed into service-orientation (Patel, "Bombay and Mumbai" 17).

Mapping the transition of the city from 1970s to 2004, Thayil's *Narcopolis* locate Mumbai as a city with the characteristics of a postmetropolitan landscape produced by postfordist economic restructuring and forces of globalisation. It is a nostalgic portrait of the cultural as well as spatial transition of Bombay in the post-independence period. It reflects a quick spatial reconstruction of Old Bombay after the liberalisation of the economy resulting in the replacement of old businesses with new ones catering to emerging forms of social consumption. According to Soja, the increasing globality of the metropolis is the primary aspect of the postmetropolitan transition. He points out that the globalisation of labour, capital and culture shape and define an emerging postmetropolis. In this sense, the opium trade played a pivotal role in making Bombay India's most modern city and in developing its global impulse. Thayil calls Bombay a 'narcopolis' which implies a city of narcotics or a city of intoxication. Through an act of recollection, the novel explores the myriad spaces of drugs, addiction, prostitution and deprivation. Upon arriving in Bombay in the late 1970s, the narrator Dom Ellis, a liquor and drug abusing journalist deported from New York for buying dope, is engrossed with seedier side of Bombay, particularly, Rashid's opium den on Shuklaji Street. Swarming with opium dens and brothels, the Shuklaji Street in Old Bombay is a space of drugs, sex and the pitfall of addiction. What he discovers is "Bombay and opium, the drug and the city, the city of opium and the drug Bombay" (Thayil 7). In this way, the opium dens have developed their social and cultural space as Appadurai exclaims in "Commodities and the Politics of Value" that commodities like persons have social lives.

Historical evidences show that smoking opium has been a culture of Chinese life and the Chinese diaspora reintroduced opium in Southeast Asia, the remnants of which are visible in the novel. Narrated through the haze of an opium pipe, *Narcopolis* depicts the reshaping of the metropolitan Bombay by the global flows of drug culture. In Book One, Chapter Four entitled "Mr Lee's Lessons in Living" and Book Two "The Story of the Pipe" brings the reader to the story of Mr. Lee, a Chinese opium dealer from Canton and a self-exiled

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bureaucrat of the Chinese Party who migrates to India to flee Mao's Cultural Revolution. Settling down in Bombay, he establishes his opium den and introduces the city to good quality opium and the ineffable narrating pipe. As opium is put to therapeutic use by Lee, he introduces Dimple, a eunuch and sex worker to opium as an antidote for her pain caused by her castration in childhood. However, she quickly develops an addiction for opium since it was easy "to acquire the habit of opium, for that's what it was, a habit, like bathing twice a day or eating vegetables" (63). Possessing antique opium pipes, his is a "place of fable" that exists outside "the usual lines of supply and demand" (64). Lee teaches Dimple to make pipes and tells her that "the making of the pipe should take longer than the smoking of it" (70). Besides the ethics of pipe making, he instructs her about the right posture to make a pipe and the Cantonese language. Dimple is bequeathed Chinese opium pipes by Lee before his death and his death in the mid - 90's marks the end of an old fashioned 'khana' in addition to a change in opium use.

The novel not only captures how the Old Bombay looked like, but how it tasted and smelt. The book's cover page refers to its description by Daily Telegraph, "This is the Old Bombay as seen from the slums and the gutter, the city illuminated in all its sweat and temper, stories lifting from the streets like the smoke from an opium pipe." After Lee's death, his Chinese opium pipes are transported by Dimple to Rashid's opium den. From its use as a medicine, smoking the mysterious vapours of opium from Chinese opium pipes becomes a source of pleasure at Rashid's den. Moreover, making opium pipes becomes a craft and a means of livelihood for Dimple. In the landscape of menace and drug abuse, opium pipes bring far-reaching fame to the den for its trained staff and "genuine Chinese opium pipes" and encourage a wave of migration to the city from all parts of India and abroad for opium quest (Thayil 136). The alien objects as well as the alien ideas are adopted and what is significant is "the way they are culturally redefined and put to use" (Kopytoff, 67). The migrants are not only opium smokers but also brothel goers. Dimple, a eunuch who acts as a sex worker at a brothel and a pipe maker at Rashid's den, intersects the space of drugs and the space of prostitution.

The entire globe converges into the space of the den and the subsistence of multiple lives in a single homogenizing space of an opium den mirrors the heterogeneous contours of the

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city. Thayil also paints the cosmopolitan character of Bombay of the 1970s and 80s that was an inclusive place and welcomed all communities. The amalgamation of different communities in Old Bombay finds an expression through Rumi's anguish who calls India a "cunt country" (213). He mentions 'the Gujaratis,' 'the Kashmiris,' 'the Madrasis,' the Keralites and Kannadigas,' 'the Punjabis,' 'the Bengalis,' 'the Oriyas,' the Sindhis,' the Christians,' 'the Anglos,' 'the Goans,' 'the UPites and APites,' 'the Parsis and the tribals,' and above all 'the Maharashtrians' who have inhabited the city space. This indicates the existence of a tolerant and multi-ethnic and multilingual cosmopolitan identity of the city. However, in Rashid's opium den, all they have in common is the 'smoke'.

The consumption of opium rapidly multiplies and makes men slaves of it, consequently creating a void in the fabric of the city. However, the narrative progresses to represent a scenario when the popularity of opium is waning and new drugs are gradually invading the city due to the outlawing of opium smoking and opium dens[ix].The novel's beginning sentence recapitulates the physical as well as metaphorical transition of the city. Thayil writes, "Bombay, which obliterated its own history by changing its name and surgically altering its face, is the hero or heroin of this story" (1). Heroin, here, not only implies a drug, but a character in the book that usurps the place of opium and dismantles the lives of the characters. Book Three "The Intoxicated" demonstrates the tumultuous collapse of the opium dens and the proliferation of more dangerous drugs due to economic, political and global dynamics. As "politics, or economics, overrode every other thing in the world," garad heroin comes into the city as "the new thing with the compliments of the Pakistani government, something sweet for the mouth from our Muslim brothers" which Rashid considers as "the devil's own nasha" (142). He even anticipates the future "coming too fast to duck" as he sees all street junkies consuming heroin (143). Sometimes Rashid felt his den disappearing, "a way of life vanishing as he watched the pipes, the oil lamps layered with years of black residue . . . all the rituals that he revered and obeyed" disappearing (148). His neighbour, Khalid encourages him mid-novel to shift into the mushrooming heroin business that is run through a government protected smuggling route opened between Pakistan and Bombay. He seeks to convince Rashid by arguing that "garad is the future of the business" but as a prudent businessman, Rashid refuses to indulge in the powder heroin and prefers traditional opium.

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Rashid claims that heroin addicts are impatient and want to die quickly whereas opium addicts can smoke for several years and be healthy (154).

Postmetropolis can be described as a result of accelerated processes of globalization that simultaneously lead to the localization of the global and the globalization of the local. Ian Chambers observes that this simultaneity results in somewhat "worlding" of the city through its global networks that increasingly take in everyone, everywhere, into universal economic and cultural system (qtd. in Soja, *Postmetropolis* 152). In *Maximum City*, Suketu Mehta observes that “Bombay is where worlds collide” (220). The economic activities and political processes of the 1970s created, in the late 1980s, a new alliance of interests reinforced by the simultaneous impact of globalization and networks of social relations and the intensity of the flows within these networks (Patel, “Bombay and Mumbai” 5). *Narcopolis* explores the rapidly shifting drug trends in Bombay due to transnational flows and Thayil depicts the adverse impacts of globalization on “the broken city” by revealing India’s opium links with China, garad links with Pakistan and smuggling links with Africa (37).

The opium dens continue to be targeted by the city ordinances and efforts are made to shut them down on a wide scale. Out of thirty six chandu khanas on Shuklaji Street, Rashid’s is the only one left perhaps in the entire city. Rashid’s opium den is eventually shut down by the C and E, whose bribes have augmented overnight supporting the new market for powder heroin. All the Bombayites who had been living rather healthy lives smoking opium turn to “deadly” heroin and they are dying very soon. Heroin is further replaced by a more deadly drug called ‘Chemical’ which is produced by further adulterating heroin (150). The addictiveness of this noxious heroin is instant and eventually it seems like all the characters have turned "from chandu to garad," the clients, the pipe-men and even Rashid, who despises it but enjoys the same” (216). A Nigerian referred as the Mandrax man in the novel introduces the characters to ‘white powder’ and when Dom consumes it, he instantly feels his knees “dissolved in the anhydride rush that disconnects neurons from nerve endings, obliterates bones and tissue, and removes anxiety by removing all possibility of pain” (219). Thus, the novel explores the dynamics of an ever-changing, ever-developing and, in several respects, persistently decaying city through the characters' living spaces. The chaotic

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landscape represents the characters disappearing into an emerging subculture of illicit drugs and the entire city submerging in the smoke of heroin and chemical.

During the devastating Hindu-Muslim riots in 1992, Chemical or garad is freely available in the city because as Salim says, "the city belongs to the politicians and the crooks and some of the politicians are more crooked than the most crooked of the crooks" (199). Salim illustrates the destructive effects of garad and points out the mechanics of the industry, "Garad, you know what it means in Urdu? Waste. This is the unrefined shit they throw away when they make good-quality maal for junkies in rich countries" (199). Although the Hindu gods and the Christian gods would never welcome such drugs but "money is the only religion" in Bombay (199). Salim observes that the "city is burning" indicative of the burning of traditional Bombay and the rise of a new Bombay from the ruins of the old one. *Narcopolis* brings into focus the emerging interests of characters leading to the formation of new geographies. The rehab centres begin to evolve to cure the addicts. Dimple and Rumi get admitted to 'Safer', a rehab centre operated out of a Church on Chapel Road that is ironically run by Soporo, a Chinese who came to India with an intention to solve the mystery of one of his ancestors death in Bombay. Falling into the trap of opium addiction, he later chooses to reform the addicts of the ravages of the new drugs. For Thayil, the Old Bombay was a beautiful and liberal place, which has been transformed by the brutal underworld culture. The narrator loses all hope in the city and leaves Bombay.

The final part of the novel unfolds on the contrasting spaces of Bombay and Mumbai. In Book Four, "Some Uses of Reincarnation," Thayil reveals the socio- spatial reconfigurations that take place at the dawn of twenty first century. Saskia Sassen writes that moving into the twenty-first century, the cities adopted a new economic role in an increasingly globalised world, and the associated "architectural and technical revolutions" (12). The process of gentrification of the city, according to Neil Smith, is "'happening on a more massive scale in Shanghai or Mumbai . . . than in the older post-industrializing cities of Europe, North America and Oceania' (196). On revisiting Bombay in 2004, Dom recognizes a radical change in socio-spatial fabric of the city that has been rechristened and altered to a great extent. He sees that the Central Mumbai regions are being converted into new uses, more

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appropriate to developing needs of urban consumption. In the middle of the book, Shuklaji streetscape was described by Thayil as

> a fever grid of rooms, boom-boom rooms, family rooms, god rooms, secret rooms that contracted in the daytime and expanded at night. . . narrow and congested . . . stretched roughly from Grant Road to Bombay Central and to walk along it was to tour the city's fleshiest parts, the long rooms of sex and nasha (135).

It was an idyllic place where various castes, classes and places conversed. However, the narrator is astonished to find the transformation of the entire area between Mumbai Central and Grant Road that has been taken over by real estate builders to erect skyscrapers. The brothels and drug dens have been replaced by "hundreds of tiny cubicles or storefronts, each indistinguishable from the next. The street itself was as cramped ramshackle as ever, but there was a McDonald's on the corner and a mini mall and supermarkets…" (271). The heterogeneity of the Shuklaji Street gives way to uniform patterns of high-rises. In the process of economic and spatial restructuring, Rashid's 'khana' has become an office space with "the plywood partitions and desks under tube lighting and young men and women sat at terminals and spoke into headsets" (271). To argue in Lefebvrian terms, the space of Rashid's den is a product of the modern and postmodern dialectic. Thus, while the space remains the same in terms of physicality, the symbolisms, ideologies and cultural practices associated with that space undergo a sea change.

Sujata Patel in her essay "Bombay and Mumbai: Identities, Politics and Populism" notes that the 1990s was a period of reorganization of Bombay's economic space by the new global economy. During this time, the growth of financial sector and of trade in stocks and bonds, and the entrance of international financial groups in Bombay's Stock Exchange led to other developments, for instance, the rise in investments in the communication industry, real estate, and extension of other services that provide for lifestyle maintenance. *Narcopolis* vividly portrays the reorganisation of the city's economic and spatial forms. With the disappearance of opium dens and brothels on the former red light district, the city is turned into a scintillating archipelago of new blocks, glass and steel buildings, fast food restaurants, malls

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and supermarkets. In other words, the city becomes a commercial and entertainment hub. Thayil laments the eradication of the cultural practice of opium smoking in the opium den from Bombay cityspace by the global narcotics business. Rashid repents, "Garad wrecked everything. If we'd stayed with opium, my place would still be open……so many people would be alive" (285). Therefore, with the purging of the opium dens, Bombay loses nearly all of its physical connection to the early cultural and economic history that helped it to gain its current eminence. The narrator concludes that "the city had changed, but it was still a conglomeration of slums on which high-rises had been built" (269).

The landscape depicted in the concluding part of the novel seems to belong to the 'new' Bombay undergoing transition due to changing trends of consumption. Opium has been replaced by cocaine, MDMA and ecstasy which have become "the new drugs for new Bombay" (281). The novel portrays how new narcotic substances leisurely grip the youth in Bombay and how the new cultural trends lead to the emergence of the new patterns of urban form and behaviour creating broader socio-cultural shifts. Sharon Zukin in his essay "Urban lifestyles: diversity and standardization in spaces of Consumption" highlights that the most important feature of post-industrial cities is their organization around consumption instead of production, evident in an accumulation of urban spaces including malls, cafes, marketplaces, nightclubs, parks and museums. The novel highlights that the postmodern forces of globalization have not only altered the face of the city, it has also transformed the demeanour of city dwellers. Thayil's depiction of Jamal and his fiancée Farheen explores a new generation of young men and women who are willing to restructure their lives around smoking, drinking and consuming new form of drugs that are cheaper and easily accessible. In the glitzy restaurants and bars, cocaine and ecstasy dominate in a communalised social setting. Jamal and Farheen visit club which seems "a cocaine fantasy" to Jamal with shiny surfaces, new mobile phones and laptops, ceilings with changing lights and toilets with ridges to keep the drugs safe. Farheen contradicts the image of a traditional muslim girl with her outward appearance and manners. She has forsaken burkha for jeans and her character represents the massive change in the cultural values of Bombay. The narrative also shatters the image of Bombay as a cosmopolitan space which has turned into a space of ethnic and religious divisions and Thayil says, "the divide has become even larger than what it was"

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(Jaiman). The devastating riots that rocked the city in December 1992 and January 1993 and the subsequent renaming of the city shattered and questioned the "celebration of the city's mythical cosmopolitanism" (Hansen 4). The city came to be structured on communal lines and the polarization of Hindus and Muslims deepened. Rashid comments, "the city has changed, people wear their religion on their faces" (217). Jamal, in the end of the novel thinks that there is no Muslim in the bar, thus there is no harm in giving them drugs, in fact, Farheen says, "it's your duty" (284).

Thayil contemplate a contemporary city that is struggling with the manoeuvrings of postmodern forces of globalization. The dynamic culture of Mumbai continues to evolve and reinvent itself with the changing spatial patterns. He elucidates how the socio-cultural space of Bombay redevelops by means of ultra modern global aesthetics and the previous patterns of place give way to new structures of urbanism. Moreover, the novel portrays Old 'Bombay' disappearing in a wisp of smoke and 'Mumbai' arising out of it. The loss of the opium den and the decline of the opium business symbolically depict the decline of Old Bombay culture and a period of social, cultural and economic transition. The change from Bombay to Mumbai is a change from the quiet, glamorous and romantic world of opium to the quick, modern and degrading world of heroin, cocaine and ecstasy. The popularity of heroin also implies the historic change in the trade of intoxication as it overthrows the age old opium. On the one hand, the globalizing urge of the new world economy has subjected the city to postmodern strategies of urban development; while on the other hand, this very process of globalizing obliterates the traditional impulse. The city of Bombay remakes itself as Mumbai in the course of the novel. By reflecting upon the emerging postmetropolis, Thayil not only makes a nostalgic attempt to reclaim the city but, in the process, creatively recreates the city.

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EndNotes:

[i] Edward W. Soja, a thinker on postmodern geography, introduced the term 'spatial turn', which is "one of the most important intellectual and political developments of the late twentieth century" (Soja, *Thirdspace* 2).

[ii] The city as a social-historical-spatial phenomenon but with its intrinsic spatiality highlighted for interpretive and explanatory purposes.

[iii] The six discourses illustrated by Soja include 'Flexcity', 'Cosmopolis', 'Exopolis', 'Metropolarities', 'Carceral Archipelagos' and 'Simcities', which deliberate on the social and spatial urban experience.

[iv] interwovenness of geography and history

[v] 'Flexity' implies the emergence of a postindustrial era known as 'postfordism' based on 'flexible specialization'. 'Fordism', the term first used by Gramsci in 1920s in reference to the automobile industry, signifies the era of capitalist development from the 1920s to the early 1970s. As opined by Allen (1992), fordism is "an era of mass, standardized goods produced for mass markets, created by an interventionist state which gave people the spending power to make mass consumption possible" (Allen, *Post Industrialism* 185).

[vi] The economically, politically and culturally heterogeneous, globalized city-region (Soja, *Postmetropolis*)

[vii] The textile industry formed the economic base of Bombay in the nineteenth century and was regarded as India's first modern industry. The first Indian cotton mill i.e. Bombay Spinning Mill was started in Tardeo in 1856, moving to four mills in 1862 and 21 new mills were added by 1885 and there were 52 mills operating by 1975.

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[viii] Edward Soja describes postfordism as "a deconstruction (not destruction or erasure) and reconstitution (still only partial, ongoing, and incorporating selective components of the older order) of Fordist and Keynesian political economies" (*Postmetropolis* 170).

[ix] The first step to regulate opium smoking was taken in 1936 with the enactment of the Bombay Opium Smoking Act (XX of 1936), which, by prohibiting opium smoking in assembly, allowed for the abolition of opium smoking dens. The final action under the Bombay Prohibition Act, 1949 to give effect to the policy of complete abolition was taken. Possession of opium (with the exception of opium to be lawfully used for medicinal or research purposes) is forbidden by any person other than a licensor. Allowances for possession of opium in any form for personal use are given only to individuals approved by a government-constituted medical board, as requiring opium for particular medical reasons. Accordingly, the legal use of opium, whether orally or through smoking, is limited to users who are passed by the medical board and the collector has issued permits (https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/bulletin/bulletin_1957-01-01_3_page002.html)