Framing Drug Use

Bodies, Space, Economy and Crime

John L. Fitzgerald

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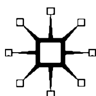

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Preface

It seems that wherever you are on the globe, drug use is a problem. In 2006 the World Health Organization (WHO) noted that in three regions of the world, injecting drug use was the most common cause of HIV infection, outstripping unsafe sex. Regardless of the numerous wars on drugs in North America, Plan Colombia in South America, the fight against the Taliban in Afghanistan, the paramilitary wipeout of dealers in Thailand and the prosecution of the mafia in Europe, illegal drug use has continued to expand. Illegal drug use is a core economic and human capital concern for government.

Since the 1970s we have seen a cascade of drug 'epidemics' – cocaine, heroin and ecstasy. All these waves of drug use have had their roots in cultural and economic transition, and none have been resolved through the enforcement of law. Increasingly, it is being appreciated that drug use needs to be understood as a social and cultural problem requiring social and cultural solutions.

Criminology, sociology, urban anthropology and cultural studies have been grappling with the problem of drug use for decades. From early interactionist sociology to subculturalist accounts and world systems theories, drug use has both fascinated and confounded analysis. As a cultural problem drug use stands as an exemplar of an intractable, necessary consequence of modernity, a product of our cultural, political and industrial systems.

At a policy level, the two opposing camps of prohibition and harm reduction have dug in and the contest between these two positions has become institutionalized and sedimented. Drug policy debates now seem to recycle old rhetoric. They fail to capture the public imagination, engender compassion or drive the quest for new solutions. At a time when it seems the intractable has defeated analysis, where do we now go for insight into drug problems?

Framing Drug Use: Bodies, Space, Economy and Crime takes a fresh look at the terms through which we frame drug use. The approach, guided by the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and informed by poststructuralist semiotics, cultural phenomenology and contemporary theories of affect, illuminates the connections between drugs, bodies, space and economy.

In the tradition of Alphonso Lingis, the work is formed through a collection of essays that take the everyday as their object and place the

everyday experience of the world into a global context. This collection builds connections between the specific bodies formed through drug use in concrete contexts and the social and economic assemblages that sustain the conditions for the production of these bodies.

This approach, characterized by discourse analysis and ethnographic detail, distinguishes this book from theoretical accounts, such as *High Cultures* (Alexander and Roberts, 2003), and purely empirical accounts, such as *Drug War Heresies* (MacCoun and Reuter, 2001). In a similar vein to more recent ethnographically informed texts such as *Dwellers of Memory* (Riaño-Alcalá, 2006) and *Hooked on Heroin* (Lalander, 2003), this book locates itself in concrete contexts and interprets with an eye to larger social forces. It sets itself apart from realist ethnographic writing, however, through the use of detailed analytical tools that interrogate the discursive practices, affective modulations and cultural frames that perpetuate the constrictive frameworks we use to understand drug use.

Although each chapter stands alone, materials from specific case studies, including images and field notes, are cross-referenced throughout the book. These overlaps help identify coherences and sometimes inconsistencies. After the introductory Chapter 1 and an overview of the field presented in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 examines why a television commercial for a drug treatment service aired on Australian television in 1998 had to be taken off air. Using a formalist analysis of advertisements and the injecting scenes in popular film, the chapter makes connections between the fictive accounts of injecting in cinema and the realism of public television community service announcements. Moving on from narrative analysis I then draw on contemporary neuroscience to explore alternative ways of conceptualizing the relations between a desire to use drugs and the images of drug use. Chapter 4 also focuses on the syringe. In this case the poststructuralist semiotic analysis examines the power of the syringe as a sign that gets constituted and reconstituted in news and popular media. Using an illustration of an advertisement for Barnardo's (a UK-based children's charity) the chapter offers a concrete explanation for why the syringe can be such a powerful sign of fear in news media.

Chapter 5 combines an analysis of the music, drugs, dancing and drug dealing at a rave. Different elements are plugged together to produce both beauty and monstrosity. In contrast, Chapter 6 explores the discursive practices of drug photography. The face of the drug user (and its absence), both literally and metaphorically, is a critical mechanism through which we establish an imaginary landscape of drug user identity. The next chapter looks at the considerable developments in rethinking the links between space and affect. Chapter 7 examines the

deployment of power through a critical and situated analysis of spatial practices in two drug dealers' houses. In this analysis the ethnographic detail describes how drug dealing and the violence associated with it need to be understood in terms of spatial economies.

Chapter 8 uses contemporary global movement theory to examine the changing relationships between the alcohol industry and men's health organization Movember, and how cause-related marketing has been used to maintain a thirst for identity and belonging through drinking. Following on from this interest with sociality, Chapter 9 looks in detail at the spatial practices of a street drug market. Open street drug markets throughout the world provide the most abhorrent visual evidence of the damage of drug use. This chapter takes a close look at one street drug market and explores the relationship between the signs of drug use and the mobilization of fear.

The focus changes in Chapter 10 to a concern with trying to understand the relationships between illegal drug markets and development. Rather than drug markets being seen as parasitic on new market economies, this chapter outlines a theory where drug markets constitute the terms of economic transition through the establishment of class, labour and commodity relations. In Chapter 11, a different relationship is explored. Here, the connections between the experience of drug use and the operations of capital are brought together in an analysis of the power of hope in driving the demand for amphetamines, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) drugs and selective serotonin reuptake inhibitor (SSRI) antidepressants. Hope radically drives drug consumption through engaging with a need to modulate with the world, to create the body as a test site.

In Chapter 12, the discursive practice of constructing an overdetermining force associated with drug use is explored through an examination of the role of drugs in drug-facilitated sexual violence. Drawing on fieldwork from a rural Australian town, I ask difficult questions about why ethnographers have often concluded that drugs *cause* sexual violence and fail to integrate the same causality with the force of economic need, gendered identity or masculine power. Pharmacological omnipotence in the sexual encounter needs to be compared and contrasted with these other powerful social forces if we are to move beyond a simplistic, reductionist account of how drugs contribute to sexual violence.

The final chapter explores the assemblages created between people, drugs and the world to open a window of understanding into what it means both to be human and, at a more fundamental level, to become more than oneself. In a most abstract way, drugs reveal something about

users and their relationship to the world around them. This is not a libertarian account to promote drug use: quite the opposite. The chapters in this book are bound together in a challenge to grand drug narratives such as 'drugs are bad', or 'drugs cause violence' or 'addiction is a brain disease'. Often the truths of one's bodily experience are revealed in the relations to the specific conditions of our existence. The final chapter illustrates the power of the specific over the general, the empirical over the discursive and synthesis over reduction. Whether a drug causes harm or not is not a quality inherent in a drug. When drugs combine with bodies, they change the parameters of the perceptible world. Opening up to the changing conformations of the world is a risky thing. Sometimes drugs cause horrendous damage, sometimes they produce intense pleasure. Becoming-other 'with the world' is a modulation of the body that is at the core of value and at the centre of life. When we learn about how drugs affect bodies, we learn as much about the world as we do about the drugs. The drug researcher's task is to be open to this epistemology, to this way of knowing the world through drugs.

Acknowledgements

This work has emerged from over ten years of fieldwork among drug users, drug service providers, politicians, policy makers and academic colleagues. The research has received support from numerous sources, notably the Australian National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC), the Australian Research Council (ARC) and the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth). Work related to the needle and syringe cultures exhibition presented in Chapter 5 was supported by funding from Nanotechnology Victoria (NanoVic), ASP Healthcare, VIVAIDS (Victoria's drug user group) and AIVL (Australia's injecting and illicit drug users league).

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A version of Chapter 7 was published as J. L. Fitzgerald (2009) 'Mapping the Experience of Drug Dealing Risk Environments: An Ethnographic Case Study', *International Journal of Drug Policy* 20(3), 261–9.

A version of Chapter 9 was published in J. L. Fitzgerald and T. Threadgold (2007) 'Desire and the Abject in the City Becoming-Other', *Cultural Studies Review* 13(1), 36–53.

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1
Introduction: Who Is Responsible?

There is a reason we continue to have drug use problems. Drug use is complicated. Drug use can come to mean many things in different contexts, and how we try to control drug use can vary enormously. From my own policy practice, considerable diversity can be seen in how people approach drug use: drug criminals in rural Indonesia are sometimes chained to trees; until recently, drug users in Ecuador were given the same 'rehabilitation' treatment as homosexuals; in the Chinese autonomous region of Xinjiang, methadone was considered only a superficial treatment for opiate addiction because it was a Western pharmaceutical; in Somalia, chewing the leafy pseudoephedrine-containing plant 'khat' is considered a part of masculine political culture; and in some parts of Uzbekistan, a good mother learns how to inject her children with drugs, a practice considered abhorrent by many mothers in other parts of the world.

For some, psychoactive drug use is revolting. It makes no sense to ingest, inject or inhale a substance for the purpose of changing how you encounter the world. The drug user who voluntarily chooses to distance themselves from the world around them in search of a pleasurable 'stone', 'fix' or 'hit' is for some people incomprehensible. For others, drug use is a normal part of life. As medical anthropologist Cecil Helman once observed, drugs can be food, a fuel or a tonic (1981); the meaning of a drug should always be considered in the context of its use.

The issue of managing drug use and drug users can polarize populations and fracture politics depending on what forces are in contest. Drug use is considered by some to be a free choice about personal lifestyle. Others believe that the economic and structural violence of the 'system' forces marginalized poor people to use drugs. For some users, drug use is foisted upon them by external forces, such as peer pressure. For

others, overwhelming internal forces (personality, craving, addiction, depression) coerce them to use drugs. Force, be it internal, external or a combination of both, looms large as a common thread to understanding drug use.

With such complexity come diverse approaches that try to make sense of drug use. A first step in trying to understand drug use is to identify how the problem of drug use is being framed. This book is an analysis of the contesting forces that are involved when people use drugs. Within this broad endeavour, I have taken an empirical approach, where I focus on specific drug use settings and analyse the relevant contest of forces. Sometimes this involves examining the force of economics, sometimes it involves the force of emotion, sometimes the force of physical pleasure and sometimes the force of culture.

In following this approach, I use a set of analytic strategies and a philosophical model of the human subject derived from the work of Gilles Deleuze, Michel Foucault and other theorists for whom force is a central concern. This will be a challenge to readers in disciplines that are not familiar with these writers. Some disciplines (such as criminology and pharmacology) are characterized by their capacity to renew themselves by a voracious ability to take on new ideas (Lippens and van Calster, 2010). Other disciplines may find it difficult to look beyond their own epistemic borders. This book will also challenge those who are firmly located in a specific theory of drug use, not because I attempt to undermine any particular theory, but because I ask people to look at how force operates in their own explanatory frameworks.

The analytic techniques I use could broadly be called poststructuralist, as they are designed to look at how force is mediated through the varied structures inherent in our everyday lives. I examine the spatial practices, streetscapes, languages, signs, photographs, stories, routines, social organizations and frameworks of everyday life, with a keen eye on how the various forces operate and come to shape the way we use drugs. The focus is on the everyday because force is often most imperceptible when it is seemingly a natural part of life.

This focus on force is unusual in drug and alcohol research. Force, however, is a central concern when understanding the strength of emotions in the drug and alcohol arena. One reason drugs evoke strong emotion is because force can be coercive, and most people like to think that they determine their own future. This is a curious and disturbing quality of drugs and the human condition. We are always subject to forces; it is a defining character of being human. What drugs reveal

in their action is the degree to which different forces determine our choices. So while the book is notionally about drugs, it is also a book about the human condition.

My intention with this book is to identify opportunities that bring the reader into a deeper understanding of the complexity of drug use. I do not have a central theorem or barrow to push about the politics of drug use or which research methods are best. I do have one commitment, and that it is to enhance the care, compassion and sense of responsibility we all have in managing drug use. In the same way we are all subject to forces, we all, to some extent, participate in those forces that shape the world around us. The consequence of this new framework I am proposing is that care, compassion and responsibility might come to replace blame and punishment as central terms that define how we approach drug control.

Concerns to control the force of the human 'appetite' for intoxicating substances appear as far back as the ancient Platonic dialogues (Rinella, 2010). Central to these texts is the figure of the *pharmakos*, a criminal character who continues in modern times as an icon in drug policy, philosophy and criminology (Szasz, 1974; Derrida, 1981; Rinella, 2010; Mountian, 2013).

As Mountian (2013) suggests, the *pharmakos* is one of a series of terms – the *pharmaka* – that includes the *pharmakeus*, the *pharmakon* and the *pharmakos*. These terms map out ancient Greek relationships between some very old concerns about selfhood, memory, potions, magic, social exclusion and our capacity to manage desires (Derrida, 1981, 1995). The *pharmakon* is, on the one hand, a simple originary term for drug. It is also a complex term meaning sacrament, remedy and poison. It is from this term that modern pharmacology emerged, and the complexity of the term is retained in the character of how we manage psychoactive substances.

There is a tale attached to the criminal figure of the ancient Greek *pharmakos*. As Szasz (1974) notes and others have expounded (Derrida, 1981; Mountian, 2013) the *pharmakos* was a scapegoat. The criminal *pharmakos* was expelled from the city through a ritual sacrifice in a social and political act where the ills of the city were symbolically cleansed (Rinella, 2010). Subsequently, there has been a long history of punishing both the image and the body of the drug user to alleviate a collective anxiety about social order.

Illegal drug use is often framed as a problem of selfhood, uncontrolled desires and the state (Sulkunen, 2009). Consequently, illegal drug users are often framed as immoral, mad, bad or sad (Shapiro, 1999;

Mountian, 2013). Over the past century, drug use has been framed in numerous ways (Musto, 2002): a moral pathology (Mold, 2008); a mental deficiency; a symptom of oppression sickness (Singer, 2001); an economic development problem (Klein, 2008); a chronic relapsing brain disease (Leshner, 1997); even a product of autonomous craving (Childress et al., 2008). The picture is not, however, that simple. The complexity of the *pharmakon* continues to confound, as singular neurochemical models continue to provide only partial explanations for human drug use behaviours (Hall et al., 2003). As foreshadowed by the ancient taxonomy, drug use and drug users are defined by the forces that shape them.

An indication that this complexity has been recognized can be found in the diverse ways drug use is regulated. There is now, however, widespread recognition that the prohibition of illegal drug use is a historical artefact. It is not necessarily natural or rational to prohibit drugs in the way that we do. The current regulatory arrangements for illegal drugs have emerged as a consequence of the complex social histories and approaches across many different types of state and supra-state conventions, and regional agreements (Musto, 2002). Today, cannabis is regulated differently in different US states. Mandatory sentences for crack cocaine across the United States have been wound back. In different parts of the world, the legal status of psychoactive drugs can differ substantially. For example, the decriminalization of small quantities of illegal drugs has been undertaken in such diverse settings as the Netherlands, Portugal, Australia and Ecuador. It is now acknowledged that many forces are involved in regulating human drug use and that managing illegal drug use is a wicked problem not amenable to simple solutions.

Foucault identified in ancient Greek texts that discussion of the control of appetites were really questions about the control of both individual and social forces (1986; Rinella, 2010). Although Foucault was focused on sexuality, it did not escape his attention that the forces exerted on the self by the self and by the social were essential in establishing the possibility of a subject. This model of the subject as being constituted by force has equivalents in a number of related philosophical traditions.

Henri Bergson (1991), a nineteenth-century vitalist philosopher, believed in a radical humanity, where desire was collective and the human was only human by virtue of a particular configuration of matter or energy that enabled the production of a particular kind of body. Deleuze, following Bergson, was similarly focused on how the

modern subject could be understood as an assemblage of forces. There has, however, been confusion regarding the contribution of Deleuzian philosophy in applied settings. Rosi Braidotti (1996) suggests in her application of Deleuze in the feminist arena:

> I see a real danger that the complex and highly articulate structure of Deleuze's redefinition of subjectivity becomes split between, on the one hand, a more 'socio-economic' angle, which inscribes the French master alongside other leading thinkers of the 'post-industrial' or 'post-fordist' economic system, and on the other, a more 'aesthetic' aspect, which inscribes Deleuze in a continuum with the cultural and literary generation who invented 'the linguistic turn'. This would be in my eyes a reductive reception of Deleuze's work and one which would spectacularly miss the point of his complex re-articulation of subjectivity as an assembled singularity of forces. (p. 305)

There are a number of points to be drawn from this observation. First, what Braidotti is referring to here is the misconception of Deleuze as simply a 'postmodernist'. Deleuze was, foremost, a poststructuralist philosopher. There is a growing academic literature on the philosophy of Deleuze, and as always some is valuable and some less so. Deleuze's writings are not easy to understand, but the benefits of grasping the full consequences of his analytical approach are well worth the time. By putting Deleuze's analytic tools to work on empirical materials, I hope to explain this Deleuzian philosophy. It should be noted, however, that I don't always use Deleuzian analyses in each chapter of this book.

The most significant contribution made by Deleuze to this work is his basic model of the subject as an assemblage of forces. Rather than the subject being a conscious, autonomous sovereign individual, Deleuze suggests the individual is better understood as a kind of meeting point of social and abstract forces that together form a body that still makes choices, albeit in a highly contested context.

This is the key political 'so what' in *this* book. By using a range of analytic tools that demonstrate the links between drugs, bodies, space and capital, we come to know how central drugs are to our everyday. Each chapter shows a series of connections. These ontological connections will, I hope, come to form the basis of our care, compassion and collective responsibility. With this greater sense of connection to the world around us, we should find ourselves implicated in that world, and as a consequence take more responsibility for it. This is not just

an intellectual exercise. There is an ethical and moral dimension to this kind of analysis.

Mountian (2013) suggests that we should try to avoid morality when examining drug discourse (p. 10). I do not believe we *can* escape morality when thinking about drug use. This work should bring you closer to drug use by making clear how connected we are to those forces that insert drugs into the many different aspects of our lives. It is only through seeing our proximity to drugs that we can act with compassion and care for the world around us.

2
Navigating a Pharmacoanalysis

There have been numerous attempts to provide a comprehensive account of the relationships between drugs, bodies, culture, economy and the everyday. Popular books such as Griffith Edwards' *Matters of Substance* (2005) and Jim Orford's *Excessive Appetites* (2001) emerged from psychological medicine and have focused on rationality and evidence. Mariana Valverde's *Diseases of the Will* (1998) demonstrated that the larger systems of knowledge through which we understand drug use, such as those from psychology and medicine, achieve their effects through historically contingent processes and sometimes through the simple 'piling up of rationalities'. The dominance of moral discourse in the late nineteenth century was overtaken by pharmaceutical science in the mid-1900s, then by the social sciences in the 1970s, then by psychology, neuroscience and most recently through the ubiquitous 'bio-psycho-social' model of drug use. This final, all-encompassing system of knowledge about drug use has attempted to be all things to all people, to account for many of the complexities of drug use through its inclusive framework. Valverde's metaphor of the 'piling up of rationalities' sums up the bio-psycho-social approach to understanding drug use and also highlights its pitfalls.

The encyclopaedic character of the bio-psycho-social approach to drugs has its place, but while it flourishes in terms of its broad descriptive capacities, it often falls down when it comes to analysing the cultural and economic specificities of drug use. Because the bio-psycho-social model has emerged from psychological medicine and positivist science, it has some significant blind spots when it relates to core concerns in the humanities. While it is helpful to note that biological, psychological and social factors contribute to drug effects, it is another thing to try and use this framework to examine how power is deployed,

how risk is constructed and how value is derived from drug experiences. Core concerns of humanities research such as power, knowledge, capital, space and the body are left under-explained in this model.

With this book I move away from the bio-psycho-social model. It does not try to provide an expansive account of drug use through a single set of positivist knowledges. Rather, it has as its starting point a toolbox approach to knowledge-making, drawn from a different set of theories and analyses. The toolbox contains analytical tools derived from poststructuralist theorists ranging from Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Gilles Deleuze, Avital Ronell and Alphonso Lingis. This toolbox also includes empirical tools. The empiricism has its roots in the anthropological writing tradition of theoretically informed methods of ethnography or TIME (Willis and Trondman, 2000), where theoretical work draws from the messiness of engaging with empirical methods through a practice of writing the world.

The toolbox also includes a commitment to locate reflections about the nature of knowing, being and becoming in the stories of the banal and the everyday. This style of engagement, exemplified through the work of Lingis (1994, 2000, 2004, 2007), tries to position larger commentaries on the nature of discourse through its interpenetration in the character, experience and complexity of bodies, spaces and desires. The focus of this work is the transformation of phenomenological terrains into cultural and philosophical landscapes. I draw on early interactionist and sociological accounts; on the work of subcultural analysts such as Jock Young and later on the anthropological work of Avril Taylor, Lisa Maher and Phillippe Bourgois. The core focus is on how the structures of the world relate to drug use through culture, economy and discourses of gender and otherness.

This book also has links to a small but distinct hybrid literature that has emerged in recent times from the areas of cultural studies, women's studies, philosophy and the humanities. Characterized by the work of Richard Klein (*Cigarettes Are Sublime*, 2003), Helen Keane (*What's Wrong with Addiction?*, 2002), Richard Grandpre (*Ritalin Nation*, 2006) and Anna Alexander (*High Culture*, 2003), this literature takes as its objects the epistemological and ontological character of drug discourse.

Central to each of the chapters is an understanding of drug use borne out of the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze (1994), and Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (1987). Although not known as drug scholars, they nonetheless use drug use as an exemplar in their philosophy. Their construction of drug use poses an alternative philosophical framework for thinking about how drug use relates to the matter-energy of the world.

The orthodox Western narrative of drug use, best understood as a mythical story of wilful subjects on a journey of suffering and redemption, casts drug use as pathological pleasure-seeking arising from of a loss of will. This is only a partial account. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) suggest that drug use *per se* is not necessarily pathological. Drugs, like meditation, are one way to encounter the world. It is the continued quest for drugs as a mechanism to 'become-other' that is problematic.

A key to understanding Deleuze's contribution to thinking about drug use is to appreciate the ontology he proposes, as it stands in stark contrast to that used in orthodox drug research. Deleuze comes from a vitalist tradition with origins in Bergson's work in the late nineteenth century (Bergson, 1991). For Deleuze, the world is matter-energy. All objects (organic and non-organic) are composed of the same material. We are formed through processes or 'machines' that 'individualize' us into our familiar forms. Individual bodies connect with each other to form 'assemblages' of desire (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). These assemblages can be between humans, organic and non-organic objects. There are no sovereign individuals with a discrete consciousness or subjectivity. For Deleuze, we are collective. Desire is not an attribute of the individual, rather it is a flow of energy through an assemblage. Drug use, for Deleuze, is a means through which individual bodies alter their speed of perception, not unlike meditation, so that they can see the world in its de-individualized state. When intoxicated, the boundaries of the world collapse and meld into each other. The familiar world disappears and the world becomes 'other'. When we 'become-other' we plug into the matter-energy of the world and see it for what it is. This experience is beautiful, dangerous and horrific (Deleuze, 1994, p. 237).

According to this framework, the spaces of drug use may not be pathological sites, but rather phase shifts in the world as it becomes-other. These are not shifts in time, but in dimension. Deleuze alone, and with Guattari (and later Massumi), posits that becoming-other is a 'desire to escape bodily limitation' (Massumi, 1992, p. 94), a liminal state, a movement between forms. From this viewpoint encountering drug use is a little like changing the coordinates of the perceptible world. In Deleuzian terms, we begin to see the world become-other and encounter the limits of the sensible world. These limits are made visible through an encounter with the drug user's body. The limits of the sensible world are exposed when the body of the drug user becomes part of the world around us and as a consequence when the world becomes bits of the drug user's body. It is the strangeness that arrives

in the encounter of the world-becoming-other that is most frightening and most seductive.

Deleuze and Guattari call the philosophical analysis that interrogates the shifting dimensions of the world a 'pharmacoanalysis'. This type of analysis doesn't need to be considered philosophical. We usually associate witnessing profound changes in the coordinates of the world as coming about through altered states. Deleuze and Guattari suggest we should be looking at the world as constantly changing, and that it is only through recognizing the instability of the world, the capacity of the world to become-other, that we can recognize the potential for life. They developed this philosophical account of drug use in reaction to the orthodox account:

> There is a discourse on drugs current today that does no more than dredge up generalities on pleasure and misfortune, on difficulties in communication, on causes that always come from somewhere else.... It is our belief that the issue of drugs can be best understood only at the level where desire directly invests perception, and perception becomes molecular at the same time as the imperceptible is perceived. Drugs then appear as the agent of this becoming. This is where pharmacoanalysis would come, in which must be both compared and contrasted to psychoanalysis.
>
> (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 283)

Pharmacoanalysis could just be a wordplay to open up a critique of the determinist imperatives of psychoanalysis that is implicit in the above text. However, it is also a re-engineering of the focus of analysis away from the abstractions of structuralism in its many guises and onto the specific configurations of bodies. It is a calling for both a radical empiricism and radical abstraction.

Deleuze's interest in contrasting 'pharmacoanalysis' with psychoanalysis comes out of a deeper critique of psychoanalysis that was of interest in French philosophy from the late 1960s until the late 1980s. Without getting into the detail here, it is worth understanding how pharmacoanalysis is meant to work in contrast to a traditional psychoanalytic approach. Deleuze and Guattari believe a pre-formed unconscious structures psychic life and that the unconscious stands in the way of our 'perception consciousness system' (1987, p. 284). The imperceptible never becomes perceptible, and our contact with the world is blocked. For Deleuze, the unconscious is *made* through experimentation: 'You have to produce the unconscious' (Deleuze and Parnet,

1987, p. 78). As a consequence, for Deleuze desire is not a property of an individual, desire is a flow of matter-energy through which the unconscious is produced in specific social and political fields. Desire is collective. It is a flow of matter-energy through bodies. This contrasts significantly with the desire of psychoanalysis, which is understood as a barely controlled internal force that drives psychic life. According to Deleuze, desire is constructed through its production in a social and political field, without a structure underpinning its irruption.

This collectivist, positive approach to desire is what first attracted me to Deleuze and Guattari many years ago. I was tired of the desire for drugs being framed as emerging from any number of pathologies or deficits, depending on the theoretical frame. The desire for drugs could rise from a deeper need to seek a phallus (as in a Lacanian tradition) or arise from 'oppression sickness' (from the North American public health left) or from psychobiology's construction of addiction as a 'brain disease'. Deleuze and Guattari's version of desire was, at least at face value, one that could account for the social context (desire is collective), abstract forces (capital is included in their approach) and was positive (the flow of desire was not replacing something that was lost).

In an interesting twist, although Deleuze and Guattari are positive about desire, they are actually very critical of drug use. They note that drugs are too 'unwieldy' (1987, p. 286), they are a blunt tool and overuse can in fact be very damaging. Deleuze and Guattari take a balanced approach to drug use. They require a balance between seeking the imperceptible (as this brings one into contact with the world) and maintaining structure. Although they use drug use as an illustration of the capacity to engage with an imperceptible world, they use the figure of the drug addict as emblematic of desire gone wrong. This has consequences for what they call pharmacoanalysis.

Deleuze and Guattari are not pro-drug use. They believe there is an artifice and a risk in the contact with the imperceptible achieved through drug use. The risk is that continued contact with the limits of sensibility causes desire to directly invest perception and the perceived, and although the drug-affected body can perceive the world through altered coordinates, the continued direct investment of desire into perception distances the individual from the structured world around them. By being totally immersed in desire, we distance ourselves from forming the connections that allow desire to flow. In their terms we botch our bodies when we seek to become-other too much. The body is emptied of its structures and 'you will no longer be master

of your speeds' of perception, and the individual loses touch with the perceptible world.

Being a master of one's speeds is not an individualist task. Finding the balance between invention and stability is not an individualist endeavour. Rather, the task of making a body is always and already a social and political act occurring in a social and political field. Pharmacoanalysis therefore requires a commitment to exploring a collective constitution of the subject in social and political fields, with a keen eye for the moments of transformation and connection with the imperceptible. Pharmacoanalysis is not for or against drugs; it is pro-experimentation, with whatever molecules are at hand.

Pharmacoanalysis is therefore shorthand for a particular toolbox of analytical approaches. It is an analytical framework through which to examine the coordinates of the world, rather than a framework to simply examine drug use. The pharmacoanalysis being undertaken here is not just an application of Deleuzian philosophy, it is a broader interrogation of the ways in which the world becomes apparent to us through drug use. In one sense, I see this as a deeply Deleuzian book, although not all the chapters make direct recourse to the Deleuzian lexicon. In another sense, the work is quite utilitarian in how I use a variety of theories and analytic tools to make my case. Pharmacoanalysis is a philosophical guide to an encounter with life and with a style of analysis that encourages experimentation with different analytic tools that can write the world in different ways. Accordingly, rather than sequentially build a new model of drug users, or develop a heuristic account of drug use and culture, each chapter articulates a snapshot of a drug user – world relation. Each chapter illuminates the kind of relations that may operate at different times, in a variety of discourses and with very different analytical and material consequences. Some are explicitly Deleuzian, as I draw on some of Deleuze's philosophical and analytic terminology to make my arguments, while others barely touch on Deleuze. At the heart of this pharmacoanalysis is a willingness to look for connections using a variety of analytical strategies, depending on the empirical material before me – pro-experimentation with whatever is at hand.

3
The Image of Drug Desire

In 1995 Desmond Manderson published a seminal academic piece on the symbolism of drugs (Manderson, 1995). Most drug scholars will know this piece as an important commentary that significantly improved our understanding of syringes, symbolism and drug laws. Manderson's thinking about the syringe is in many ways an exemplar of how we come to know, fear and obsess about drugs. The syringe has graphic, representational, indexical and metaphoric qualities that make it one of the most powerful and resonant images of drug use in contemporary society (Vitellone, 2004, 2010; Kleinig, 2006).

Commentators also believe the symbolism has a duality that confounds. It encapsulates the problem of drugs; they can be both remedy and poison (Derrida, 1995; Mountian, 2013). The syringe can deliver healing and it can be the source of horrific infection. It is the ambiguity and duality of the symbolism that is the source for conflict, and for intense pleasurable obsession (Moore et al., 2014).

Outside the academy, the ambiguity of the syringe in popular culture produces an altogether different set of outcomes. Although cinema has a long history of presenting monsters with syringes, it also presents syringes as objects of desire and longing (Curtis, 2007). Popular culture through cinema thrives on the pleasure of ambiguity. A syringe in the hands of *Pulp Fiction*'s (1994) lead character of Vincent (John Travolta) is at one point a beautiful image of medical technology and at the next a life-saving emergency tool. *X-Men*'s (2003) Wolverine (Hugh Jackman) becomes superhuman following an injection with liquid metal, and then later in the film defeats another mutant – Lady Deathstrike – by injecting her with an overdose of the same material. The syringe possesses an innate ambiguity, it can cure, heal, make superhuman or maim and kill.

There is a strong literature on drugs and film (Curtis, 2007; Powell, 2007). Using the analytical tools of philosopher Gilles Deleuze, Annastasia Powell explores how drug cinema alters us by 'affective contamination' or ways of engaging people through affect. However, the kind of affect and desire used in this kind of analysis is different from that usually encountered in health sociology (del Rio, 2008). In this approach, images engage with the viewer through a kind of melding, or morphing, of the individual with the world around them. Affect is not so much an emotion emanating from an individual, as a movement of energy between objects. Drug films' depictions of the altered state themselves create altered states by mobilizing affect between the film and the audience (Powell, 2007). Although this form of analysis has been used in cinema studies, there are few applications of Deleuzian analysis of drug desire in a sociological context. It is a shame, because Powell has made a significant contribution to understanding the popular fascination, perhaps even desire, for stories and images about drug use and the altered state.

Nicole Vitellone has described the power of the syringe as an icon through which we come to understand the structure of discourses that frame drug use (2004). For her, the syringe does more than represent. The syringe is productive; it produces objects in the world, which act as performatives (that is, discursive objects that create that of which they speak; see Parker and Kosofsky Sedgwick, 1995). How successful or how productive syringes are as performatives can be related to how realistic they are as icons. Vitellone (2004) specifically connects the discourses of British social realist films with the discourse of the medical gaze as a central mechanism for the production of the pharmacologically addicted body. For Vitellone, the realism in these two discourses is essential for how they capture 'the truth of social suffering' and interconnect to produce the body of the drug user in discourse. A key feature of this particular drug user body is the body as degenerative; drugs cause social suffering through reducing the social agency of the drug user. The drug user increasingly loses the capacity to be in control, and ceases to be a social agent.

The consequences of this conceptualization of the drug-using body as suffering automaton are profound. By situating drug use as a product of the social, the social is always outside drug use, rather than 'worked through' the body of the drug user. Vitellone (2004) suggests a return to the use of the Bourdieuian notion of 'habitus' as an alternative mechanism to better understand how sociological constructs such as class and gender are imbricated in drug use rather than drug use simply being a product of classical sociological constructs. Detailed examinations of the

place of syringes in cultural texts such as that by Vitellone are uncommon, but those that have been conducted can reveal the mechanisms through which we frame the drug-using body.

In 1998 a television commercial for a drug treatment service shown on Australian television was taken off air within a week of screening. The producers of the advertisement claimed privately that the commercial was recalled in reaction to comments from viewers about how real it was. Using a formalist analysis of the television commercial, and analysis of the injecting scenes from *Pulp Fiction*, *Requiem for a Dream* and *Trainspotting*, in this chapter I make connections between the fictive accounts of injecting in cinema, the realism of public television community service announcements and how productive syringes can be as images of desire.

There is a history of audiences being shocked by realistic social marketing and broadcast advertising designed to provoke emotion. In some quarters this style of advertising has been called 'shockvertising', advertising that is designed to startle or offend through a breach of social or moral codes or an outrage of the senses through realistic portrayals (Dahl et al., 2003). Illustrative of this category are Benetton's dying AIDS patient advertisement (Sturken, 1997), a US breast cancer print campaign showing models in lingerie with mastectomy scars (Imaginis, 2000), a bowel cancer terrorism advertisement (Mumbrella, 2009), the UK 'get unhooked' anti-tobacco campaign (Northern Ireland News, 2007) and a long history of motor-vehicle safety advertisements (Hastings et al., 2004). Shock appeals have also been used in social marketing on anti-alcohol abuse, AIDS awareness, domestic violence awareness and sexually transmitted disease prevention (Dahl et al., 2003). The use of shock and fear in Australian public health social marketing is highly prevalent. An early analysis of advertisements from Australian health departments and road safety offices showed that 100 out of 127 used 'threat appeals' to provoke fear (Henley and Donovan, 1999).

So how could a television image of drug paraphernalia affect viewers so profoundly? Hastings et al. (2004) suggest the anxiety and discomfort experienced when watching or listening to a fear message may trigger the very behaviour that the advertisement is designed to prevent (Henley, 2002). It has been reported that in anti-tobacco social marketing product testing, it is not unusual for smokers to say that a hard-hitting smoking advertisement makes them feel so bad that they have to have a smoke (Hastings et al., 2004). Other risky behaviours such as drug use, alcohol abuse and overeating can be used as coping mechanisms to relieve the negative emotion emerging from exposure to these advertisements (Mayne, 1999). Is there a way of reading the

syringe as a sign that links the perception of the image to the desire to use a drug? (Hirschman, 1995). More importantly what does this semiotic relation tell us about the relation between the desire for drugs and signs?

Exploring realism

In this chapter I explore how the realism inherent in depictions of drug paraphernalia can operate to produce images of desire that structure drug discourses. This is a genuine exploration, full of speculations and untested assertions using a range of film analysis methods ranging from narrative analysis to poststructuralist semiotics (see Fitzgerald, 2002 for an application of this method in documentary photography). I use varying techniques for analysing images; the ethic underpinning this is to try approaches that might shed light on the ways that images can produce affects.

The analysis presented here follows from the tradition of visual analysis that combines different methods of textual analysis (Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001). Overall, this could be characterized as a social semiotic approach to visual analysis. The focus is on the interactions between text and viewer that produce particular discursive and social effects from cultural texts. I use elements of formalist analysis (Bordwell and Thompson, 1997) to examine the on-screen content produced by particular videographic techniques (pace of editing, use of motif, slow-motion sequences); narrative analysis of the characterization of a drug user in a cinematic text, and a poststructural semiotic analysis of how desire is constructed through the genre deployed in the cultural texts being examined. The last element of the analysis focuses on how the emotions or 'affects' produced by encountering these visual materials can reveal the kind of discursive performativity (that is, uncover the effect these images have).

Affect is used here predominantly as a term that encompasses but moves away from the notion that affect equates to human emotion. I will be referring to what Nigel Thrift (2004) has described as an approach to affect that works 'with a notion of broad tendencies and lines of force: emotion as motion both literally and figuratively' (p. 60). This departs from the construction of affect as human emotion, deliberately, to enable engagement with a set of interpretations that focus on how visual and discursive objects can create effects in the world.

This alternative way of thinking about affect has implications for how we think about desire. Desire, as used in this chapter is not an

internal drive as would be configured using an orthodox Freudian approach. Desire is a flow of energy; it is collective, flowing across and between individuals, bodies and social entities. It is an abstract flow, not necessarily linked to pleasure. Desire is an energetic 'germinal force', metaphysical in nature, at the core of social and biological innovation. Desire in this respect is easily distinguished from pleasure (Ansell-Pearson, 1999). I do not try to convince the reader that one technique is more efficacious, or try to persuade them my interpretative work is more worthy than others. Rather, I apply a variety of analytic tools to pose a different way of thinking about how images create that of which they speak.

Standing in Vincent's shoes

In March 1998 the Sydney-based company, Advertising Partners, produced a television advertisement for the Salvation Army titled 'Addicted To Life'. It lasted on television for three days before it was withdrawn because of public concern. The 60-second advertisement tells a story of two young men who break into a house, steal a video recorder, buy some heroin and then inject. The voiceover, from the point of view of one of the boys, runs alongside a stunning visual narrative. In fact, the cinematography was so realistic that some recovering drug users requested it to be taken off air. Central to the visual power of the work was an extreme close up of a plume of blood coursing through the barrel of a glass-barrelled syringe. The image was at the same time disturbing, beautiful and vaguely familiar.

The realer-than-real quality of the work did not happen by chance. The advertisers who scripted the piece had drawn inspiration from three of the most famous drug films of the day: *Trainspotting*, *The Basketball Diaries* and *Pulp Fiction*. *Trainspotting* and *Pulp Fiction* were used to inform the visual narrative and *Basketball Diaries* was used to structure the voiceover narrative. Here, I focus on the visual narrative.

We routinely suspend disbelief when we watch cinema. At first, reality TV challenged our capacity to detect the boundaries between real and not real, fact and fiction. Now, we recognize the storytelling that goes into producing the reality of reality TV. We know that what appears in movies is not real, but we suspend our reality testing in preference to being taken along for a story ride. There are, however, limits on the degree to which we suspend disbelief. There are plot points, sounds, videographic effects and visual narratives that push us to find reality in fictive cinema when it really isn't there. There are times when we

become disturbed by fiction as if it were reality. These epiphanic points or punctum (Barthes, 1981) are golden moments in both cinematic and personal experience. They are moments when we meld with the story and the cinema becomes more than just moving images. We mark the experience as memorable, disturbing and sometimes pleasurable.

Needles and syringes are powerful images in puncturing both reality and fiction. Although clearly they can be images of remedy, more usually syringes are used to convey darkness, threat and danger. There is a duality to the syringe that transcends its capacity to simply connote danger. In cinema, there is something about a syringe that confronts us more powerfully than any weapon, but what is it?

Pulp Fiction (1994) contains two of the most memorable injecting scenes in cinema. The first, approximately 20 minutes into the film, shows Vincent (John Travolta) preparing and then injecting heroin from an old-fashioned, glass-barrelled syringe. The injecting sequence is sensuous, gritty and full of extreme close-ups. The needle punctures the skin, the blood plume floats backward through the barrel and then is pushed slowly through the needle like a little cloud, slowly, beautifully, slinking out of the syringe. The sequence cuts to a close up of a calm Vincent. Each step of the injecting sequence is like a flashback in Vincent's dreamy pleasure-filled-to-the-brim mind.

As the shot moves back and forth from Vincent's smiling face to the injecting scene, it is implied that the injecting sequence is a memory. It is Vincent's version of events, his visual experience of injecting; it is shot-through with colour, drama and time distortion. The personal view of the action, conveyed through extreme close ups, places the watcher in Vincent's eyes. Only he could see what was going on. For a brief instant you are living Vincent's drug-injecting experience. Clearly this is impossible, but we suspend disbelief to enjoy the ride.

The second injecting scene is slapstick comedy. Mia (Uma Thurman), a gangster's wife under Vincent's care for the evening, accidentally overdoses by snorting Vincent's heroin. Vincent has to revive her with an adrenaline injection, direct to the heart. With the assistance of his dealer (Eric Stoltz), Vincent punches a large needle into Mia's chest and she violently awakes from her coma. The shocked dealer says, 'If you're alright, say something.' Wisecracking Mia responds, saying 'Something.' Vincent and the dealer fall to the floor in relief, and a stoner-girl in the background pulls on a bong, as if nothing happened.

In an online survey for a syringe exhibition *Pulp Fiction* stood out as the most memorable movie with an injecting scene (Fitzgerald, 2007). It is the adrenaline-injection scene that stands out as an illustration of

the ambivalence of the syringe. The syringe can be remedy and poison. Director Quentin Tarantino captures perfectly the tension in the ambivalence. We find pleasure in the tension, not just in the scenes (which are pleasurable in their comedic, narrative and videographic qualities). It is the contrast between the use of the syringe in the two scenes that provides the punctum, the moment when we encounter something strange in the visual experience. This tension is the basis for the pleasure of the syringe in this cinema experience.

Other drug films with injecting sequences are not so pleasurable. The injecting sequences from *Trainspotting* (1996) and *Requiem for a Dream* (2001) are never funny. Both films are old morality tales dressed up in modern gritty realism. Like the Homeric narrative of the lotus eaters (and the *Star Trek* equivalent – 'This Side of Paradise' (1967)), the protagonists lose their path in life and descend into despair on account of their drug use. *Trainspotting* is saturated with injecting scenes. By the end of the film, after five injecting scenes involving multiple characters, the actors are cinematic pincushions. As injecting becomes normalized within the social world of the film, the injecting scenes function more like standard plot points rather than moments of epiphany.

Requiem for a Dream (2001) is far more derivative than either *Trainspotting* or *Pulp Fiction*. According to the screenplay, the injecting scene takes the form of a 'hip-hop montage':

> Lighter flicks – liquid on spoon sizzles – tourniquet snaps – needle sucks – hand slaps vein – a thunderous rush of liquid – and finally an ecstatic sigh.
>
> (Script-o-Rama, n.d.)

Requiem for a Dream screenwriters Darren Aronofsky and Hubert Selby Jr script the injecting sequence as a visual and aural motif. The viewers never really see the full injection; they see a series of fast-cut images of heroin cooking, syringes, veins, red blood cells and pupils dilating. When a character injects, the hip-hop montage breaks narrative time. It is unclear whether the sequence is from the phenomenological point of view, as it is the same sequence for each character and is repeated in each injection throughout the film. The montage includes references to *Pulp Fiction*. Extreme close-up images of a lighter, a cooking spoon and the syringe plunger pushing liquid through a glass barrel re-enact the Vincent injecting sequence. The difference between the two versions can be found in the motif form that the sequence takes in *Requiem for a Dream*. When the lead character Harry Goldfarb resolves his sadness

about his mother by injecting a drug, the sequence serves to objectively mark that he has injected. In *Pulp Fiction* the injecting sequence serves to put you in Vincent's shoes.

The most memorable aspect of the hip-hop montage is the videographic quality of the sequence; it is fast, funky and shocking. The red blood cells pulsing through the blood vessel and a zoom into the contents of a dividing cell signal a microscopic point of view, something *Pulp Fiction* did not do. The extreme close ups in *Pulp Fiction* made us fit into Vincent's shoes, and experience his experience. The motif in *Requiem for a Dream* is a more scientific, objective point of view. The experience is impersonal and cold, not warm and sensuous as was Vincent's. There is neither pleasure nor ambivalence in the syringes from *Requiem for a Dream*. In a detailed examination of these two films, Boyd came to a similar conclusion. These were orthodox descent-into-despair narratives (2007).

Both *Trainspotting* and *Requiem for a Dream* were successful morality-tale films. It is contentious whether there is pleasure in a morality tale. Presumably people wanted to watch them because the morality tale itself, rather than the syringe, finds an audience. The syringe in the morality tale occupies a different role in the cinematic experience to that in other films. The syringes in injecting sequences in *Requiem for a Dream* and *Trainspotting* provide the authenticity, the objective reality that becomes the fulcrum on which the morality tale turns. On the face of it, syringes in movies are just scary. However, scratch the surface of these films and it can be seen that the syringe has more dimensions.

The rub of this story about *Pulp Fiction*, *Trainspotting* and *Requiem for a Dream* is to return to why some recovering drug users found the Salvation Army advertisement so disturbing. 'Addicted To Life' was disturbing because the advertisers, through the citation of *Pulp Fiction*, *Trainspotting* and *Basketball Diaries*, moved fictive experience into an experience of the real. The re-enactment of cinematic fiction rarely produces an experience of reality. What was being re-cited in 'Addicted To Life' was not just the graphic depiction of an injection but a return to the experience of standing in Vincent's shoes. Reconstituting the experience in this sense did reveal the real; not necessarily a real experience of injecting, but a real experience of a cinematic encounter with the limits of fiction. Watching 'Addicted To Life' is an experience of watching how easily we can step into a drug user's shoes. It is disturbing, both because the images are beautiful and, perhaps, because it suggests it is pleasurable to stand in the shoes of a drug user like Vincent.

Less-than-conscious perception

As illustrated above, in a narrative sense the syringe can operate as multivocal (that is, the syringe can work to create affects in different ways). As a sign, however, there is another level of resolution through which to encounter the power of the syringe, to explore the reasons why the syringe image could disturb former and current drug-using television viewers so profoundly. Was it just the viewer being placed in the shoes of a drug user or is there another way of reading the syringe as a sign that links the perception of the image to the desire to use a drug? More importantly, what does this semiotic relation tell us about the relation between the desire for drugs and signs?

Surprisingly, an alternative interpretation of the *Pulp Fiction* blood-plume image comes from a piece of neuroscience imaging research funded by the US National Institute on Drug Abuse (Childress et al., 2008). At a Philadelphia hospital during 2007, 22 cocaine users were exposed to visual images of cocaine paraphernalia for short periods of time that were 'unseen' – subliminal images of 33 milliseconds in duration. At this short exposure length the cognitive mind does not even remember being exposed to the image. The same drug users were at a later date exposed to the same images for two-second exposures, periods of time that were cognitively and consciously memorable. Regardless of the period of exposure, the seen and unseen images produced the same brain activity as recorded using functional magnetic resonance imaging (MRI). The unseen images produced just as an affective response as did the seen images.

The authors interpret these findings with an interesting twist. On the face of it, they suggest that the responses to these affective images indicate simple Pavlovian conditioning. However, the conditioning is occurring in a less-than-conscious manner. They note:

> The brain can strike up a prelude to passion in an instant, outside awareness and without heavy policing from frontal regulatory regions. By the time the motivational state is experienced and labelled as conscious desire, the ancient limbic circuitry already has a running start.... Encouragingly neuroimaging paradigms with unseen cues may be used to develop treatments that address problematic motivation at its earliest beginnings, i.e. outside awareness.
>
> (Childress et al., 2008, p. 4)

An additional complexity in the study was that cocaine paraphernalia images were accompanied by graphic sexual imagery (both seen and unseen) which produced similar brain responses. The authors discuss the similarity between cues for 'natural' rewards (for example, sexual) with those of 'unnatural' (for example, cocaine) rewards. It was noted that the orthodox evolutionary explanations for precognitive 'survival' responses (such as sexual) did not quite fit the responses to cocaine. The orthodox understanding of the 'ancient' limbic system, responsible for affect, is that affect is linked in evolutionary terms to survival, and therefore it should come as no surprise that we are in a way 'hardwired' to respond to pictures of naked bodies. It is more difficult to explain the somehow innate or less-than-conscious response to a crack pipe. Surely crack pipes are modern implements?

Emerging from this study are questions about the nature of will, compulsion and the signs of drug paraphernalia. If the brain is affectively responding independently of conscious thought, what can be said of the desire for drugs and the affect that drives it? Certainly this poses a challenge for cognitive behavioural explanations of drug desire.

What also emerges is a profound question about the nature of 'natural' signs. Who would have thought the image of a crack pipe could act as an indexical device to trigger an affective response? Somewhere in the pre-conscious mind the image of the crack pipe resides, matches and produces affects, all without conscious thinking. The same has been noted with images of food, money and sex (Pessiglione et al., 2007). With so much talk about the hardwiring of the brain, this study suggests a radical plasticity in the mind and its capacity for preconscious imagery to affect. Thrift (2008, pp. 171–197) provides a detailed review of the various lines of thought in science studies where Cartesian distinctions between mind/object are being contrasted with 'monist' thought where all things (for example, body, mind, object, thought, affect) are only modes of an unfolding single substance.

What does this mean for the pleasure of drug paraphernalia? Perhaps there is a pleasure in the syringe sign that is pre-conscious and outside awareness? As Nora Volkow, Director of National Institutes on Drug Abuse (NIDA) notes:

> This is the first evidence that cues outside one's awareness can trigger rapid activation of the circuits driving drug-seeking behavior . . . Patients often can't pinpoint when or why they start craving

> drugs. Understanding how the brain initiates that overwhelming desire for drugs is essential to treating addiction.
>
> (Volkow, 2008)

Does this mean that when drug users say 'It's not my fault', or parents of drug users talk about 'losing a child to drugs', they are perhaps revealing more than a redemptive narrative? Is there a deeper connection to desire that has escaped the model cognitive sovereign body that we simply have not been acknowledging? There is a determinist and chilling threat implicit in Volkow's account of the research: that drug users are, in a sense, automatons acting out the contents of their primitive circuitry activated by external stimuli. This is the horror image of drug users as mindless monsters, consumed by overwhelming desire beyond their own control.

Affect and plasticity

In this section I pose an alternative interpretation of the neuroscience and the cinematic encounter with syringes. To do so I draw on the notion of encounter as used by Deleuze in his writings about 'becoming-other' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). A starting point for this exploration is to translate some of the defining terms in this form of analysis, with a focus on the following terms: affect, becoming and desire.

One criticism of functional brain imaging studies is that while they produce maps of activity, there is no guarantee of a behavioural outcome from that activity. In short, does it matter that there was an idea, if no action emerges from it? Childress et al. (2008) responded to this critique by examining the relationship between the response to the unseen cue and the matched response to the seen cue. It seemed that the intensity of the affective response (measured on a self-completed scale) to the seen cue was accurately correlated to the intensity of the brain response to the unseen cue (measured by the functional MRI). This is one way of saying brain activity has a subjectively expressed affective correlate; that is, something is produced from affect. A second line of evidence from a related study of 'priming' imagery suggests that unseen priming images do enhance behavioural outcomes such as those measured in strength tests (Aarts et al., 2008).

While the suggestion that an 'unseen' image can produce an affect seems plausible, there is still the problem of how the image of drug paraphernalia can evoke arousal. The perceived 'quality', in this case visual, produced something. The orthodox accounts of memory and cognitive

time don't seem to cope with this observation. It does not seem plausible that the brain has a mnemonic of a crack pipe stored away in pre-conscious phylogenetic lockers, ready for mapping, matching and activation. There seems to be a plasticity, perhaps even a contingency, to the relations between the perceived 'quality' and the affective response, all occurring in pre-cognitive time (Thrift, 2008, p. 179).

This plasticity may not be neuronal. The plasticity arises from how we conceive non-phenomenal visual perception. Albert Michotte used the concept of 'amodal completion' to account for the observation that people were able to recompose complete objects from partial object fragments (Thinès et al., 1994). As Brian Massumi says, 'perception fills itself in' (2002, p. 282). Perception draws on the habituated and chaotic elements of the world to bring qualities to perceptions. In amodal completion, 'perception is caught in the act of feeding back into its conditions of emergence' (p. 282). The non-seen, those visual elements and qualities that are perceived yet unrecognized, are for Massumi more likely to be ontologically reliable, whereas the seen is less reliable:

> Objects of vision are added ingredients to experience: experienced oversights or excess seeings. In a word, hallucinations. This is in no way to imply that they are unreal or simply illusory. Quite the opposite, the conclusion is that hallucination is as real as any thing. More radically, hallucination – the spontaneously creative addition of objects of perception that are not found preformed 'out there' – is generative of reality... It is not possible to sustain a strict distinction between perception and hallucination.
>
> (Massumi, 2002, p. 155)

Deleuze refers to those intense transformative experiences as moments when perception becomes invested with desire, when we encounter the world for what it is, full of holes – when we become-other. Deleuze and Guattari note, with caution, that encountering the world for what it is is dangerous, and should be done only with great care. Connecting up to a world becoming-other destabilizes the sovereign body, but also brings the body closer to the world. You belong with the world as you become with the world. There is a consequence to becoming-other. As you belong with the world, you lose the sovereign self.

Belonging is more aligned to affect than cognition. Affect, as a conceptual category of experiential and abstract qualities, has a number of taxonomies (Thrift, 2004). Within the Freudian schema, affect connects drives to the ego. From an interactionist perspective, affect mediates

between inside workings and socially meaningful conduct. From a cognitive behavioural perspective, affect is a dimension of cognitive processing. From a broader psychological perspective, the affect forms a system that works across drives and cognition (Tomkins, 1962). From a philosophical perspective, affect has several taxonomies as you work through from the classical to the phenomenological and vitalist traditions. Massumi's affect, drawing from Deleuze and Guattari, traces back to the monist thinking of Spinoza and Bergson. In this tradition, affect is less like an emotion and more like a packet of matter-energy traversing forms and bodies. Affect is infective, mobile and transient, and more a quality of the world than of the sovereign subject. As we encounter a world of holes, we mobilize belonging, an affect that is as much collective as it is individual.

Becoming, memory, autonomy

Becoming-other is a 'desire to escape bodily limitation' (Massumi, 1992, p. 94), a liminal state, a movement between forms. We become-other when we are exposed to the limits of the sensible world (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 293). Earlier when I discussed the possibility of standing in the shoes of a drug user, this could be termed a becoming. When we suspend disbelief and reach a limit of possibility, and extend our body into another form, we become-other.

Deleuze and Guattari also talk about becoming as 'antimemory' (1987, p. 294). Becoming confounds orthodox linear accounts of memory, as it involves 'mnemotechnics', a point of mnemonic representation or an affective 'quality' (p. 306) that disrupts time (fn.85, p. 545). Deleuze and Guattari draw on the notion of 'non-pulsed time', an uncontrollable disruptive force running through memories and internal times. The 'quality' (in our case the image of a drug sign) being a value in phylogenetic memory, the quality should be considered in relation to the becoming that grasps it, the disruptive force that moves through elements and times. Also, the quality and the becoming should be considered in terms of the assemblage, the particular configuration of social and material machines, bodies and flows of desires that form the landscape for becoming-other itself.

In this analysis the 'quality' is neither the property of a molecular circuit nor an outcome from preconscious memory processing, rather it is the potential in a body as it connects to the world of affects. If we go back to the example of Vincent, the becoming-other could be called becoming-Vincent. This transformation involves not only suspending disbelief, but also places us in cinematic time, in the sensuous slow

motion of Vincent's flashback. As soon as blood plumes into the barrel of the syringe and then slinks into the body, the viewer is transported into a medium close up of Vincent as he drives down the road, clearly euphoric in his drugged state. The viewer is overloaded with affect, its own and that of Vincent. The viewer is dislocated, placed into an altered state through the close up of the syringe. The close proximity of the point of view also creates narrative time effects. Being so close to the syringe brings the viewer intimately close to the action. Becoming-Vincent moves the viewer out of orthodox time and into a narrative time structured by the degree to which the viewer becomes Vincent, and sees the world from Vincent's point of view.

The viewers of the community service announcement could similarly encounter a limit of time and a limit of a sensible body. As I noted in the introduction, marketing psychologists have suggested that some smokers when exposed to affect-laden anti-tobacco imagery can resort to risk behaviours to resolve the anxiety produced by the experience. In our case the encounter with the syringe and, by semiotic relation, to then become-Vincent could be a very disturbing experience.

By looking at the encounter with Vincent through this analytic lens we see a different kind of memory, and a different kind of desire. Rather than a primitive desire of the brain, we see a transformation of the viewer into a different phase of existence. Volkow's vision of the drugged automaton fades. Rather than the unseen image triggering a memory circuit, the Deleuzian account proposes that the 'unseen' image mobilizes a flow of matter-energy at a molecular level that perturbs time, creates a modulation in the body and forms a metaphysical connection with the world, individual and beyond.

At this point it is not pleasure. The neuroscientists are correct to call the brain activity in their functional magnetic imaging a 'prelude to passion'. Raw becomings are neither pleasure nor pain. Becomings mobilize desire (that is, undifferentiated matter-energy) across bodies and assemblages. Pleasure is a form of capture, a way of understanding the movement of matter-energy. The affectual response to an 'unseen' image, when viewed through a Deleuzian lens reveals a new set of connections between body and world.

Perhaps what may be happening when we are exposed to a drug sign is a becoming, a moment of transition between forms. This becoming comes in the form of affect movement prior to conscious thought and action. Encountering the visual image of the sign produces an affect movement, and the body modulates, all without conscious thought. This is the disturbing experience of the sign-encounter. It is not one

thing, such as pleasure, pain, suffering, hope. It is the possibility of something that is experienced through the mobilization of affect in a less-than-conscious moment. Drug users and cinema-goers alike seek these moments of movement, they seek to become affected, they seek becoming-other.

This is a very different reading of perceptual processing. Flowing from this kind of reading is a different model of how desire works, how the body seeks out transformation and how drug desire may not simply be autonomous from conscious thought and therefore automatic. It may well be pre-conscious but it may not necessarily be primitive.

Desire, in this conception, flows across and through bodies, objects, images and all things in the form of affects. Although this line of thinking comes from the philosophy of Spinoza, Thrift (2008) has applied it to contemporary society and to how individual autonomy is configured. For Thrift, affect is a semi-conscious phenomenon both at an individual and social level. He believes that societies are entranced by affect, half awake and aroused only periodically by highly politicized and intense affective events. People have little or no agency over their bodies or environments but are under control of affective force. They are powered by 'automatisms', where the body is the medium for the transmission of force but without much conscious volition. Increasingly governments and corporations have enhanced their capacities to manipulate the population through deploying 'affective storms' that form a process of 'biocultural contagion' (Thrift, 2008, p. 243). For Thrift, the automatism of desire is not a unique property of the drug user, it is a condition of life for us all. What the MRI images reveal is a generic encounter with the world through affect, rather than a pathological over-determined desire for drugs.

The encounters produced by realist images, be they seen or unseen, can be about belonging, and the image of desire seen in the prelude to passion MRI studies could be read as molecular maps of belonging, rather than as the flashing lights of primitive evolutionary desire.

Realer than real

If we accept the Massumi version of visual perception – that the world is full of holes, and we patch the world together through a kind of amodal completion writ large – we return to a conundrum presented at the beginning of the chapter. How can the citation of a cinematic icon (Tarantino's blood plume in the syringe) be so realistic as to inflame an

unbearable desire? Further, how can unseen images of drug paraphernalia inflame the desire for drugs? What can these tell us of the image of the desire for drugs?

The main complaint about the drug treatment centre advertisement was that it was too realistic. What if the realism in the images is not about representing the drug-using experience? What if the 'real' that was being revealed through the citation of cinematic images (such as the *Pulp Fiction* blood plume in the syringe) was not a pictographic representation? Maybe the 'real' was an encounter with the impossible – to stand in the shoes of drug user Vincent. As discussed earlier, using a narrative approach, the *Pulp Fiction* iconography could have produced an encounter – a becoming – through seeing the sensuous world of this drug user. What if the 'real', encountered in the unseen images by the 22 cocaine addicts was also a becoming? The encounter with the image of desire is an encounter with the circulation of signs, matter-energy, times and places held in a modulation of the world. This is truly disturbing. This is desire not emanating from the individual but desire flowing as matter-energy, connecting between forms, enabling these forms to become-other, all in a fraction of a second. When Deleuze suggested that a person should stop thinking of themself as an ego, 'in order to live as a flow, a set of flows in relation with other flows, outside of oneself and within oneself' (1998, p. 51), Deleuze was really making an argument about rethinking the orthodox Freudian image of desire into desire as a collective property of the world rather than of the individual. This is a major departure and deserves some explanation, for the implications are profound for how we interpret the images of drug desire in both orthodox neuroscience and popular culture.

What Deleuze offers is a way of understanding the mobile, transient, collective and dynamic desire that flows through us. These two illustrations of encounters both create an image of desire, but this desire is not about drugs. This drug desire is a collective desire for the world, a belonging. Whether it is seeking the belonging for an identity, embodied as the figure of Tarantino's Vincent or a quest for an encounter with a timeless world full of holes, it is a sense of belonging to something. Those images are realer than real, in both a narrative and molecular sense, in both narrative and less-than-cognitive time.

Returning to Vitellone's (2004) suggestion that drug icons are productive through being performative, drug icons make possible ways of conceptualizing the drug user and the drug-using body. The performativity

of the image can be thought through traditional semiotics, narrative performativity or, as has been the case here, in a more abstract manner. As noted at the beginning, the point of this chapter is not to convince you either way. Rather, the objective is to open up another way of thinking about how images might create that of which they speak.

4
Syringes, Metonymy, Global Fear and News

The previous chapter examined the pleasure associated with the syringe in popular culture. In this chapter the focus shifts to a deeper, darker rendering of the power of the syringe image. By connecting the syringe sign to Jacques Derrida's construct of the *pharmakon*, I show how the syringe sources its profundity by connecting to the deepest and most secret place, the human soul. With selfhood founded on a hidden soul and a visible body, the *pharmakon* is forever in contact with the most hidden aspects of selfhood. The magic of the syringe is that it can connect to both the hidden soul and the visible body. In a way this brings us back to explore an idea noted in the previous chapter, proffered by Desmond Manderson, that syringes expose the boundaries and limits to the body. I will, however, move this discussion into a much wider set of understandings about bodies, boundaries and news discourses.

There are recurring questions for me regarding syringes. Why is the image of the syringe so potent, so firmly entrenched as a sign for danger, drugs, addiction and death? How does this particular reading of the syringe continue to be cited and recited? Following from Manderson (1995), at present the syringe is most commonly read as a phallocentric metaphor for body violation. If, however, it was reinscribed with a new set of readings there may be significant consequences, not just for the syringe as a sign, but for the production of bodies, identities and discursive spaces intimately connected with its use.

I offer an alternative reading of the syringe focusing on its metonymic function. This metonymic reading explores how the syringe is combined with parts of other stories. I use Derrida's reading of Western selfhood in drug discourse as a template for how the syringe becomes metonymized with the *pharmakon*, 'the art hidden in the depths of the soul'. Metonymized in this way, the syringe is combined with a

critical element of the Western selfhood narrative to produce uncertainty over the medium in which imagination, will and productive desire are formed. The final consequence of this metonymy is a continuing invisibility of the substance at contest in drug discourse. The syringe brings us into contact with a soul that is hidden from our view. The syringe metonymizes a magic *pharmakon* that can either remedy or poison the soul.

At the end of this chapter I posit some applications of this reading. If we take Derrida's account of drug discourse as itself a story of Western selfhood, then perhaps there are ways to combine the syringe with other elements of the selfhood story, so the syringe can be repositioned through metonymy. Rather than the syringe continuing to be seen as a penetrating phallus, its metonymic potential might plug it into new series of signs.

The syringe as metaphor

Manderson (1995, 1999) suggested that the syringe is the site of a symbolic contest that underpins the war on drugs. The syringe is a metaphor for the ultimate boundary violation and, like other cases of violation, it is matter out of place and thus becomes taboo (Douglas, 1966). Subsequently, both the syringe and syringe users become associated with pollution; they become dirty, defiled and talismanic for deviance.

Manderson's reading is an exemplar of orthodox readings of the syringe. First, for Manderson, the syringe is not simply an empty sign inscribed with power, as initially suggested with his use of the taboo logic. Instead, submitting to the act of being injected is an experience of powerlessness: 'Whatever the context, purpose and environment, it is still a needle. It is still an experience of powerlessness, to submit to it; of discomfort, to undergo it' (Manderson, 1995, p. 801). It is not simply the pain of being injected that underpins Manderson's sense of discomfort. At the core of the experience of powerlessness in the act of being injected lies the thought of being invaded (Manderson, 1995).

The second element to Manderson's reading is the co-location of sex, disease and death with the syringe. Manderson reinstated an inside/outside distinction in his argument that for those 'within the culture of the needle', the needle connotes sexuality. The intense physicality of both sex and injecting drug use remind us of our corporeality. Using secondary ethnographic material to support his argument, he goes on to suggest that injection is violation in the same way as intercourse is violation; consequently, injection is a similarly gendered act.

It is worth noting the particular heterosexist and phallocentric location which Manderson speaks from when positing this relationship:

> For many users, sharing, and in particular submission to the needle of another, are acts rich in sexual overtone. Here the symbolism of penetration and of rush is most persuasive; the feeling of sharing and intimacy it evokes most compelling; and the quality of submission in the injected partner most marked. Women are expected to be passive and men to be active.
>
> (Manderson, 1995, p. 806)

I do not simply wish to use Manderson's reading of the syringe as an easy target for an argument. In fact I believe his essay stands out in the drug and alcohol literature as a refreshing alternative to the legalization/prohibition binaries and vulgar psychologism that has dominated policy writings for many years. Instead, I have used Manderson's reading to illustrate an orthodox reading of the syringe image. Many of the problems with the orthodoxy are, I believe, related to its phallocentric basis. Submission to the syringe, like submission to the penis in Manderson's heterosexist intercourse, is submission to the phallus. The universal injected partner in Manderson's formulation (read 'woman') necessarily endures a 'quality of submission'. Not only is this reliant on a transcendental heterosexual woman but a universal injected partner. Most disturbing is that it is all relative to the phallus, and that submission is a necessary outcome both for a woman in heterosexual intercourse and for those who are injected.

The third thread of Manderson's exploration is the doubling of the syringe to be a sign of invasion and at the same time a symbol of the curative properties of technological medicine's promise of future health. This doubleness, or arbitrariness, he argues, is the very substance of the contest over symbolic meaning.

My problem with the syringe image as read by Manderson is that the syringe is predominantly associated with fear, disease, sex and death because we start with a phallocentric reading. From this position, all those associations relative to the syringe are relative to the phallus, and thus will be derivative from the implicit structures that govern phallocentric readings. I want to explore alternative readings that do not have a phallocentric base. It may be that this type of reading has great congruence with people's experience. I firmly believe that the syringe image is so trenchant in its location because no alternative to the orthodox phallocentric reading has been offered.

Derrida and 'The Rhetoric of Drugs'

One of the most insightful analyses of drug discourse is Jacques Derrida's 1995 interview, 'The Rhetoric of Drugs'. Here, in a wide-ranging discussion, Derrida outlines his central concerns with drug rhetoric. Drugs act as a site for discourse on five dichotomous axes: public/private, nature/artifice, authentic/inauthentic, reason/non-reason and self/other. Through the course of the interview Derrida tells a story not just about drug discourse but also about some central features of Western selfhood narratives. What follows is a brief outline of his story about drug discourse.

Derrida notes that the concept of 'drug' is non-scientific and is instituted on the basis of moral and political evaluations (1995, p. 229). While there are natural poisons, the notion of 'drug' contains no naturalness. The social and historical work that comes with the term precludes any belief that this work has an empirical or natural correlate. Indeed, for Derrida, if there is never a theorem for drugs, there can never be a scientific competence for them either.

For Derrida, the distinction between legal and illegal drugs is based in a liberal tradition that links alcohol and tobacco consumption to the public realm whereas the consumption of illicit drugs is reserved for the private domain. Derrida also notes that while the liberal tradition allows an individual to partake in whatever they like in private, the drug user is a consumer and therefore is always already participating in the open market and in public discourse. Drug use is always already part of the social bond. Derrida goes further to suggest that drug use is structured like a language and so can never be purely private (1995, p. 250).

Derrida explores the notion that there is good repetition and bad repetition for both the *pharmakon* and for drugs. For drugs there is a quantitative threshold above which drug use becomes a toxicomania. This is particularly relevant to the likelihood of an individual self-administering the drug to the point where the distinctions between public and private, alone and in a group are lost.

Derrida links drugs to the *pharmakon*. Most notably he makes recourse to his work in *Dissemination* (Derrida, 1981). The *pharmakon* in its usual translation is a remedy:

> The common translation of *pharmakon* by remedy [remede] – a beneficent drug – is not of course inaccurate. Not only can *pharmakon* really mean remedy and thus erase, on a certain surface of its functioning,

> the ambiguity of its meaning. But it is even quite obvious here . . . that he [Theuth] turns the word in its strange and invisible pivot.
>
> (Derrida, 1981, p. 97)

He also notes, however, that the translation erases another pole of meaning reserved for the *pharmakon*. In his reading of *The Phaedrus*, Derrida writes that Plato is bent on presenting writing as an occult power deserving suspicion, social exclusion and terrible punishments. When the meaning of writing (as *pharmakon*) is twisted to be both remedy and poison, and *pharmakon* is itself the medium in which the distinction is made, *pharmakon* then occupies a unique space. Western metaphysics produces an analysis of the *pharmakon* that 'violently destroys' itself. Thus, as much as the *pharmakon* is both poison and remedy it is also the medium in which differentiation is produced and where distinctions are made.

Derrida outlines a schema of *pharmaka* from the *protagoras* (see Figure 4.1). In this schema there are *pharmaka* that can be both good

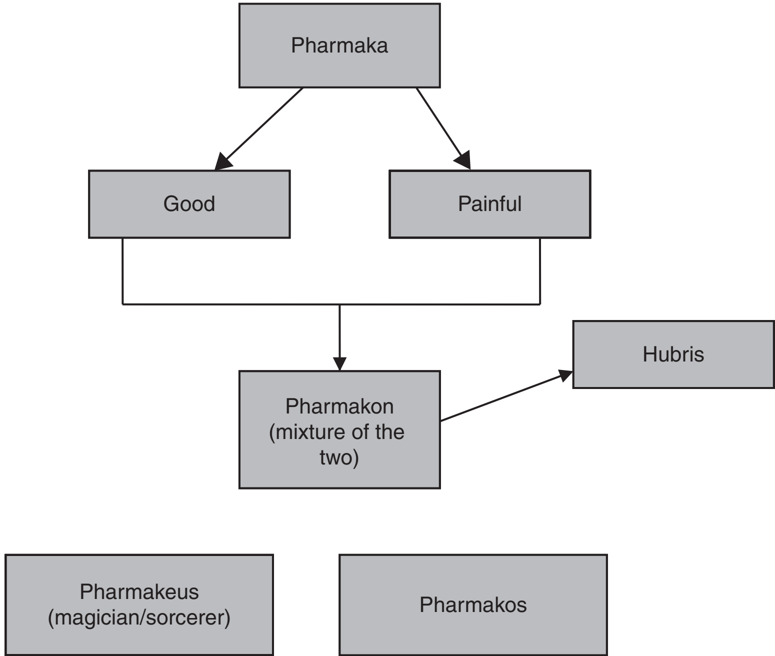

Figure 4.1 Schema of *pharmaka*

(*agatha*) and painful (*anaira*). *Hubris*, an unbounded excess of painful pleasure, can be treated by a remedy. The pleasure itself can also be a *pharmakon*. The *pharmakon* is defined in Derrida's texts variously as remedy, recipe, poison, drug, philter, venom, colour, dye, perfume, knowledge and writing.

Importantly, Derrida notes that the pharmaceutical remedy is harmful because it is artificial. Normal disease defends itself. Being artificial, writing does not aid good memory, but rather displaces that which is natural in life. In terms of writing, the *pharmakon* makes one more forgetful as it assists *hypomneme* but does not reinforce *mneme* (1981, p. 100).

Derrida notes that a central concern with the pleasure obtained from drug use is that it is inauthentic. Drug addicts are therefore inauthentic because they do not work for their pleasure. The transcendental-imaginary discourse of taking into the body a foreign substance to provoke a state of productive receptivity is condemned by a society based on work:

> The authentic work [*oeuvre*] as its name seems to suggest, ought to be the result of an effort (with merit and rewards) and of a responsible effort, even up to the point where the effort effaces itself, erasing its traces or erasing itself before that which is given to it.
>
> (Derrida, 1995, p. 241)

The *pharmakon* is both remedy and cure, it occupies a transcendental space in which the world is played out, dichotomies are made and deconstructed. The elements of Derrida's story in 'The Rhetoric of Drugs' and *Dissemination* form a larger story about selfhood and Western rationality. Derrida uses the figure of the *pharmakon* and its associated elements to embellish a story about Western rationality and selfhood.

For Derrida, drug use fundamentally undermines the social bond by being imbricated in a number of canonical discourses. Drug use occupies a source of villainy in the larger story. The story Derrida tells about drug use and Western rationality is a familiar one. There are heroes, villains and magic, and the villainy is nullified as the journey continues.

If Derrida can tell a story about Western rationality and use the *pharmakon* as a key figure in the story, there is an opportunity to see how the syringe fits into the story of Western rationality. In the following section I examine Derrida's account, using an orthodox Proppian narrative analysis (Propp, 1968). The characters and plot points in the story of drug discourse depicted by Derrida provide a useful template upon which to read the metonymy of the syringe.

The character of the *pharmakos* has been compared to the abject scapegoat. Its exclusion from the body and the city are the two major incidents for the character. In the ancient Greek ritual of the *pharmakos*, purification of the city was achieved through the expulsion of the *pharmakoi* (two men) (Derrida, 1981, pp. 130–132). They were beaten on the testicles with squills and burned so as to chase away, or draw out, the evil from their bodies. The representative of external threat is expelled through the ritual. The *pharmakos* represents evil, both introjected and projected. The *pharmakos* is synonymous with the *pharmakeus*. Both characters incarnate the powers of evil, are feared and treated with caution. Socrates was born on the date of the *pharmakos* ceremony (the sixth day of the Thargelia) and was referred to by Plato as a *pharmakeus*.

Derrida produces a Western selfhood narrative through his discourse on drugs. The narrative has a number of essential elements: characters, journey, villainy, a donor and magic. As Derrida notes, there is a lot at stake in drug discourse:

> At stake here is nothing less than the self, consciousness, reason, freedom, the responsible subject, alienation, one's own body or the foreign body, sexual difference, the unconscious, repression or suppression, the different parts of the body, injection, introjection, incorporation (oral or not), the relationship to death (mourning and interiorization), idealization, sublimation, the real and the law, and I could go on.
>
> (1995, p. 243)

Ironically, Derrida cites Kant when describing the location for the *pharmakon*. The *pharmakon*, he claims, is the 'art hidden in the depths of the soul'.

> This 'medicine' is not a simple thing. But neither is it a composite, a sensible or empirical *suntheton* partaking of several simple essences. It is rather the prior medium in which differentiation in general is produced, along with the opposition between the *eidos* and its other; this medium is analogous to the one that will, subsequent to and according to the decision of philosophy, be reserved for transcendental imagination, that 'art hidden in the depths of the soul' which belongs neither simply to the sensible nor simply to the intelligible, neither simply to passivity nor simply to activity.
>
> (1981, p. 125)

The consequences of this analogy are profound. With selfhood founded on a hidden soul and a visible body, the *pharmakon* is forever in contact with the deepest and most hidden aspects of selfhood. The magic of the *pharmakon*, however, is that it can connect to both the hidden soul and the visible body. It confounds the distinctions that establish selfhood.

> Is this crossed connection making the result of mere artifice or play? There is certainly play in such a movement, and this chiasmus is authorized, even prescribed, by the ambivalence of the *pharmakon*. Not only by the polarity good/evil, but by the double participation in the distinct regions of the soul and the body, the invisible and the visible. . . . If the *pharmakon* is 'ambivalent', it is because it constitutes the medium in which opposites are opposed, the movement and the play that links them among themselves, reverses them or makes one side cross over into the other (soul/body, good/evil, inside/outside, memory/forgetfulness, speech/writing, etc.). . . . The *pharmakon* is the movement, the locus, and the play: (the production of) difference. It is the differance of difference.
>
> (Derrida, 1981, p. 127)

This magical *pharmakon* is, by its nature, infinitely unknowable. It escapes through excess:

> It keeps itself forever in reserve even though it has no fundamental fundity nor ultimate locality. We will watch it infinitely promise itself and endlessly vanish through concealed doorways that shine like mirrors and open onto a labyrinth.
>
> (Derrida, 1981, pp. 127–128)

The *pharmakon* has magical properties and connects to that which is deepest, darkest and most sought after – human imagination and will. The *pharmakon* carries with it the ambivalence of humanity. The question that most interests me, though, is how the *pharmakon* relates to the syringe as a sign. The syringe too, can be a sign of remedy and poison. The syringe is also magical; it establishes connections between the external and internal bodily worlds. If the syringe is thought of as having a metonymic relation to the *pharmakon* then it connects to the magical properties of the *pharmakon*.

In a Proppian analysis of Derrida's story of Western selfhood, the *pharmakon* can be understood as the magic potion. Likewise, other

elements in the story can be analysed in terms of their narrative function. In Derrida's *Dissemination*, Socrates' bite is worse than a snakebite because its traces invade the soul. Socrates could penetrate the most concealed interiority of the soul. His 'pharmaceutical charms could provoke a kind of narcosis, benumbing and paralyzing into aporia' (Derrida, 1981, p. 118).

By this account Socrates could be a modern-day drug dealer. The donor of the *pharmakon*, the character who provides the magic potion is (apart from the hero) the only one who can handle this dangerous stuff. The donor is special, a wizard of sorts, containing special powers. As a projection of evil, the donor is someone to be feared.

Taking an active part in the life journey is essential for selfhood, and the journey in an ethical life requires participation in productive work. Derrida cites Horkheimer and Adorno as advocates of the need to remain on life's path without being waylaid by the pleasures of a life without a quest. In this, Horkheimer and Adorno make recourse to the Homeric tale of the Lotus eaters. In *The Odyssey*, Homer writes:

> Any crewman who ate the lotus, the honey sweet fruit, lost all desire to send a message back, much less return their only wish to linger there with the Lotus eaters, grazing on lotus, all memory of the journey home dissolved forever. But I brought them back, back to the hollow ships, streaming tears – I forced them, dragged them from under the rowing benches, lashed them fast and shouted out commands to my other, steady shipmates. 'Quick no time to lose – embark in the racing ships' – so none could eat the lotus, forget the voyage home.
>
> (Homer, 1995, lines 91–102)

In the mythic tale, the self's domination over itself grounds selfhood. Selfhood relies on a journey where there are temptations removing the self from its logical course (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1972, p. 47), a renunciation of selfhood and a process of losing yourself in order to find yourself.

Through demonstrating the power of individual will through renunciation of self, the 'vehicle of mind, the commander (Odysseus) is always physically weaker than the primitive powers with which he must contend for his life' (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1972, p. 56). In order to demonstrate modern self-hood the individual must demonstrate control over inordinate powers that endeavour to waylay the hero.

The curse of the lotus plants condemns the eaters to a primitive state in a fertile land without work and struggle. Horkheimer and Adorno (1972) co-locate this narrative with the trope of the drug addict:

> This kind of idyll, which recalls the happiness of narcotic drug addicts reduced to their lowest level in obdurate social orders, who use their drugs to help them endure the unendurable is impermissible for the adherents of the rationale of self-preservation. It is actually the mere illusion of happiness, a dull vegetation, as meager as an animal's bare existence and at best only the absence of the awareness of misfortune. . . . the sufferer who cannot bear to stay with the Lotus eaters is justified. He opposes their illusion with that which is like yet unlike: the realization of utopia through historical labor; whereas more lingering in the shade of the image of bliss removes all vigor from the dream.
>
> (pp. 62–63)

Similarly, operating through seduction, the *pharmakon* makes one stray from one's general path, to take the individual out of itself and draw it on to an exodus (Derrida, 1981, p. 70).

Although Derrida did not directly address the character of the hero in his text on drug discourse, the narrative of his journey is a familiar one. The hero is the character who continues on the journey determined to reach home. Sometimes waylaid and defeated, the journey remains foremost in the mind of the hero. The hero learns from their mistakes. The hero has companions who die along the way, but even they are shown to be little heroes who have completed their own journey through struggle. The hero, however, is addicted to life: addicted to the life quest of an authentic struggle with drugs.

For Derrida, there are a number of villains in drug discourse, usually in the form of polar sites of dominant discourses. Perhaps the greatest villainy is the loss of the originary naturalness of the body to drugs. This purported loss of an idealized body is the target of sustained criticism from Derrida. The loss is related to a consumptive urge based on an orality that does not discriminate in its orifice. The consumptive urge involves 'an ever-*interiorizing* violence of an injection, inhalation or ingestion by taking inside of myself a foreign body' (Derrida, 1995, p. 240).

The detailed outline of Derrida's version of the Western rationality narrative is the template upon which I will now locate my arguments about the syringe.

The metonymy of the syringe

The syringe has predominantly been read metaphorically. It is clear from Manderson's work cited earlier that the syringe can gather symbolic weight and narrative force through its metaphoric functions. An alternative reading of the syringe focusing on its metonymic relations may produce a different kind of reading.

The modern origin of metonymy as an analytical figure is commonly attributed to Jakobson (1976 [1956]). Metonymy substitutes the name of one thing for another closely associated with it, often replacing an abstraction with a concrete noun, as when 'birth to death' becomes 'cradle to grave'. The referential objects can be existentially or habitually connected (Nöth, 1990). Jakobson structured human language through the distinction between metaphor and metonymy. Metonymies are substitutions by contiguity and combination, whereas metaphors are substitutions through similarity and equivalence. An adaptation of how Hawkes (1977) described the relationship between metonymy and metaphor can be found in Figure 4.2. For Jakobson, although all language has properties of both dimensions, realist prose is said to have a more metonymical 'tint' than romantic or symbolist poetry (Hawkes, 1977).

Sigmund Freud, and more particularly Jacques Lacan, used metonymy extensively in exploring the relationships between language structure and psychic life. Despite this being a productive and extensive discourse I will not be using these analytical devices for this task. My choice not to use psychoanalytical metonymy is derived from a separate set of debates about desire in psychoanalysis, an issue explored later in the book.

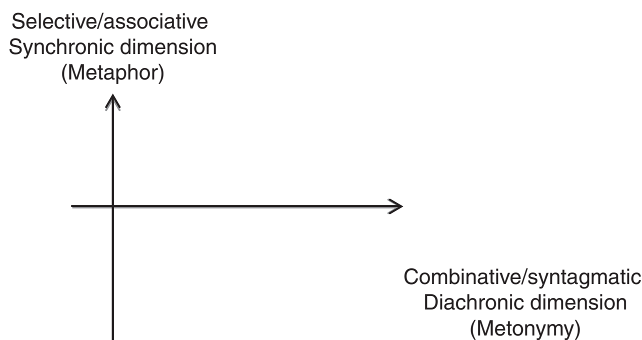

Figure 4.2 Metaphor and metonymy
Adapted from Hawkes (1977).

A brief discussion of the role of metonymy in Lacan's work, however, may be instructive at this point.

In short, Lacan's configuration of desire relies fundamentally on metonymy as an organizing force of the function of the unconscious. In Lacan's schema, metonymy orders the links between signifiers, such that desire erupts out of the unconscious into the structure of the signifier and enables the metonymic relation to 'incorporate' the lack (Lacan, 1977, p. 164).

Lacan's definition of the unconscious reveals a profoundly decentred subject. A cleft opens up at the heart of its being through the alterity represented by the being of language (Erdelyi, 1997). The structure of the rift, both within the subject's being and the very concept of identity, is the basis for an otherness that confronts the subject. This essentializing of the symbolic relies on an assumption of sameness and equivalence, an assumption debated by both feminist philosophy (for a discussion see Hansen, 2000) and continental philosophy (Deleuze and Parnet, 1987). Psychoanalysis provides a powerful application of metonymy, although it has not been chosen for the current task.

My metonymic reading in this chapter focuses on how the syringe becomes combined with elements of other stories. The syringe is combined with a critical element of the Western selfhood narrative to produce uncertainty over the medium in which imagination, will and productive desire are formed. The final consequence of this metonymy is a continuing invisibility of the substance at the centre of the contest over drug discourse. The syringe brings us into contact with a soul that is hidden from our view. The syringe contains a magic *pharmakon* that can either remedy the soul or poison it.

Derrida's account of drug discourse is itself a story of Western selfhood. I will now examine some media texts that exemplify the Western narrative and look for how the syringe is combined with specific narrative elements to produce a particularly potent version of the Western selfhood narrative.

Syringes in the print media

This is not an exhaustive historical review of syringe imagery, but rather a review in an Australian context at a specific moment. The syringe image occupies an important place in the daily print-news media, although how it appears varies considerably. My first task was to gain some sense of how syringe images appear in major print-news media texts. I did this by examining images in Melbourne's two daily

newspapers (the *Herald Sun* and the *The Age*) and two Melbourne inner-city local newspapers for syringe images over the period from 1995 to 2000. After reviewing the material, specific images were selected to illustrate some metonymic relationships between image and narrative elements.

The donor handler

Only some people have the qualifications to handle the *pharmakon*. The syringe, metonymically linked to the *pharmakon*, has the properties of the *pharmakon*. The only person capable of handling the *pharmakon* is the *pharmakeus*, the sorcerer; all others must be protected, or at least be at an arm's length from the powerful magic that goes with the syringe. Images of cleaners, street people and the common person often appear in tabloid media as *pharmakon* handlers. The positioning of the handler in proximity to the syringe is perhaps the most important feature of these images.

A recurrent image type that appeared in three Melbourne newspapers over the collection period depicts a concerned community worker, police officer or cleaner with a handful of syringes. Often shot with a wide-angle lens at an oblique angle, which effectively blows out the perspective to emphasize the foregrounded object, this type of shot brings together traces of a number of discourses to combine the syringe with the overwhelming power of the backgrounded handler. As Kress and van Leeuwin (1996) have noted, a direct-to-camera face without a smile, linked to an open hand, is a frame that summons the reader (p. 129). Here, the syringe acts as evidence, but is not the subject of the story. The holder of the syringe, not looking directly at the syringe but at the camera, is what summons the reader to listen to the story.

One such story is that of Graham Marston. In 1995 Marston was working as a community youth worker near a high-rise public housing estate in Melbourne. His funding had recently been threatened with cuts by the local government and as proof of the problems created by this he rang the local paper's journalist with a story about the drug problem on the estate. He produced a fistful of syringes (read 'problems') for the story. The journalist wrote a story sympathetic to Marston's predicament, but with awareness that Marston was using the syringe scare as part of an ongoing battle against the local council. A similar image from this photograph session was published in the same paper five months later when drug use at the Atherton Gardens high-rise estate again became a public issue. The utility of the original image was extended from being proof of the problem, to being proof that the paper had been

the first with the story five months earlier. The recycled story was specifically footnoted with reference to the original image and article dated February that year. Marston's power as a handler of the *pharmakon* was cited and recited through his proximity to the syringe.

The narrative function of the image is central to the story. As a summons image, Marston calls the reader into the story. The slightly off-centre and out-of-focus positioning of the handler, however, gives him a less-than-friendly and less-than-familiar location. The reader is not encouraged to get too close to this man (Kress and van Leeuwin, 1996, p. 143). The syringes may be in focus but the story is about the tough character standing in the shadow of the monolithic high-rise estates in the background. By plugging the syringe into Marston's story, Marston's power as handler was enhanced greatly. The syringes loom large, but the handler looms larger still.

Dirt/infection/impurity/waste

There is nothing so familiar as the image of the syringe in the context of dirt, garbage, refuse and infection. Syringe disposal images often pose cleaners fitted out with gloves and long-range pincers, fully prepared to handle the infectious waste that is the syringe. Wide angles often foreground the syringe, while backgrounding the details and proximity of the 'everyman' syringe collector. The handler is often shot at an oblique angle, which emphasizes otherness.

The point of view is also interesting. With close-up syringe images shot from ground level the syringes attain a power that would not be achieved if they were shot from another height. The syringes loom in a manner not usually seen in day-to-day life. Their narrative proximity breaks with the proxemics of day-to-day interaction (Kress and van Leeuwin, 1996, p. 131) giving the syringes enhanced power.

The infectiousness of the syringe is also undoubtedly metaphoric. What is of central interest is how this infectious sign gets combined with other signs. Blown-out perspectives with a down-to-earth point of view reinforce how dirty these syringes are.

The combination of syringes with rubbish is perhaps one of the most common seen in media syringe imagery. The image is evidence of 'the problem'. It is not hard to see the 'naturalness' in the combination of syringes with rubbish. In public, the syringe is likely to be seen in dirty contexts, in alcoves, stairwells, bins and street gutters. However, over 80 per cent of syringes distributed are collected through syringe bins and syringe-collection services. Some images showed syringe-disposal workers in full body protective gear. My several years of experience working as

a syringe-disposal worker certainly never required me to wear full body protection. At best I used pincers and latex gloves.

The villain

There can be no greater villain than the figure of death, the Grim Reaper. In 1987 the Grim Reaper featured in Australia's first major anti-AIDS television campaign. Although the advertising campaign was short-lived, the Grim Reaper has continued on in popular memory as the AIDS villain.

The Grim Reaper was originally primarily associated with HIV/AIDS transmitted through unsafe sex, but the figure has increasingly been associated with injecting drug use (although, of course, the liberal availability of syringes has kept Australia's HIV rate at one of the lowest in the world). In the late 1990s, the Grim Reaper was often presented in cartoons in the daily tabloid newspapers holding syringes full of drugs.

There is an interesting intertextuality when the Grim Reaper is co-located with syringes. During the late 1990s the heroin overdose rate increased dramatically in five major areas across Australia. The daily print media graphically illustrated the overdose phenomenon through graphs and maps, often featuring syringes as iconic markers for death. Again it is not the iconicity of the syringe that is of interest. In this kind of image, the syringe is a bomb in a war game in which the villain commands the power over life and death.

In a map from the daily news broadsheet *The Age*, syringes were used to locate the overdose cases reported by the metropolitan ambulance service over a 24-hour period in the Greater Melbourne area. Mapping Melbourne and its surrounds with overdoses simplifies both the geography and the aetiology of the overdose, and reinscribes the surface in terms of the syringe. The Greater Melbourne area is defined in terms of the syringe, and the syringes dominate both the physical space and the virtual place that is the map of Melbourne.

The intertextuality between the Grim Reaper dropping syringes over the landscape and the scientistic overview of the graphs and maps creates an impressive scope to the villainy. This is not villainy operating at the level of isolated individuals; rather, it extends across time and landscape. The syringe connects the power of scientific insight to the power of the villainy and mediates both through a single syringe. The problems for the population in all parts of Melbourne and the problems across time are all connected to the syringe.

An Australian cartoon by Mark Knight produced in the Melbourne tabloid newspaper the *Herald Sun* (3 November 1997, p. 18) explicitly

places the Grim Reaper with syringes in a wartime frame. The Grim Reaper is in a biplane dropping syringes onto the landscape below. The Australian prime minister is in pursuit. The characters are framed in a wargame. This cartoon appeared around the time of the Australian federal government's release of the 'Tough on Drugs' strategy. Although the prime minister in the form of an allied pilot (perhaps Snoopy) has the advantage in the war game by being behind the Red Baron, little John Howard (Australia's then prime minister) is shown to be struggling to see above the plane's control panel. John Howard may well be the false hero in the larger story of the drug war. The cartoonist, Mark Knight, makes sure that Howard is not the hero. Note the cartoonist's voice in the breakout bubble: 'the war on drugs continues . . .'. The syringe plugs into the political story and connects the characters into a familiar tale.

Putting the *pharmakon* into the hands of the ultimate sorcerer makes for a classic tale, where there can be only one hero. The battle will continue because that is the story of the battle for the soul.

The hero

Often the hero of the drug news story is the life traveller who walks away from drugs. This kind of story is often seen in advertising campaigns for drug treatment programmes, or colour news pieces that showcase the success of drug treatment. An advertising campaign produced for the Salvation Army's 'Bridge Programme' in 1998 explicitly repositions the reformed drug user not as a loser, but as a hero. The Bridge Programme reverses the logic of addiction by making the drug user not addicted to drugs, but addicted to life. The posters from the 1998 campaign, shows a drug user preparing a syringe for injection with overlaid text saying 'Thanks to us, he's still addicted . . . its just that now he's addicted to life.' The romantic hero is one who has 'come clean', and now he has become addicted to life, rather than drugs. The quest, ever-more important now that he has learned from life, is connected to the image of the syringe.

It is no surprise that the irony in this advertisement emerges from the co-location of the sign for addiction (syringe) with the sign for redemption, the Salvation Army. The ambivalence of the *pharmakon* is co-located with great precision by the advertisers in order to garner the reader's attention.

The improper handler

When the syringe is in the hands of someone who is not authorized to handle it, or not magical enough to cope with its power, the handler

must be improper. It is the combination of young person and syringe that most clearly evokes a sense that the handler is not quite right. Young people are not strong enough to handle the *pharmakon*. If they do handle the syringe or *pharmakon*, something improper must be going on.

I chatted with Craig Isoldi and the photographer on the day that an initial photograph was taken for the *Herald Sun*. Craig was a user and small-time street dealer who sold heroin in one of Melbourne's busiest street heroin markets. He plied his trade quietly and attempted to keep his head down. Craig was cooperating with the *Herald Sun* and a local service provider to show the extent of the problem of heroin use in laneways. When first published, the photograph showed a faceless, nameless drug user preparing the syringe for injection. Six months after the photograph was taken in late 1999, Craig's body was found in a suburban street, with a gunshot wound in the side of his head. The *Herald Sun* ran an obituary story contrasting the first image with a family snapshot.

Faceless and nameless in the first newspaper photograph, Craig had no gloves, no protective equipment and was squatting in the dirt, preparing the syringe. The drug user is everything that the proper handlers are not. The drug user does not address the camera directly, the camera's point of view is located above the user in surveillance-like fashion, and the hat obscures his identity. He is definitely in a low-power position (Kress and van Leeuwin, 1996, p. 147). The syringe connects the drug user directly with the dirt. There is no romantic hero in this image. There is something primitive about mixing up drugs in the dirt. There is something basic about Craig's capacity to be demeaned in such a fashion. The image achieves a connection between primitivism, dirt, desire and the syringe.

In the news story about Craig's death the image described was overlaid on a family photograph of Craig gently releasing a pet bird (see Figure 6.2, in Chapter 6). Craig now had a face, an identity and an authorized place. He was a young man waylaid on his path. Transformed into a kid who made some bad choices, the obituary news item marked the shift from faceless drug user to fallen hero. If he had not fallen, though, he would never have become a hero. His image would have remained that of an improper handler messing in the dirt.

Tabloids join with the community to mourn the loss of tragic heroes, but drug users are not heroes until they die. In a front-page headline and photograph, one of Australia's sons lost to heroin overdose is

romanticized in death in a way that would never occur in life. Defined by their age and occupation – 'labourer', 'pensioner', 'spray painter' – these are not faceless evil drug dealers, dole bludgers or witless desperate drug addicts that have no names. Importantly these are our *boys*, lost in the war against drugs. We tend not to see images of our lost girls. When the lost are unwitting casualties in the road toll, we do see young women, because they are legitimate travellers on life's journey. Women injecting drug users are usually portrayed when there is a need for a limit case of depravity. Examining how the syringe plugs into the gendered story of selfhood is perhaps the most revealing illustration of how the syringe image can function.

Some of the most improper handlers of syringes are women. Women injecting drug users are the exemplars of illegitimacy (see Broome and Stevens, 1991; Taylor, 1993; Leigh, 1995). In other words, women who inject drugs occupy an even more marginalized position and suffer even greater personal and social consequences because of their identity (Rosenbaum, 1981; Henderson, 1990; Ettorre, 1992; Musheno, 1995; Maher, 1996; Denton, 2001). A *Herald Sun* front-page story in 2000, cited earlier in Chapter 1, depicted a woman injecting herself in front of her baby. It was captioned: 'How can we stop this!' (Figure 4.3). How much more of a limit case could this be? Not only is the woman injecting herself in a public park, she is injecting herself in front of her baby in a public park. The masking of the mother is achieved through her cascading hair. The baby peering precariously over the side of the pram is 'obscured' by the editors with a black bar. Faceless, 'Christine' is located in a blown-out perspective, squatting in the dirt. The syringe plugs into a figure of the improper handler. More like a Medusa than a hero, she has no right to handle the *pharmakon*.

Remedy

It is only through vaccination that the syringe gets plugged into the *pharmakon* as remedy. Vaccination does not get much press, and is the exclusive domain of children, young animals and old people. All these characters have something in common; they are legitimately subject to the magical powers of the *pharmakon* as they are usually represented as being less than full selves. Just how the innocent are connected to the syringe image is interesting and worthy of closer study.

In images of vaccination, often the ever-present hand of the *pharmakeus* hovers above the face of the recipient of the healing *pharmakon*. The recipient watches, connecting the fear of the syringe with the object

Figure 4.3 ‘How can we stop this!’
Herald Sun, 18 February 1999. p. 1. Photographer: Craig Borrow. Used with permission of Newspix.

in front of its eyes. Drug users are not afraid of syringes and, more importantly, are never cured by syringes. We rarely see the drug user as the caring hand of a uniformed expert. Similarly, the drug user rarely looks at the syringe with a fearful glance. For the syringe to be plugged in as *pharmakon* (remedy) a specific set of actors needs to take up the positions within a clinical environment. A remedy cannot be administered in a laneway to a faceless young miscreant. In fact, it would be hard to imagine what sort of syringe would be required to remedy the ills of this type of illness. An illness of the will could never be remedied with a syringe. When the syringe is plugged into the drug-as-remedy story there are specific conditions attached to its combinatory function.

Metonymy and series of signs

It may seem strange to focus solely on metonymy when exploring the syringe image. Jakobson's framework requires both dimensions of the sign to be appreciated. I have assumed in this chapter a stability in the syringe as signifier, and a disinterest in what is signified and have posited no mechanism for signification. These are important considerations as they establish my scope for analysis, but also tie me into a semiotic that deviates significantly from Jakobson. My chosen analysis is a partial reflection of the complexity of metonymy.

I have explored metonymy here for two reasons. The first is to provide an alternative framework to the orthodox metaphoric reading of the syringe exemplified through the work of Manderson. By looking around the syringe in media coverage, at the context of enunciation, we may be able to connect the syringe with a number of discursive practices. In this case I examined the practices associated with drug discourse and how Derrida characterized drug discourse through his story of the *pharmakon*. The *pharmakon* story is, I believe, a useful way to explore the Western selfhood narrative implicit in the discursive practices that underpin syringe discourse.

The second reason for exploring metonymy in this way is to attempt to link these discursive practices to a sociocultural context. Here I make reference to the combinatory effects of metonymy in Deleuze's transsemiotics (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, pp. 136–137) to proffer a context for the discursive practices I have examined.

As I have suggested through the work of Derrida, the syringe connects stories and utilizes any number of narrative elements. It connects to self, world, consciousness, reason, freedom, desire and, as Derrida suggested, 'I could go on' (1995, p. 243). As much as the art hidden in the depths of the soul cannot be represented, the world of the soul is multiply hidden from view. The syringe is the conjunction par excellence, bringing the most polar of existential discourses together without having the least bit of equivalence. Sails are connected to ships, the cradle is connected to birth and the grave is connected to death. Syringes can be connected to life, death, poison and remedy because the syringe has an ambivalence that few signs can match.

There is also a nonsense created through such ambivalence (see Lecercle, 1994 for combinatory signs and nonsense). Because the syringe can plug into so many different stories, there is no single story about the syringe. Connecting to an existential location hidden from view, the nonsense (and the power) of the syringe lies in the impossibility of

its message. By plugging into different series of signs without ever being located (beyond being connected to something hidden) the syringe travels smoothly across discourses and series of signs without capture. There are limits, of course, to the metonymy of the syringe. I have examined these limits by tying them to specific narrative elements. Sometimes the syringe is plugged into stories that do not support its existential weight. Sometimes its existential weight is so powerful that it provides the perfect punch for those using its image.

In the case of children's charity Barnardo's, plugging the syringe into an advertising billboard brought international coverage few could match (Figure 4.4). The syringe enabled Barnardo's to bring contrary narrative elements into a nonsense story, which through its polyphony erased any possible sense. Australian press coverage of the campaign was headlined: 'Is this too much?' (*The Age*, 6 April 2000, p. 14; *Herald Sun*, 30 January 2001, p. 7). The advertisement worked perfectly to create an outrage affect. The image of a baby in nappies shooting up in a dark vacant room captured all the necessary elements. The horror of the nonsense of the syringe says nothing and says everything. Just show the syringe together with a baby, add a hint of drug user and then wait for the outrage.

The syringe plugs into the story of Western selfhood by connecting to specific narrative elements. For Deleuze, the combinatory function of signs is central to his semiotics. 'It is never a matter of metaphor; there are no metaphors, only combinations' (Deleuze and Parnet, 1987, p. 117). Deleuze and Guattari outlined a semiotics where the functions, content and performance of signs are never invariant. It is true that we do not need Deleuze and Guattari to enable this line of thought, but they posited localized and contingent fluxes between content and performance through collective assemblages of enunciation (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, pp. 136–138; Deleuze and Parnet, 1987, p. 116). There are a number of consequences of this that I will not be dealing with here, such as the irony of their semiotics and the super-linearity of their abstract machine of language (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, pp. 90–100), but I think of Deleuze and Guattari's semiotics as an overarching tool that can help contextualize my semiotic analysis.

Taking the Barnardo's story a little further, the image of the baby injector was picked up in 2001 by the Scottish tabloid, the *Daily Record*. The newspaper initiated a campaign to raise funds for drug charity agencies. The logo for the campaign was the Barnardo's baby injector. In May 2001, the *Daily Record* launched the campaign with a front-page image of the baby injector embossed on a one-pound coin

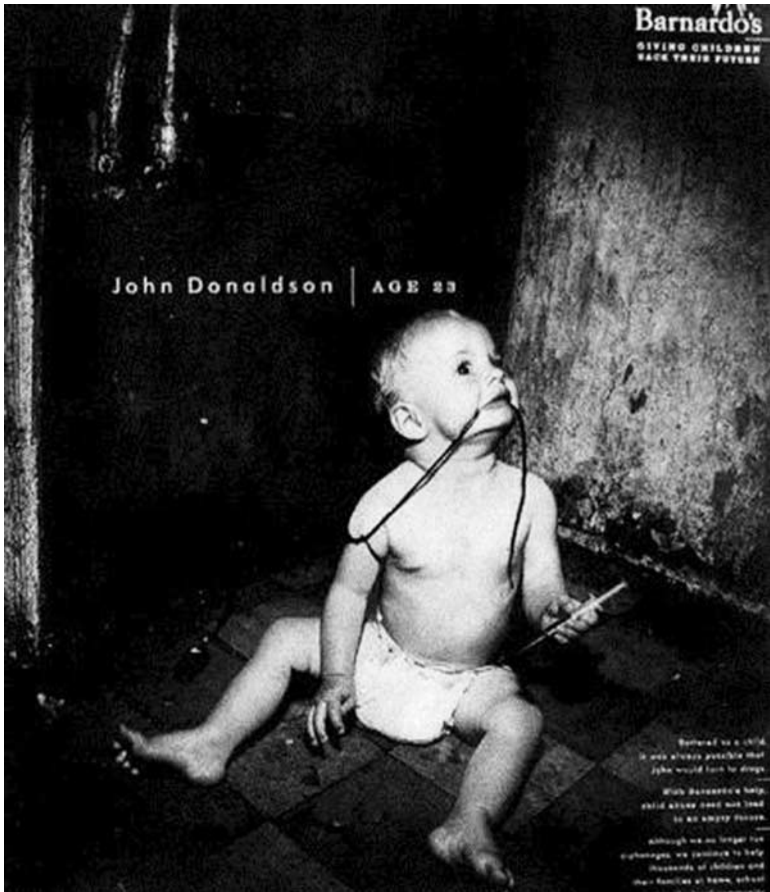

Figure 4.4 Barnardo's campaign image
Photographer: Nick Georghiou. Used with permission of Barnado's.

(Figure 4.5). The image provocatively replaced the Queen's bust on the coin. With the approval of the prime minister, Tony Blair, the campaign launch successfully created the message that the *Daily Record* would match every pound given to a drug charity in the name of this campaign.

Barnardo's, the *Daily Record* and the baby-injector image created a branded assemblage through which a political economy was launched. Assemblages bring together elements into bodies that have real effects. Assemblages also bring together social and abstract processes or

GIVE £1

And we'll DOUBLE it to help kiddies stay off drugs

By PAUL SINCLAIR, Political Editor

THE Daily Record today unveils a pioneering £1million deal to fight drugs.

We aim to raise the money and hand it over to local communities throughout Scotland.

The funds will fight the drugs scourge, as part of our on-going campaign against the dealers, and save thousands of our children from the scrapheap.

And we're asking you, our readers, to help. In an unprecedented move, the Scottish Executive will match us pound for pound. We raise £500,000 – and the Executive will chip in another £500,000.

It's your chance to make a difference to the drugs war in your area.

Last night, PM Tony Blair praised the initiative. He said: "The Record's anti-drugs

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EXECUTIVE ARE OUR PARTNERS IN NEW CASH DEAL

Figure 4.5 The baby injector as brand
Daily Record 8 May 2001. p. 1. Used with permission of Mirroxpix.

machines. Value is experienced, narrated and determined in, through and by bodies immanent to the commodities they produce or consume and the collective assemblages they inhabit. In Deleuze and Guattarian terms, this is to move away from a signifying semiotics to an a-signifying semiotics (Genosko, 1998; Colombat, 2000). It is to focus on questions of how the text works rather than what the text means.

The movement of this story is essential to the creation of value. In this case the news value is in outrage. It is not hidden drug use that is the newsworthy object. The polyphony of nonsense in the baby-injector logo creates an intense surface affect. As the image of the baby injector moves it gains value. In fact, the *Daily Mail*–Barnardo's–One-Pound-Coin assemblage wants the affect–value–image relation to be fixed by the brand. The relation is fixed at one pound each time a reader remembers the image. Late capitalism thrives on the capacity to become-other, the nonsense in the Barnardo's advertisement shrouds

that which is at contest in the syringe and produces a polyphony of affect and value.

In this chapter so far I have examined how the syringe plugs into a pre-existing series of signs. By not looking for metaphors, I have tried to avoid embarking on a quest to discover hidden meanings. I have rather explored a specific sign, and how the syringe image is combined in media discourse with other series of signs. The hiddenness that is produced through the discursive practices that frame this sign is specific to this sign and its combinatory context. In what might seem like a strange move, I wish now to explain the significance of looking at a series of signs rather than searching for hidden meanings in particular signs, and in this way to mark a distinct departure from the work of Manderson.

The sign, as a Heideggerian rift, or de-sign, does not simply represent. The sign encompasses that which was affected by the presence of the sign. The mark that presences the sign is located on a surface that is affected by the sign. Martin Heidegger described the intimate relation between the presentness of the sign and its effects. The effects of the sign are both to bring together and to oppose, the present and its other (1971). The rift occupies a space of difference. As the difference between the world and thing, the space between is that which holds the middle in, and through which world and thing are at one with each other. This space that the rift occupies also contains that which does not reach appearance, that which is unsaid (perhaps hidden). The word contains with it all the sounds of language, visible and invisible, said and unsaid.

At the risk of debasing such a wonderful image of method, I see the act of examining the metonymy of the syringe as a task that looks for the surface upon which the mark is made. The surface in this sense is the series of signs to which the syringe connects. The mark of the syringe is the furrow in a series of signs. In Deleuzian terms, this would be one component of a mixed semiotics (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 146). My task, therefore, has been to draw a map of a surface upon which a furrow is made. I have used structuralist semiotics to bring together Derrida's story about Western selfhood with the syringe and have then contextualized my structuralist semiotics with an a-signifying semiotics. My thought is perhaps a line. The inflection of the line through the act of thinking, posits a voyage (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 482). The line, when inflected, seeks to encounter a space of possibilities rather than to discover hidden secrets.

This reading of the syringe is a mapping of a terrain of discourse that implies the said and unsaid in the space of the mark. I have not attended to the many other semiotic systems into which the syringe can combine.

My aim is not to discover something that was previously hidden, but rather to encourage new ways of putting the syringe into new series.

Combinatory ideas

If this is but one possible regime of signs of a transsemiotic system then it may be possible to reconstitute the syringe into a more productive context. What potentially flows from this exploration are some ideas about what to do with the syringe image. If the power of the syringe is not necessarily related to its penetrative, phallocentric force, then maybe there are ways to recombine the narratives to which it can connect. If a communication strategy about a new syringe-distribution programme was required, I might attempt to use these insights to assist in reducing the fear associated with the syringe.

Perhaps recasting the actors in the storyline could be beneficial. Combining the syringe with different dimensions of the *pharmakon* is another possible option. At present the syringe is highly restricted in how it is combined with the remedial aspects of the *pharmakon*. The casting of the handler is, I think, also essential. At present only those who are evil, magical or covered in protective clothing can handle a syringe. Finally, recasting the position of the drug user in relation to the syringe is critical. Their faceless and nameless presence is a conspicuous absence. Reflecting on the story of Craig Isoldi, I am convinced that there must be a way for a drug user to handle a syringe and show their face without being dead.

5
The Rave Assemblage

In 2011 Sean Leneghan published as a monograph his PhD thesis about ecstasy use in nightclubs, based on fieldwork in Sydney, Australia, from mid-2000 (Leneghan, 2011). The book provides a fairly orthodox account of the city's club culture. Leneghan describes sociocultural context, the clubs, the paraphernalia, the 'types' of ecstasy users and the roles they played. Anyone who knows the early work of Beck et al. (1989) and Beck and Rosenbaum (1994) would be familiar with this approach to understanding the experiences of ecstasy users.

Interestingly, the user experiences which Leneghan describes are remarkably similar to those that other researchers have reported (Beck et al., 1989) in quite different social contexts. Zinberg (1984) asserted some time ago that the effects of a psychoactive substance emerge from an interaction between the mindset of the user, the substance being used and the setting in which it is used. The Zinberg theory (also called 'Drug-Set-Setting') is an intuitive social science framework that has remained relatively unchallenged since the mid-1980s. What does it mean that the effects of ecstasy use have remained consistent over such a long period? Does it indicate a kind of cultural and phenomenological repetition [*sic*] or does it provide some weight to psychobiological and psychodynamic interests (Bjerg, 2008)?

Another possibility is that the social science lens through which we examine ecstasy use has remained relatively insensitive to setting. Perhaps 'setting' needs to be made more abstract than simply the social or cultural location within which a drug is used (Duff, 2007). This chapter shows how to flip the focus of attention onto the 'setting', in order to examine a synthesis of the drug experience. It looks back at ecstasy use in nightclubs in Melbourne, Australia, during the mid-1990s. My focus is not on ecstasy use in the context of the nightclub, but rather on techno

music and how the ecstasy experience needs to be understood as one part of a broader set of relations based on music.

I explore a writing of raves or dance parties using a key Deleuzian analytic construct, the assemblage. More specifically, this is a synthetic work in the sense that as the chapter develops, the relations and forces that shape the experience of music become more complex. This kind of analysis moves ecstasy use away from individual behaviour to a collective assemblage that combines analysis of the music, drugs, dancing and drug dealing at a rave. Different elements are plugged together to produce both beauty and monstrosity. My starting point is not drugs, but music.

Music occupies a special place in Deleuze and Guattari's work because of its synthetic properties. From music, I work my way through the elements of the rave assemblage and build to a complex and contradictory map of the practice of raving. The map itself both stratifies and destratifies; there is no attempt to escape this aspect of writing. In previous chapters I have made recourse to interview transcripts and to pieces of material culture in order to situate my writing position. The text has been quite orthodox, separating empirical sources from critical and analytical commentary. In this chapter I attempt to push my text across different modes. Interview transcripts and material culture are supplemented with reflections, field notes and visual representations of music samples. By mapping the rave in this manner I endeavour to bring to language a different way of listening to the music.

To speak about techno I need to speak about how a bit of sound can become something other than itself. I also want to discuss techno as one part of the rave assemblage, a piece of a desiring machine. The rave assemblage is important not just as a site where techno is played, or as a practice that generates difference and desire, but as a site that can potentially produce monstrous crossbreeds. Botched bodies without organs (BwOs) and breaks in the plane of consistency are part of the mixity of assemblages (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 474; Massumi, 1992, p. 116). This heterogeneity was lost on Jordan (1995) who preferred to see the rave assemblage as a collective body devoid of subjectivity, with a singular politic of 'difference'. McRobbie (1994) drifted towards a quest for authenticity through the possibility of 'strong subjectivity' in her reading of the rave. A characteristic feature of both readings is that they reduce the complexity of raving.

Little attention is paid to the music and how it relates to the rave assemblage. Thornton's writing on techno music was primarily concerned with refuting older cultural studies concepts such as subculture, authenticity and resistance. In these terms, techno music was seen to

have three trajectories: the race axis which plotted the movement of the genre from black (corporeal) to white (technophilic); an authenticity axis which saw its producers frequently changing their names 'to avoid selling out and preserving their niche audience' (Thornton, 1995, p. 74); and the locality axis which plotted its movement from Detroit to the United Kingdom, to finally becoming a musical Esperanto, a celebration of rootlessness. For Thornton, the value of techno music and the musical subculture was related directly to 'concrete practices of production and consumption' that constituted its 'subcultural capital'. The value of the music, however, did not emerge naturally. Techno music became a distinct genre, created as much by the record labels and the mainstream media as by the ravers who bought it and DJs who produced it.

As an alternative to this type of reading, I'd like to draw on some ethnographic experiences to construct a rave assemblage, piece by piece, thereby avoiding the temptation to reduce the assemblage (as others have) to the polarities of production and consumption, resistance and acquiescence. This is an attempt to write a desiring machine, rather than pull one apart. The term 'experience' is invoked not as a ground for evidence or an authentic kind of truth but as a signal of my attempts to make visible my textual working of subject-positions and naturalization of analytic categories. Joan Scott (1991) makes a strong argument for disentangling the politics of experience in writing. Following from the work of Probyn (1996), my intention is to problematize the notion of an unmediated becoming-other in text.

In a broad sense this exploration might be termed a schizoanalysis (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 148), as it will explore the relations of different abstract machines and derelict space to an assemblage. The rave assemblage is a contradictory practice, it is a sense of body, an intensity-in-practice, circulating and dislocating. My aim here is to start with the pieces and end up not with a unified image of the rave assemblage but, rather, a differentiating, complex and contradictory practice, where quanta of difference occasionally sediment, and continually differentiate. Sometimes an assemblage produces monstrosities and at other times it produces pleasure and liberating desire. Music is integral to this assemblage.

I make recourse to a set of terms used exclusively by Deleuze and Guattari. While the meanings of these terms are often contested, their architecture or enunciation enables an open field for interpretation. I have based my readings on the translations and interpretations by Massumi (1992) and Grosz (1994). I devote time to abstract machines and assemblages, with use of these terms, which I outline briefly below,

derived more from *A Thousand Plateaus* than any other Deleuze and Guattari texts.

Abstract machines constitute becomings and operate within assemblages. They are real, situated in time and named, but not concrete (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, pp. 510–514). They include the abstract machine of over-coding and the abstract machine of mutation. I would also include abstract machines of language and class.

Assemblages are pragmatic systems, or multiplicities of actions and passions. They are transitory linkages of fragments, speeds and intensities that are not found, but made. Machinic assemblages affect abstract machines. I have chosen not to articulate the assemblage in terms of its tetravalency of content, expression, territioriality and deterritorialization as it was conceived (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 505). I am less concerned with dislocating causality than with articulating the heterogeneity of the assemblage.

Becoming is a verb that is not reduced to being, appearing or producing. It is not imitation or playing at something (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 289). Becoming is the 'in-between' of states (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 293). Becoming-molar is distinct from becoming-molecular, not in proportion but in the mode of composition. Molecularity involves local connections between discrete particles that cannot be grasped as whole. Molarity involves the capture of connections of populations of particles that can be grasped as whole (Massumi, 1992, pp. 54–55).

The assemblage that I am interested in circulated around the performances of visiting techno performers and local techno acts in Melbourne, Australia, during 1994. The texts I draw on include interviews with rave promoters, DJs, artists and punters; academic writings; newspaper reports; and local dance-culture magazines. The study of the rave as an assemblage was funded through a drug research and rehabilitation fund, and was concerned with the use of hallucinogens and ecstasy in the rave and dance party scenes in Melbourne. I attended dance parties and raves (indoor and outdoor, legal and illegal) over a 12-month period. During this time, I was able to work closely with two rave promoters who allowed me to observe and participate in their management of a number of rave events. I could have chosen a number of other performances and written other assemblages. Indeed this assemblage is a composite from several histories.

Names, places, times and individual characteristics have been changed in order to protect the people involved in the fieldwork. This may seem excessive, but the rave scene in Melbourne at that time was

small and under intense scrutiny from the police. Many people active in the music scene also deal drugs and have a range of public roles. I have been careful to ensure that the stories in this chapter are 'composite stories', not realist narratives, although they have the textual trappings of realist works. At issue also is the political intervention of writing the assemblage in this way. A more comprehensive realist report on the fieldwork can be found in Fitzgerald and Hamilton (1994).

I wish to compose a rave assemblage with techno, the body of the DJ, some dealing pleasures and the drugged body of the raver. It will be performed within fragments of ethnographic text, with all the usual tropes and difficulties of a fragmentary ethnographic account. Writing in this way is not an attempt to get beyond the problematics of Othering inherent in the ethnographic project. I am using this collection of ethnographic genres to emphasize the writerly quality of the text. This is a political intervention, to have the chapter read both as an ethnographic text and as a text that does not presuppose a capturing of its subject. The task of rendering ethnographic detail into critical work on political economy, using a variety of textualities, has been the subject of intense debate within American anthropology from the literary turn (see Clifford, 1986; Marcus and Fisher, 1986; Tyler, 1987; Sangren, 1988).

Techno music

During 1994, there were at least 12 different variations within the collective term 'techno' or dance music in Melbourne. House, deep house, progressive house, gabba, hardcore, jungle, breakbeat, trance, deep trance, acid, hard acid, ambient and tribal trance. Now there are even more variations. I have created a spatial figure of the abstract machine of mutation that has created these categories of techno music (Figure 5.1).

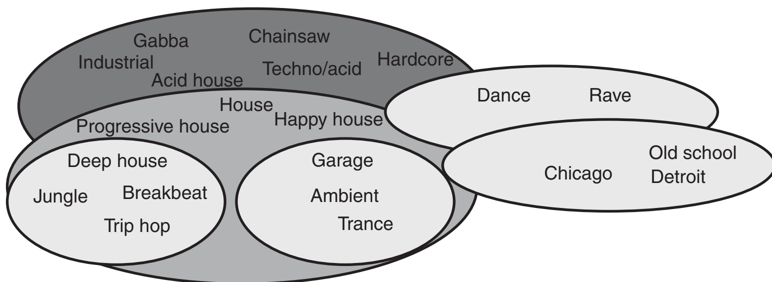

Figure 5.1 The abstract machine of mutation producing strata of styles

In their comments on rationality, nomad thought and method generally, Deleuze and Guattari distinguish between tracings and maps. A tracing is a molar sedimentation that 'has organized, stabilized, neutralized the multiplicities according to the axes of signifiance and subjectification belonging to it.... What the tracing reproduces of the map or rhizome are only the impasses, blockages, incipient taproots, or points of structuration' (1987, pp. 12–15). Maps, however, have to do with performance, have a number of entry points and are oriented towards 'experimentation with the real'. For Deleuze and Guattari, tracings should always be put back on the map to see what happens.

For the purposes of this chapter, I think of the figures in themselves as tracings (captures or molar sedimentations). However, it is how they are resituated on a map that determines how they can be reinscribed. In this way, I hope the figures do not effectuate or imitate the real; they can only serve as substrates for performance. On one level I think the names are useful; they create poles upon which discourse circulates. They mark thresholds on which territorialization occurs (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 67). On another level, I become anxious with mapping out relationships between signs when I know that more is at play than the sign. I will start with the bits, though, and then move on to the assemblage.

Figure 5.2 documents a bit of techno, the waveform of a one bar sample from a track that Nico (a touring New York 'live' performer) presented to Melbourne over public radio. These are the bits of techno that people talk about. A sample of a DJ's signature tune may locate the DJ in one time or another. Does this waveform tell me anything about the music? When I listen to each beat of the bar I notice the fat analogue base line, the background 'acid' samples circulating around the ONE (the first beat of each bear), the subtle timbral shifts within each bar, that each beat is not quite the same and that the sequence repeats every few bars. This locates it within old school acid. But an identity in a past

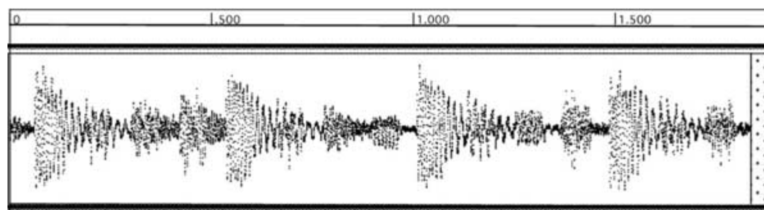

Figure 5.2 Four beats of Nico

is just as much a dislocation in a present. Reconstituting the sample creates a new sound. What was a fat analogue sound in the 1970s is not just a 1970s sound, it is not just nostalgia. Rose (1994) suggested the use of sampling technology in rap music by black rap musicians was central to the creation of 'historical sonic narratives'. Integral to these narratives is the use of technological strategies (particularly the use of 1970s drum and bass samples) to articulate 'black cultural priorities'. The Roland TB-303 synthesizer and like-minded analogue electronic instruments are nostalgic, but they also become old-sounds-becoming-new-sounds.

Sounds-becoming are the first piece of the assemblage. The Roland TB-303 synthesizer was an electronic bassline machine, where bassline sequences could be generated electronically and synchronized with other electronic instruments. The sound becomes in a multiplicity of ways. The first site of sound-becoming is in the text of a transcript from a 'raver'.

> Everything just seems to flow, you just click into the music um, you hear things in the music which you relate um, you relate to places sort of thing you um, the music that I listen to like there's usually a part of it has a pianoey tune, that pianoey tune can be like oh you know 'that reminds me of being at the beach or something' like that, you know, it's oh, you know, it's really good. Puts you in a different place sort of thing, you know you're there but you're thinking of other things.
>
> (Kate: 302–317)

The above account of flow works in a number of ways. An absence of temporal markers both in the content of her narrative (for example, being both here and 'in a different place sort of thing' at the same time) and in the form of the transcript (for example, no pauses are marked) emphasize a detemporalized quality to sound-becoming and body-becoming-other. Through these absences I have located Kate's description as different from the historical accounts of techno written in music reviews.

In music reviews, the bits of music, the lines, riffs and breaks are named and located historically, to become in other ways. In this selection of music review excerpts from *Listen Up* (a Melbourne dance culture magazine) some sediments are forming; in this case, piano riffs and acid lines:

> This track is haunting but at the same time peaceful. The true meaning of hard and soft, out of tune but in tune. Starting off with peaceful

> seashore samples followed by a loving piano riff. I usually dislike piano, but here it is used in such a way that even hardcore gabba grungies would enjoy. Then just when you start to get relaxed it slaps you in the face and turns on you like a haunting horror movie. Analog basslines in and out of tune wet and wicked.
>
> (Anonymous, 1994, p. 26)

> Acid that has groove, not fast but with balls made of titanium, sweet, sweet acid with some old school beats thrown in . . . My favourite being 'Rubbor', minimal acid tweeks in a Chicago sounding style'.
>
> (Anonymous, 1994, p. 29)

> With its Predator reptilian-like samples and tight sleazy acid basslines that moves along at a steady pace, but keeping you interested and on the dance floor till the very end. Trance 303 acid done very well, which is rare these days.
>
> (Anonymous, 1994, p. 26)

To be located historically is to have some connection with a discursive location that has been situated as being in the past. For a techno artist, to have a place in the present requires citation of the past through sampling or the replicating of sounds and riffs that have been previously sedimented into categories. For Melbourne techno music reviewers (who, for the most part are themselves DJs) the task of belonging to the present is threefold: to articulate the music's generic location, to demonstrate a knowledge of the genealogy of the music and to be up to date on emerging trends. There is a lot at stake. Each DJ's top-ten chart is published alongside the charts from record stores and nightclubs. DJs are expected to perform, not just in the rave, but also in print, demonstrating their knowledge of the lineage of their music, while at the same time being aware of all the hottest new acts.

In *Listen Up*, the Soundscapes section of the magazine (for music reviews) is segmented into categories. In the second edition of *Dance Up* from 1993, the categories included house-garage, jungle, acid-techno, progressive trancy vibes, house and ambient. By the fifth edition a year later, deep house and breakbeat had come on to the scene and garage had dropped off the list. A year after that, music categories had been dropped altogether and music formats (disc versus vinyl) were used to divide up the reviews. Early in 1995, as a sign of the success of the proliferation of these music categories, the popular Melbourne street press magazines *In-Press* and *Beat* started to include specific rave columns such as 'The rave scene' and 'Speedball-hardcore, gabba and hard trance'.

These columns still existed at the end of 1995. Reviewing is a critical moment in the location of music, for both the music and the reviewer becoming-historical.

The categories of music are not simply discursive acts. There are differences in the pulse rates of the music. In addition, the above music review that cites 'minimal acid tweeks in a Chicago sounding style' refers to two well-worn aural distinctions: the 'Chicago-sounding style' and 'acid tweeks'. References to the Chicago-house style alerts the reader that the music will be sparse and will probably have a Roland TB-303 sound somewhere in its midst; acid being synonymous with a Roland TB-303 sound. This is in contrast with the Detroit sound which, as the anonymous FAQ from the newsgroup alt.rave states, is distinctive:

> The hallmarks of Detroit techno are a stripped down aggressive funk sound played mostly on analogue instruments (Roland TR-808 is a favorite drum machine), and most of all, a pounding severe rhythm.

In a later edition of *Listen Up* (1995) a press release and review for the visiting Detroit DJ, Carl Craig, clearly denotes the importance of both legacy and originality in the music:

> He brings to Melbourne not only the tradition and legacy of the Detroit sound, but also a deep understanding of the culture that created it and the worldwide subculture it inspired. One of Detroit's legendary first generation, Carl Craig has left behind the legacy he has outgrown and is making records for all dancefloors, creating both a history and a future. For he has broadened his horizons both musically and spiritually and is one of the few originals to have continued to modernize his sound, developing a huge spectrum of styles.
>
> (Anonymous, 1995)

I will later expand on the importance of how the names of different styles of techno music form their images as commodity. For the moment, though, I will explore other types of reviews.

Rave party reviews talk about the music in a particular way. The bits of the music of the event are meant to become part of my body, my bones, entering my calves and my lungs. These reviews also enrol a history of local personalities:

> Sonic Animation has the first live set and pump it with their brand of driving, warm trance sounds – the crowd loves them. This sets a

> good pace and eases the brain's intake for the follow-on from Willie's pumping and banging sounds...
>
> Hardfloor steps onto the stage for an extremely welcoming reception. After an electro-type hip-hop drum beat work out, comes 'Yeke Yeke' (Dub) which starts the groove and subsequently hips moving and bodies grooving...here we go!...
>
> ...then the unmistakable double beat kick comes in, then the bassline – oomph – into the Acperiance of a lifetime...
>
> After Hardfloor, Richie Rich cruises us along with a blend of old Melbourne favourites and cruising trance...
>
> (Anonymous, 1995, p. 13)

The rave review language sets up an assemblage. The language of the assemblage draws on the mechanics of the music's construction (the 'hip-hop drum beat', 'unmistakable double-beat kick'); the local identities (Sonic Animation, Willie and Richie Rich) and the embodiment of pleasure ('eases the brain's intake', 'hips moving and bodies grooving'). To talk about the music means to talk about the assemblage of the rave, as composite, contradictory; both historical and momentary. Again in the following review, note the threads of technological imagery, corporeality and the presence of local identities in the music.

> Dr Fernando played a set of pumping and to be expected, manic acid, which hit you right in the head and heart. He twiddled those 303s (acid box) like a little boy possessed in the sand pit and, as always, the crowd were up for it! Providing raw musical energy at its most potent and best, Fernando proved he has a doctorate in 'acidology'. To keep things interesting, he would cut from hi twittering onslaught into huge uplifting chord breaks (not cheesy, happy style but a bit deeper) to take it that little bit higher and then wham!...straight back in your face. After already being hyped up by the likes of Dcee and Adrian Van Raay, with pumping funky acid and rocking techno (no it wasn't hardtrance all night), to say the party was vibed at this stage is an understatement.
>
> (Anonymous, 1995, p. 24)

When I was conducting fieldwork, techno music was being both played and performed at raves held in licensed nightclubs, unlicensed warehouses and in the seclusion of state forests. Varieties of

patrons abounded, with tensions between clubbers and ravers. The music was a constant through the tensions and somehow the different factions worked together, not necessarily in harmony, but in a loose, tense, co-existence. DJs needed money to sustain themselves in the techno music scene in Melbourne. The nightclubs provided the venues and the crowds, so long as the DJs played the right music. So ravers got to hear their music, but often at nightclubs filled with clubbers.

There weren't just DJs who played CDs. There were DJs who beat-mixed, and then there were live performers as well. Performers mixed sound sources from digital audio tape (DAT), synthesizers, bassline boxes in more or less live pieces of music lasting from 30 to 45 minutes and sets lasting up to two hours. Some performers were even known to do marathon sets of four–six hours.

Sound signs, word signs and commodities

Techno music was identifiable as a commodity. The New York techno performer Nico suggested, in a Melbourne radio interview in 1995, that his latest piece of music could be described in terms of its historicity and its market niche:

> Essentially I'm trying to take the different styles and channel them to different markets. This music will not be taken as well as perhaps the 'serpents' track was. So ah please grab hold of your seats 'cause it's a little deeper and it's a little bit old school techno, but it appeals to a whole new bunch.

The music 'as commodity' is not peripheral to the rave assemblage. McRobbie (1994) highlighted the relationship between the illegal aspects of the rave and the legal industries that arise as part of raving. Many of the promoters and DJs have day jobs in record distribution and rave music retail outlets. Traditional distinctions between production, circulation and consumption of music as commodity (Cutler, 1985) still exist in techno yet they also do not exist.

The both/and relation I use here is to emphasize that the music as commodity becomes-Other. Composition and music production occurs at the level of the digital sampler, the performance and the music review. The capturing of genre and the proliferation of new music forms enables the sounds to become music in new ways, to be re-sampled and captured again. The quest for authentic 'production' and 'consumption'

of the music as commodity form has little meaning with regards to techno music. Likewise, alienation from the commodity form in this context is difficult to establish. Techno as a commodity is both a form of human interaction and a form of exchange. Progressive politics that require delineations of commodity consumption from authentic community practice (Cutler, 1985) will do well to try to understand the collapse of distinctions apparent in techno. Not that the collapse of distinctions is a panacea for the problems of the industry; rather, it is a sign that a more sophisticated theorizing of the relations between sounds, music, pleasure and consumption is needed. Social relations that form the basis of production and the exchange value of commodities are fragmented (Holloway, 1992). This is more evident in social spaces where the assumptions that underlie value in a Marxist sense are violated, such as the illegal copying or stealing of the commodity (Holloway, 1992). The sampling and re-sampling of bits is at the heart of techno. The sampled waveforms, the abstract machine of mutation proliferating techno genre, the music as commodity form and the rave reviews as public performance of hidden transcripts (Scott, 1990) all constitute parts of the rave assemblage and are all important.

Different types of becoming are evident for the music as commodity. The transfer of value through the name of the music (commodity image) places the music as commodity into some exchange relations that exceed its use-value. The music as commodified within the music and rave reviews is no longer solely referential to a transcendent type of sound. Rather, the music as commodity becomes in a variety of ways. One form of becoming has already been explored, the sound-becoming-music; there is, however, another possibility that deserves attention. The commodity image of rave music types may become embedded within discursive practices and through those practices the music textually enters different circuits of cultural capital.

The following use of a techno commodity image in a discursive practice can be read as an illustration of how the value of a commodity image contributes to a cultural circuit of capital. Late in 1994, a rave event utilized a well-known custom of not revealing the location of the rave until the night of the event. Ravers had to telephone a specific number, which played a pre-recorded telephone message that described the location of the rave pre-party. It was only at the pre-party, or after a certain time of the night, that the location of the main event was disclosed. The transcript of the message was as follows:

> Welcome, this is Eternity, the ultimate dance event of '94
> Here comes the details you've been waiting for.
> You know the score 'cause you're hardcore.
> Pre-party location is Inflation nightclub basement,
> King Street City.
> Be there somewhere between 9 and 1 to find venue details.
> Remember, this is only the pre-party. If missed, call after
> 12 for main venue details on the same number, Cheers.

'You know the score 'cause you're hardcore' is the line of interest for the moment. Hardcore refers to both a type of techno music and people more committed to the scene. Similar comparisons of graded intensity could be made with the terms hardcore punk, and hardcore pornography. Hardcore techno music is characterized by a particularly fast pulse, gives greater prominence to industrial noises or samples and could be described as hard and fast. The message co-locates being hardcore with 'knowing the score', or having privileged knowledge. The statement could simply be an interpellation of the caller. It has the potential to accomplish an action that generates effects; that is, you are hardcore. It calls the caller into being hardcore through the iteration of hardcore on a stage, a pre-recorded telephone message, by a performer/rave promoter/salesman. You are hardcore because you dialled this telephone number to find the location of the party. The caller is being called into becoming-consumer as much as being called into becoming-hardcore.

'You know the score 'cause you're hardcore' is a heterogloss. At around this time in Melbourne, this sentence appeared in a completely different context: printed on the front of a gay ecstasy and speed dealer's business card. In this context, the emphasis shifted to being able to score drugs because 'you're hardcore'. There was significant crossover between the venues and the patrons of gay and rave nightclub venues in Melbourne at this time. The crossover extended not only to the use of the word 'hardcore', but also to the discursive practice in which it was embedded. There is, I would suggest, not simply a continual production of mutant variants of music names and genres, but mutant variants of discursive practices in and around the rave assemblage.

The discursive practice of inscribing on the listener the characteristic of being hardcore is entirely a raver thing to do. No other music performance organization in Melbourne did this in this way, at that time. The music name entered into the circuit of cultural capital of the rave scene.

The purpose of connecting circuits of capital with Bourdieu's cultural capital is to link the abstract machine of capital (Massumi, 1992, p. 131) with a discursive and cultural practice. Despite Bourdieu's framing of cultural capital being a little static and conservative, it remains a good way to discuss the movement of sign value into the materiality of what people do.

The sign hardcore, through its placement as a marker of value in a range of discursive practices, occupies a fragile and transitory place within the cultural capital of the rave scene. By 1996, being hardcore went out of favour, supplanted by newer music like happy hardcore and jungle. The abstract machine of mutation continually produces new variants to take the place of the old. The rave assemblage was constituted by the sedimentation of music into a wide range of economies encompassing the illegal drug industry, the street press, the music performer and the music production industry.

More is at play than the signs of techno music. Other than its aural qualities, the music as textually visualized is an object of consumption. But by no means is this object of consumption simply a commodity. The circuits of capital in which the sign is embedded are affected by, and affect how, the sign works both as commodity and as a constitutive part of a number of discursive practices in a range of economies under the mantle of the rave assemblage.

The music becomes in many ways and will continue to become by virtue of the nature of value and the assemblage in which it is embedded. This is an oblique reference to Baudrillard's (1981, p. 78) logic of value in sign exchange. The differential function of sign exchange often materializes in contradictory terms. It is this thread I wish to link with the production of difference in the rave assemblage (through the abstract machine of mutation producing strata of music styles) and the possibility for the music to become in a variety of ways.

The DJ's body

The body most responsible for the performance of the music is the DJ. At raves in Melbourne at this time, most dancing was directed towards the front of the dance area where the lasers and lights are projected and where the DJs mix. Jen, a 25-year-old raver, described the location of the DJ:

> Everyone faces the DJ like, you know, you go to a nightclub, everyone is facing everywhere, but when you go to a techno rave everyone

> faces the DJ like oh he's the ultimate priest up there and you're just fixed on him, and it's almost like an aerobics class I guess. And um that's usually where all the lights are coming from behind the DJ and um and everyone is sort of fixed into the – it's all the beat you know it's just all about the beat of being so fast, everyone sort of gets fixed on that.
>
> (Jen, pp. 686–701)

There are producers, DJs and live performers, and then there are all the people in-between. Techno music is created, sampled, recreated, recontextualized and then resampled. No wonder the categorizing names cannot hold the music constant. There is no music separate from its assemblage in the broader synthetic movement that is the techno music marketplace. A DJ performer learning the art of beatmixing described how he does it:

> So you beat mix the music and you get in tone with its, its like you're almost, the whole set you do, the records, it's almost like you're writing your own song, because you're putting it together your way, you know up, down, through, round, out whatever.
>
> (Jamie, pp. 1542–1549)

Nico had come from New York to perform two live sets at a nightclub venue. The night before the rave party, Nico was interviewed on one of Melbourne's most popular techno music shows at the time ('Thurstee', 3RRR FM) by popular radio DJ and host Liz Miller:

> Miller: What an absolutely sick track, everyone in here is going crazy . . . don't forget Nico will be playing live tomorrow night . . . and remember it is live. Obviously you're not DJing tomorrow night, a lot of people have asked me does he play, is he a DJ, but no, you're actually performing live aren't you
>
> Nico: Uh huhmm, yeah.
>
> Miller: And will you be using DAT backing or will you be playing 100 per cent live?
>
> Nico: Well, if all goes well, I'll be playing live, um, you know I have the 909 and the 303, all the right machines up there, and I'll do a live show.
>
> Miller: What sort of equipment have you got in your studio, and what's your favourite piece of equipment?
>
> Nico: The TB303.

Miller: Wheeew [applause, laughter and shouts in the background] general consensus in the studio.

Nico: At least for what I'm doing right now, what with the Nico project, ah the 303 is a very important part of my being so to speak.

Machinic images of the body of the DJ are enlivened and embodied through the music. The body of the DJ is fundamental to the life of the instrument and to the becoming-music of the sound, and to the DJ-becoming-other. Through mediating between the machinic processes of the synthesizers, the dancing crowd and connecting the cosmic with the elementary, the DJ's performance was to enact the sound-becoming-music.

In my fieldwork in rave nightclubs I recorded my version of the DJ as performer.

> Nico appeared up on the scaffolds leading to his stage perched 20 feet above the crowd, dressed in a wizard's gown, complete with the pointed hood with luminescent stars printed all over a deep blue. Face shrouded, he crouched over his synthesizers and sound sources and started an acid set. Deep flowing chords swirled over the crowd waiting expectantly below. Orchestral lines coursed out of the sound system. People poured into the main dance area from the chill rooms and outside spaces, raising their eyes expectantly, and they weren't disappointed. Whoops and cheers rang out as he built the swirls to an intensity. Everyone knew it would come but not at the time he did it. Thump, thump, thump, he was off, the cape flung back and the long dark hair streamed out like a fan. Everyone was off with a loud cheer into a hard acid line pumping through the crowd. Nico's second dawn set was trancier than the first set. He brought the sunlight in through the club's glass ceiling with pulses and swirls rather than pumping grooves. By this time the drugs were starting to wear off, the sunglasses were put on and the ravers headed home.

This section is meant to read like a rave or DJ review. It is formatted like a cited text in order to play on the apparent differences between rave review writing and my fieldwork account of a rave event. The DJ's body is about the movement of particles, intensities and velocities between the electronic instruments, the DJ and the crowd. For Nico, the Roland TB-303 is 'an important part of my being', and for Dr Fernando who 'twiddled those 303s (acid box) like a little boy possessed' the body of

the DJ is both machinic, in a processual sense, and Other. The DJ's body is machinic precisely because of the affective capacity and kinetic composition of the body (Deleuze, 1992). Through individuating the flow, pulses and intensities in the music, the body is becoming-other, allowing the flow of music, silence and sounds (which belong to the plane of immanence) to circulate.

Dealing pleasures

Drugs, legal and illegal, are important pieces of the rave assemblage. In many different ways, economically, symbolically and organically, psychoactive drugs create affects. I will start with some of the pleasures of illegal drugs and the material places they can have in the assemblage.

Nightclubs deal in pleasure in whatever form they can corner. But the pleasure must have an aesthetic. It must be seen to be flowing and circulating, always questing for a new pleasure, the pleasure of the new. Pleasure is the currency and hidden pleasures are the most valuable. This pleasure industry uses an aesthetic of seeking to visualize the experience of hidden pleasure and promises a sensation of disorder and vertigo in the quest for time between the visible and invisible (Virilio, 1991). Ecstasy, speed, acid, techno music and fashion are all elements of the assemblage that is the institutional pleasure dealer. Violence, coercion and deceit are also part of the assemblage, but we don't see these. Nevertheless, they are also part of the pleasure.

There are two kinds of dealers I am interested in, one a raver, the other an industry. This section of the chapter is derived from field notes from a performance of techno DJs at a nightclub specifically organized for ravers.

At about five o'clock on the night of the rave, there was a meeting in the bar between the nightclub management and the rave promoters. The management were adamant to the club's organizers:

> No drugs in here okay, we'd lose our license, and I can tell you, if we see any drugs we're gonna close it up.

The rave promoters give assurances, but the management persists:

> In fact we're gonna close it at 2 am, I don't want to risk it, I know with you guys that that's what you do, you bring in the young kids and they don't drink, they just use drugs…

The rave promoters did in fact threaten to get a court order to prevent the nightclub from altering the opening and closing hours agreed to in the original contract.

> My field notes recorded the rave event and how management controlled the flow of drugs, and flow of drug-using bodies in and out of the venue.
>
> It started at around 1 am when they brought in a young guy, around fifteen years of age, and grilled him for having a white tablet on him. 'Where's it from? Where'd you get it?' The bouncer shook him like a doll, lifting and dropping, lifting and dropping. The assistant manager, blue suit that had been worn too many times . . . smells like aftershave, but not really aftershave, more like cigarette smoke and sweat and aftershave, kind of sweet, picks up the phone, 'Do you want me to ring the police, I could you know . . . where'd you get it?'
>
> Everyone knows they're going to keep the ecstasy tablet and then resell it later in the night. The kid gets thrown out and the bouncer takes the tablet. 'Frank, I need the key, so I can put it [the drug] in the safe . . . do you want me to put this in the safe, or what?' Assistant manager (Frank) goes red in the face, 'stick it into the fuckin toilet, fuckin' . . . like we usually do!'

The assistant manager's blush was memorable because it flowered when he looked over at me on the other side of the room. Clearly the usual practice was to pocket the drugs and resell them at a later date. It seemed more like a tariff than a theft.

On Friday afternoons the dealers came around and took orders for what was needed by the club for the Friday and Saturday nights. Anything else that can be picked up by security is resold later by the bouncers or other staff. The clubs support the ravers by providing a venue and cash flow for the DJs. The ravers are mostly peripheral. The clubs are interested in a marketplace for non-raving clubbers. The clubbers need the ravers and the ravers need the clubbers. Without the clubbers the raver scene would not have in-work DJs. Without the ravers the clubs would not be able to draw the fringe crowds who in a few months become the in-crowd, who a few months later become the old crowd so that in 12 months there's been a complete cycle in the system.

At around 3 a.m. it is on again. The bouncers bring in three young guys with six white pills, and the same accusations, more

extreme questioning, shouting and threats. Out they go, into the inner-Melbourne street. There are 1,200 people here tonight and they pull three young guys in with half a dozen white pills for some reason.

A rave promoter commented in an interview on the relationship between the ravers and the nightclubs:

> Raver: you're noticing a lot of nightclubs putting on dance parties, 'cause they seem to be flavour of the month, you know, people like me are getting squashed a lot by that, because the nightclub association's never been that interested in seeing raves develop, but now that they're getting to the stage where they know they can't ignore it, they're jumping on the bandwagon themselves.
>
> Interviewer: So what do they do to you?
>
> Raver: They've got the heavies, they've got, you know the money . . . I mean it's just a matter of squeezing.
>
> (Poul, pp. 94–130)

Monica's dealing

This section on Monica is derived from fieldwork notes and reworked into a realist text.

> [field note story] In the dark chill room, barely lit, are twenty or so people sitting around. Monica is there, she smiles to me between the heads of the onlookers and nods. Not the outsider I thought she was. Centre of everything in the chill room, where each becomes something closer. The figures that were once dancing in womb-like isolation, going off and losing it, could now reach out in the chill space with hugs and gentle shoulder rubs. The DJ behind the door with some quieter deep trance lays out a cloud of milky swirls around our shoulders. There is a flow, a circulation.
>
> *Monica is selling speed and ecstasy. She has some runners out in the club doing the selling. She just sits back and relaxes, her work has mostly been done. It is Monica's night tonight, she has the club pretty much as her own. Most of those sitting around her know she's been around the scene for a couple of years. She's one of the old crew. Few of the young ones would however have known that she was also a significant dealer here. She loved the family atmosphere of a techno rave, where people looked out for each other. It's still here in this room, but rarer these days with all the youngsters around.*

Monica helped her friend put a deposit on a house from the proceeds of her dealing. At 24, she'd just about done her time going out raving all the time. A year or so back, after three years in the scene, she looked for a more substantial role and found it as a dealer. The money was good and the contacts she'd made placed her well in terms of getting into the club sector, although she was limited in how much she could do there. The Friday afternoon runs to the clubs meant she was dealing in very large quantities of speed and it looked like she had had enough. A few months later, after 'somebody got burned', she was in hiding in a flat that had a foam mattress on the floor, a telephone answering machine and nothing else. Things had got a bit out of control and she had to lay low for a while.

The drugged body

The drugged bodies cited in this section are derived from fieldwork notes reworked into a realist text.

Evan's out

[field note story] He cannot even talk straight. Someone said it was ecstasy but it had to be something else. No one knows what it was. Someone said it was likely to be Special K (ketamine) or a mixture of some description. Evan has been dropping ecstasy tablets in this nightclub every weekend for the past six weeks. He's virtually a regular clubber here. So it's strange that he's picked up some bad stuff. No one else is having as bad a time as him, but then, he did buy the stuff down in St Kilda. He's so embarrassed, usually he's the one introducing me to people, saying 'this is the guy that's been doing the research . . . blah blah blah'. Not tonight. Evan gets directed to the chairs outside, to wait out the tranquilizing effects of whatever he's had.

Evan's a clubber, about thirty, dressed in black with lots of silver jewellery. He could be gay or queer, but not straight, even though he is. Loves clubbing, using ecstasy and dancing. Likes being up and seeing the world and himself in a flow of beauty. Evan was there for the music, he was there for the event, for the dancing and for the ecstasy. But this wasn't his night, no ecstasy, no dancing. Nevertheless, it is a night out.

Tripper

[field note story] For some reason, maybe because we'd been hassling the bouncers all night for being too strict, the bouncers let us know that they'd thrown someone out:

Just letting you know that we've tossed a kid out, and he's creating some trouble down the street a little bit okay.

Three minutes later:

Quick, ring an ambulance, and does anyone here know any first aid, the kid's collapsed and is having some kind of fit or something.

He'd been listening to the music and then suddenly he exploded on the dance floor, throwing his arms about and hitting people. It all became too much and he was thrown out of the nightclub by the bouncers with only a singlet and jeans on. It was about twelve degrees outside and when we caught up with him one hundred metres from the club, he was lying on the cement, wet and having a seizure. After the seizure, he drifted in and out, but by the time the ambulance arrived, he was awake, aware and seeing lots of things that I couldn't see. His scopic world was there in a tunnel three feet deep in a visual field extending about twenty-five degrees from centre. All else was sound and distractions. This was part of the assemblage, part of the plane of consistency, part of the rave, a monstrosity.

This convulsing body of the tripper bears little resemblance to the ecstatic body of pure difference commentators such as Jordan (1995) cite as exemplifying the raver's body:

Smooth space has no blocks to creativity and constitutes a 'plane of consistency' which makes up a BwO. In raving, the collective body created by the sweating ecstatic bodies of ravers constitutes just such a smooth space.

The tripper, cold, stiff and tensely jacked up, superficially has more in common with the junkie trope that Deleuze and Guattari borrow from Burroughs. For Deleuze and Guattari the drugged body is a botched body. This is a reduction that does not sit well with me, empirically and ethically, because it begs the question of who calls a botched body into being. When does the production of difference become blocked? Who calls into being the normative moment of difference production that demarcates being from becoming? The hegemony of the white, male, opiate-addicted junkie body obscures the many other possible monstrosities that are part of the rave assemblage. Furthermore, the complexities of differentiating between being and becoming in relation to drug use are often left unexplored because the botched junkie body, cited and re-cited within a canon of drug-affected bodies, remains transcendent. The junkie body, as trope, is itself an apparatus of capture.

I want the botched body of the tripper, the monstrosity, to be part of the assemblage. I see no smooth space and I feel no euphoria in the prone body

> *trembling beneath my hands on the sidewalk. Both the monstrosity and the ecstatic body are parts of the assemblage and posit a challenge to unitary understandings of smooth delirium and botched bodies alike.*

Losing it

To 'lose it' or to 'go-off' is a wonderful thing. It is what happens when the music takes you away, you surrender and you are lost in the music. Unfortunately, for Reitveld (1993) the combination of dance, music and drugs which form the experience of 'losing it' has reduced the experience to an 'implosion of the self' and a disappearance from signification: 'This was the dance in which to forget, to lose oneself, this was the Dionysian ritual of obliteration, of disappearance' (1993, p. 65).

Taking obliteration one step further, Reitveld employs a familiar psychoanalytic trope as a consequence of the use of ecstasy:

> It could be argued that the use of a dance drug like 'ecstasy' in a rave environment makes one return to a stage in psychological development which is before the acquisition of language, thereby undoing the self that is constituted in and by language, and in and by its constructed discourse. . . . In this case there was a surrender to a complete void of meaning rather than some form of resistance.
>
> (Reitveld, 1993, p. 65)

The apparent disappearance of language as a sign vehicle, however, may not indicate an oblivion so much as a shift into other forms of expression and performance. As Urciuoli (1995) has suggested, 'the dimensions for making meaning which become available by using the body, may complement the dimensions available by using the voice'. By not considering the possibility there might be a sensing of the body in the altered state. Reitveld has perhaps missed a significant aspect of drug taking. An article on the politics of dancing published in *Listen Up* emphasizes a knowing, feeling self in a body that loses it in the music:

> Ravers and clubbers have the ability to totally lose themselves in the music. It demands almost all their attention, so they naturally zone deeper into it and have a good understanding of how it can best work for them. Dance music is about making you feel more alive, and as clubs and individual DJs develop their own styles and flavours, so too do the punters.
>
> (Anonymous, 1995, p. 9)

Use of drugs such as acid and ecstasy has an important rhetorical role in this apparent disappearance. A 'loss of subjectivity' at the rave is a familiar interpretative trope with a genealogy originating with Reitveld (1993) and Russell (1993). Jordan (1995) draws on this apparent loss of subjectivity as a foundation point in an argument that suggests the rave assemblage is non-productive:

> The BwO of raving is the undifferentiated state that supports the connections that the rave-machine makes between its different elements. This undifferentiated state is a collective delirium produced by thousands of people making the connections of drugs to dance, music to dance, dance to drugs, drugs to time, time to music and so on and thereby gradually constructing the state of raving and so the BwO of raving. The delirium is non-subjective and smooth, as all the connections and functions of the machine give way to simple intensities of feeling . . . A creative ecstatic body is the BwO of the rave-machine and the de-subjectivized state of ecstasy is a raver's desire. The desire to construct and then exist on the BwO of de-subjectivized euphoria underpins the existence of the rave machine (p. 130).

I would suggest that there is no unitary desubjectivization in the raver; desubjectivization is only one possibility. In fact, I would suggest that desubjectivization is antithetical to an assemblage of desire, as a desubjectified body would be a botched BwO. There is no unitary 'smooth delirium', if anything it can be jumbled and chaotic, structured and unstructured. The complexity of the rave assemblage defies this reduction.

I have already mentioned the becomings occurring in the rave assemblage: the music-becoming molecular and the DJ becoming-machine. There are other becomings and other ways to describe an assemblage. Two women cited below, Mandy and Kate, create a textual world that situates the bodily experience of the music through the use of lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD). The music, the drug, the body and the people together form an assemblage.

> The music was the best because it was coming from inside me, and I didn't think anyone else could hear it and I kept saying 'can you hear the music, can you hear the music' cos I thought it was, you know how rave music it sort of pounds, it was sort of like coming from my heart sort of thing, you know it was weird, that was probably the best

> thing, I don't think I could handle tripping without music, I have, but I couldn't have that night.
>
> (Mandy, pp. 592–606)

> You don't necessarily need to talk to them to communicate, you can just like look at each other and smile and you know that you're thinking along the same lines, ah, whether it's actually true or not when you're straight I don't know.
>
> (Kate, pp. 376–383)

'Goin' off' and losing it are important in the raver becoming-other through dance, as expressed by Jamie:

> I got to a stage when I would be dancing and go like flat chat doing mental stuff and people would yell out my name like 'goin' off Jamie'... like now I'd rather be in a corner or something by myself going off, I don't have to have people watching me or people saying 'oh, you know, goin' off'.
>
> (Jamie: pp. 1847–1866)

The space encountered while drug-affected and dancing in the rave is not outside discourse, it is not void of meaning. If anything this space is an intensification, a site of becomings. Drug use does not necessarily botch a BwO (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 166). I suggest that drug use is additive to the body. It is another possible becoming. Lewis (1995) uses a critical approach to embodiment and dance genre to suggest that if a both/and relationship is adopted to a sense of the body, as *both* present *and* absent during dance, a different understanding of improvization as an experience of body in-movement is attained. I suggest that there is no disappearance, rather the possibility for becoming-other is created in the moment of the body of the raver that is losing it or going off. This is a moment for unhinging habit, a derelict space (Massumi, 1992, p. 99). These autonomous zones:

> Inhabit the in-between of socially significant constellations, they are where bodies in the world, but between identities go: liminal sites of syncretic unorthodoxy.
>
> (Massumi, 1992, p. 105)

It is precisely because the derelict space of the drugged-body-dance-music assemblage is both in the world and an irruption to the molarized world that makes it difficult to deal with in the terms of opposition

politics. The contradictions that make the assemblage both possible and difficult frustrate commentators who want either/or evidence of a politics of resistance or acquiescence (Jordan, 1995).

The rave assemblage

Implicit with production of lines of flight is the production of monstrosities. The dangers of the illegal drug economy and the nightclub pleasure economy are ugly monsters that stand alongside the pleasure of the soft caress of an ecstasy-embalmed raver, and the story of Monica who recently had been able to buy her first refrigerator. The body is becoming in raves like it does not become in any other place. There is a possibility of a monstrous epidemic, of an intensity of flows that forms a rhizome generating unending contagion. It can be an encounter, a disturbance that is monstrous, nomadic and magnificent. A reduction of the rave into a desubjectified and unitary politic, however, is both misleading and unimaginative – a molar sedimentation, a making of the same (Massumi, 1992, p. 107).

It is true that there is a need to talk about the material effects of pleasure in the rave. The rave scene (in Melbourne at least) explicitly glorifies commodity consumption culture. Expensive, imported records and CDs, designer shoes, trousers, sunglasses, shirts, are all fashioned for the raver. However, in past writings that emphasize the consumption of material commodities in the rave scene there has been a lack of attention to the substance of pleasure and the materiality of desire in the body. A central element of this pleasure is the music.

In the rave performance, techno is becoming molecular and puts us in contact with still other elements beyond sound matter (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 343). Indeed, techno itself is not located in any one particular place or time. Waveforms can get captured but that is no guarantee of what they can become. The music gets captured again and placed into categories, yet the abstract machine of mutation continues to generate more derivative mutants that define the genre. The dance and the experience of losing it to the music get captured in abstract machines of overcoding (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 223), molarized into rigid segments and either/or presences. Somehow the assemblage still produces lines of flight, and the lines of flight enable possibilities, however monstrous, complex and contradictory.

Techno music, along with other elements of the rave assemblage, sediment into molar forms: record labels, websites and retail music

fashion stores. This sedimentation is part of the assemblage. While it would be neat and tidy to envision the rave as a perfect practice of difference and desire production, this vision has little to do with the materiality of raving. The music becomes, sometimes it becomes so hard that it hurts. Other times nothing happens at all. The drugs and music can facilitate a becoming of the dancer, sometimes accompanied by dehydration, blistered feet, cramped legs and sometimes death. There is a materiality to raving that must inform theorizing about its politics. Having said this, a materiality of raving is not always easy to grasp. Ravers camouflage their tactics in commodity consumption and an aesthetic of hiddenness. Molar sedimentations, in the form of institutionalized violence in the illegal drug economy, participate in the camouflage of the ravers and make the delineation of what is and what is not authentic to rave 'subculture' impossible.

There is, however, no getting outside of molar sedimentations. There is nothing that can prevent becomings from being re-oedipalized or corporatized (Massumi, 1992, p. 127). The rave assemblage has not evaded molarity. Capitalism traffics in the affects for use in becoming-other (Massumi, 1992, p. 137). Consequently, subjectivity in the rave was always the site of both deterritorialization and sedimentation, because becoming-other has been such a feature of the elements of the rave assemblage. Subjectivity battles are the stuff of late capitalism and the rave assemblage exemplifies the pressure points of the terrain in which such battles have been fought. The derelict spaces of the rave assemblage, those moments of becoming implicit to being in the altered state through the music, drugs and dancing, are necessarily both irruptions and sedimentations.

I prefer to talk about techno with drugs and dance and the body and the pleasure economy (legal and illegal). The rave assemblage, as a collection of becomings-other, is far more interesting than a series of sampled, stratified (molarized) pieces. Techno produces, and is produced by, the rave assemblage. It occasionally sediments, but there are always mutant strains. Coalescing bits into assemblages, then linking those bits with other assemblages, always creates possibilities of becomings: molar and molecular, monstrous and magnificent. It is that moment of irruption, of the sound becoming-other, which enables a map of becomings. The map of derelict space performed in this text has neither origin nor telos, just the possibility of otherness reliant on the becoming-other of a bit of sound.

Back to the future

The recent work of Mountian (2013) is perhaps indicative of a current social science and humanities literature that, while trying to acknowledge 'social context', is bound to an ontology that places the subject 'in something'. There is an ontological separation of the substance, user and world. Mountian's (2013) discussion of an ethics of difference and social imaginary stops at the level of subject forms in discourse and fails to engage with the intertwining of the abstract and the immaterial, with the production of material bodies. If this is where current discourse on the drugged body is located, we haven't really progressed very far since the mid-1990s when the earlier sections of this chapter were originally produced.

It is hard to be satisfied with the current dominance of cognitive, behaviouralist and sometimes discursive models of the drug-using subject. Cultural and ontological questions about drugs seem to be just a backdrop to psychobiology in current mainstream academic drug research. Although the socio-technico functions of drugs are now more frequently acknowledged through the philosophical and critical work of Derrida (1981), this dimension is limited to analyses that show how drugs are politically constituted through institutional and discursive force (Mountian, 2013).

Alternatively, crucial questions of autonomy, pleasure and affectivity have emerged from quite separate lines of inquiry from philosophy (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; Derrida, 1989), the humanities (Bjerg, 2008; Mountian, 2013; Duff, 2014) and scientific contexts (Childress et al., 2008). Some time ago Malins (2004) and Duff (2007) noted the advantages a Deleuzian perspective could bring to drug and alcohol research. Certainly, some 'rave scholars' have embraced the tensions of a Deleuzian approach (see Saldana, 2007; Davis, 2004; Landau, 2004). Mainstream social science journals are now beginning to publish academic applications of Deleuze in the area of drug use and addiction (Oksanen, 2013). These publications introduce the possibility of a different ontology when considering the drug–self–world relation. Perhaps it may now be possible to start to recast the Zinberg framework of drug–set–setting into the more abstract terms of the assemblage and see what this tool from the toolbox can do.

6
Faciality and Drug Photography

Although illegal drug use is a stigmatized activity, it is nonetheless highly visible. Drug users are presented and represented in very specific ways that reinforce their marginality. This book began with an introduction that foregrounded some taken-for-granted beliefs about how we come to understand drug users, their social identity and their collective political voice. At the same time as they are made visible (in film, photography and news media) this type of visibility centres on drug users being a furtive 'hidden' population (Fitzgerald, 1996). One particularly important medium that has reproduced this 'hidden' character of drug users is documentary photography.

The drug user, produced as visible through being hidden, occupies a problematic subject position. Collectively, drug users encounter an even greater problem with their socio and political identity. Through cropping, pixellation and silhouette, drug users' faces are usually obscured from view.

In this chapter I explore the political consequences of a variety of discursive practices used when photographing drug users. To do this I bring Deleuze and Guattari's analytic tool of 'faciality' to the practice of drug photography. The face of the drug user, both literally and metaphorically, is a critical mechanism through which we establish an imaginary landscape of drug-user identity. This imaginary landscape frames the possibilities for an identity-based politics. By analysing the practice of drug photography as a process that establishes an imaginary landscape of who and what drug users are, I hope to get a closer understanding of the processes that both constrain and enable the possibilities for an identity-based politics. In particular, I map a trajectory of a well-known drug photographer and the political consequences of the genre

of drug photography he inspired. I hope this will enable an exploration of possibilities there are to escape those constraints and create a different kind of identity politics for injecting drug users. As Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argued:

> If the face is a politics, dismantling the face is also a politics involving real becomings, an entire becoming-clandestine. Dismantling the face is the same as breaking through the wall of the signifier and getting out of the black hole of subjectivity. Here, the program, the slogan, of schizoanalysis is: Find your black holes and white walls, know them, know your faces; it is the only way you will be able to dismantle them and draw your lines of flight. (p. 188)

Faciality

Deleuze and Guattari argue that two semiotic strata, signifiance and subjectification, intermingle in the work of putting a body together. The two strata have different semiotic regimes and different apparatuses of power (1987, p. 182). The function of these two strata is to maintain the organization of the social world through dichotomization of the world into binary opposites and a selection of normative identity taken from these oppositions. Together, these strata grid the world, they put a face to the organization of social power (p. 178).

The process of facialization is achieved by the abstract machine of faciality, which creates the possibility for a social landscape. Nothing escapes faciality. The faciality machine is 'subjacent' to the subject and the signifier, it is their condition of possibility (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 180). The abstract machine also produces successive divergence-types of deviance for everything that eludes biunivocal relationships. A degree of variability is produced to grid the divergences of the social world.

One can only form subjectivities through faces. The face enables the possibility for subjectivity as well as constraining the possibility of escaping from subjectification. The face provides the ground for establishing the possibilities for both identity and politics.

> That is why we have been addressing just two problems exclusively: the relation of the face to the abstract machine that produces it, and the relation of the face to the assemblages of power that require social production. The face is a politics.
>
> (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 180)

Deleuze and Guattari contrast the regime of signs that act as a backdrop for signification (a white wall for signification) to the black holes that capture subjectivity. Together the white wall/black hole complex form a face. Signification always takes place upon a wall of signs which it inscribes. Subjectification, the disciplining of bodies, always involves a black hole that captures consciousness and passions. Faces are not individual, they define zones of possible significations and fields of what can be sensed, what can be configured as mental realities (1987, p. 168). Faces are not ready-made, they are produced by the abstract machine of faciality, which is triggered by an assemblage of power.

> This machine is called the faciality machine because it is the social production of face, because it performs the facialization of the entire body and its surroundings and objects, and the landscapification of all worlds and milleus.
>
> (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 181)

The face is a system. While the abstract machine of faciality sounds monolithic, all consuming, even perhaps oppressive, Deleuze and Guattari also note that some social formations need a face and a landscape (1987, p. 181). Without a face, there can be no subjectivities extracted from the strata and no landscape in which a politics can be conducted. Here, I explore the idea that the discursive practices framing the landscape for drug users create drug users as faceless and therefore monstrous. Without a face, identity-based political action becomes thoroughly problematic.

The face of the drug-user community

As a researcher and an advocate for drug user participation in state and federal public policy relating to HIV/AIDS and hepatitis C (HCV), I have been embedded in political processes that circulate around the capacity of drug users to represent themselves in public discourse. The Australian Government funds drug-user organizations in each state and territory as part of the National HIV/AIDS Strategy. These organizations represent injecting drug users at a state and national level. They advocate for drug-user interests most usually in regard to health issues for injecting drug users. Drug-user groups have actively participated in what has been internationally recognized as one of the most progressive national responses to the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Herkt and Crofts, 1995). There are, however, continuing problems for these drug-user group representatives

in establishing a legitimate political voice in the community, precisely because of their identity as drug users. In her address to the New South Wales Drug Summit in 1999, Chief Executive Officer of the Australian Intravenous League (AIVL), Annie Madden, noted:

> As a drug user for 13 years I can tell you that it is stigma and discrimination that has most prevented me and other drug users from making healthy choices. What I mean by this is that it is fear of discrimination, stigma and judgement that stops us going to the local needle exchange program, for fear of recognition. It stops us getting support and assistance from our families and friends because we do not want them to hate us or, worse still, for them to suffer hatred because of our behaviour. It stops us from seeking medical assistance for all sorts of health problems because we fear being labelled as drug seekers. Discrimination is killing us. Drug users are not the enemy. We are real people suffering a great deal of unnecessary pain, illness and death. Drug users are part of the community: we are your children, your sisters and brothers, parents and grandparents, taxpayers, employers, employees; and, most importantly, we are your friends.
>
> (NSW Parliament, 1999)

The fear of recognition is both central to Madden's argument for, and illustrative of the difficulties inherent in, a political voice based on drug-user identity.

Madden argues that the fear of recognition stops drug users from seeking support. A drug user's identity is based on a fear of her or his own recognition. There is a violence enacted upon the self, by the self, through the fear of being recognized. This is not just about society discriminating against a marginal group. The possibility of a self is intertwined with a machinic erasure of self, mediated through a myriad of social processes. There is something profound about the difficulty for drug users to have a political voice in this environment. The folding of social force through the sense of self is complete.

Madden is a colleague. She draws on her understanding of identity politics from her work in the community and her studies of culture. She understands the problematic of a politics based on identity, but is committed to the idea of a community of drug users who share the experience of discrimination. This community is represented by AIVL. AIVL representatives advise government on how best to communicate to drug users national education messages about HIV and HCV. It is perhaps my close proximity to a woman who speaks from this problematic political

position that drives my concern to explore a face that both enables and disables the possibility of a choice of subjectivity for Madden and the community she seeks to represent.

The force of this struggle was perhaps most clearly demonstrated in a review of HCV-prevention education strategies conducted by Dowsett et al. (1999) for the Australian government. This review examined a range of HCV-prevention education strategies, including those conducted by injecting-drug-user organizations ('peers'). Dowsett et al. make some strident comments about the legitimacy of the idea of an injecting-drug-user community.

> Orr and Leeder (1998) argue that there is not an easily defined, politically aware and able community to partner with, nor one to champion the cause of HCV/IDU (injecting drug user) prevention. Injecting drug users lack the 'strong identity, appeal, and cohesiveness of the gay community' (Orr and Leeder, 1998, p. 193). Undoubtedly, user groups, with the support of the Australian IntraVenous League (AIVL) since 1989, have already made a start in building a more cohesive community response among users, but representative partnerships require innovative ways of accessing this diversely constituted and rather shapeless sector . . . Injecting drug users are a diverse group both geographically and socially, and having no identifiable coherent community makes access and targeted education a difficult process (Lowe and Cotton, 1999). In their study of functional injecting drug users, Sharp et al. (1991) stated that the only two things that individual drug users have in common is their drug use and their experience of stigma.
>
> (1999, p. 10)

The above extract cites literature that suggests there is no community of injecting drug users. The institutional consequences of there being no community are significant. The document, written for the Australian Commonwealth Department of Health and Aged Care, outlined a framework for national HCV education. The framework, if implemented, would have required funding of over a million Australian dollars. Because Dowsett et al. suggested that there was no community of injecting drug users, none of that money would need to be directed to drug-user community groups. For Dowsett et al. the threshold of community was whether the community speaks of itself, and their report cites evidence that drug users do not even speak to each other about their own drug use.

> While using [drugs] provides the locus for any potential collectivity, the only significant link for all its members is a covert and illegal activity that they generally do not talk about. Indeed, apart from using, users may not have any other thing in common with one another.
>
> (Dowsett et al., 1999, p. 77)

For me, this erasure of a political voice for injecting drug users is stark and violent. The possibility of a collective politics based on an identity for injecting drug users has been utterly negated. Within the terms of this definition there is, and can be, no community. Identity politics relies on an imagined identity mediated through a number of sites. Patton (1995) talked about the performativity of HIV/AIDS categories in the construction of risk categories and identity for HIV-positive people. The political impact of this performativity is twofold. On the one hand, imagined infective bodies can be further stigmatized and become a site for discrimination. On the other hand, the creation of an affected community also creates the potential for a marginal group to have a political face.

Sturken (1997) explored the ferocity of identity politics in her discussion of the documentary photography of people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA). In North American AIDS politics, documentary photography became an area of intense identity politics. Community ownership of HIV/AIDS survivor discourse was contested between gay men and other 'risk' communities. The face of the infected Other can both make identity possible and preclude the production of difference. Being diseased and marginalized can both negate and propagate.

In this next section I explore the possibilities of a collective face for drug users through their representation in drug photography. In a somewhat literal translation of Deleuze and Guattari's faciality, I will examine how the face of drug users is presented in documentary drug photography as a way to explore the abstract machine of faciality that provides the face of the hidden drug user. I will then use a less literal interpretation of faciality to construct a face for injecting drug users in a documentary form.

Making faces

The tradition of documenting drug use in visual form originates from a range of disciplines: cultural anthropology, photojournalism, documentary photography, contemporary art and commercial cinema. Just

as the reasons for doing ethnography have changed over time, so too has the constitution of the visual; visual drug ethnographies are embedded within the political imperatives and discursive practices of their times. This is as much a result of changes in the media, technologies and practices of visualization (Crary, 1991) as changes in the theoretical bases for visual ethnography.

The drug ethnography is one site where the faciality machine is at work. What is fascinating about the drug ethnography is how it brings together different disciplinary techniques in the one text to produce a visual image of the drug user. Ethnographers write drug users, but they use photographers to visualize them. For example, Phillipe Bourgois' ethnographic study of crack dealers in New York, *In Search of Respect: Dealing Crack in El Barrio* (1995), is lauded as one of the most explicit and detailed contemporary ethnographies of urban drug use. The text is supplemented with 18 photographic images. Some are clearly 'good' photographs and some just do not seem to work at all. 'Good' photographs in drug ethnographies are quite rare and tend to be made by professional photographers.

In Bourgois' case, some the most powerful images were made by renowned Magnum photographer Susan Meiselas. Constructing the drug-user face is not a simple process. Face-making requires the invocation of expertise and the application of photographic disciplinary techniques.

Of critical concern to visual drug ethnography is the identification of drug users. Because drug use is illegal and heavily stigmatized, simply bringing the drug user into the visual field is a problematic act for both photographer and drug user. More broadly, there are political concerns with making a marginal population like drug users visible. Journalists and mainstream media argue that the production of drug users as cropped or pixellated images is simply a legal issue, but these discursive practices have political effects. There is a specific visibility politic in representing drug users that can be compared to other marginal groups, but the effects of this politic have few equivalences. The face of the drug user is a limit case in terms of the social and political context for the enunciation of the drug user. In this section I explore a selection of photographic images in popular and academic texts and trace a genealogy of drug photography through different discursive formations. The face of the drug user is perhaps the most telling part of drug photography, not because of what the face is, but because the face reveals much about the faciality machine that produces the drug-using body, often through the foregrounding of absent detail.

For Deleuze and Guattari, faces are not metaphorical, nor are they individual (1987, p. 168). The face delimits a zone of probability and restricts other possible forms. Alternatively the face gives structure, through loci of resonance, to forms of subjectivity that would otherwise remain formless.

A collective political identity through 'community' for drug users is difficult to achieve because the abstract machine of faciality is prevented from establishing the possibility of new faces for drug users. There are two consequences of the erasure of the face of the drug users. First, drug users are held separately in black holes of capture as 'dead male heroes' or evil 'primitive others'. Second, drug users are held unknowable in white planes of immanence by being pixellated, shrouded or blacked out. Emptied out, we cannot know the face of the drug user. More importantly, drug users cannot know their own face. There is never a face for a living drug user, only black holes or undifferentiated white planes, and there is nothing more monstrous than that which cannot be named.

Remnants of previous faces

Every photograph brings with it the possibility of another image (Barthes, 1977). The polysemous passage of an image from one context to another always carries the possibility of new readings (Barthes, 1977, p. 39). Each face carries with it a landscape of possible faces. In my rendering of the discursive practices that form drug-using faces, there are remnants of prior photographic moments. As many visual critics have asserted, the reading of a photograph is always historical (Barthes, 1977, p. 28). Past photographs frame the next image such that each photograph needs to be considered in light of those that came before it. Whether causal connections can be made between texts is not at issue. The landscape is what is at stake. The landscape, containing both black hole and white wall, is the most important feature.

The landscape for drug photography lies in the intertwining of several discursive formations (see Foucault, 1972, pp. 31–49). In a somewhat crude reduction, I prefer to portray these formations in Deleuzian terms, as abstract machines that get plugged into assemblages. These machines of (1) cultural anthropology; (2) documentary photography; (3) contemporary art; (4) Hollywood cinema; and (5) the AIDS culture industry have influenced each other profoundly, although at different times the distinctions between each of them have varied. What follows is neither a comprehensive review of visual ethnographic material in drug research, nor a complete rendering of drug photography in news media. This is

a partial story that uses specific examples to illustrate modest points about the ways by which drug photography has created an imaginary landscape for an identity-based politics.

Although separating out discursive formations is quite arbitrary, I will treat each formation separately and trace one specific example of how these formations have intertwined. Each of these formations could be called a black hole in which drug-user identity is captured. Knowing the formations is the first step in knowing the face.

Cultural anthropology

A trajectory for drug photography began with nineteenth-century North American cultural anthropology. Invented in 1839, photography was a seductive new medium that added a realist weight to the anthropologist's project of observing; how better to describe 'native' culture than to take a picture of it. With anthropology in its strongest positivist moment, the photograph was proof positive of observations borne from field notes. An example of visual drug ethnography from these times can be found in Mooney's photographs of Hopi peyote sessions (Jacknis, 1990).

In the heat of this positivism, anthropometry, the measurement of 'race' through photographic evidence of body size, shapes and proportions, emerged as a discipline. Visual ethnography provided the evidence for the categorization of 'primitive' races according to these representations and as such acted as a colonizing tool in the imperialist endeavours of industrialized Europe and North America (Sontag, 1974; Braden, 1983). Similarly, a good deal of early visual drug ethnography has its roots in the imperatives of those times to document and categorize unfamiliar cultures as a way of colonizing them.

The early twentieth century saw anthropologists turn their eyes back onto their own cultures. To a limited extent the academy cross-fertilized with the social reformers in Western industrialized countries and photography was used to produce evidence for overtly political, as well as academic, purposes. This cross-fertilization reached its first high point in the Chicago school of sociology in the 1950s, when journalists, academics and social reformers joined together to produce the ethnographic methods that underpin much modern sociology (Becker, 1974).

The late 1970s and early 1980s saw the humanities engaging with postmodernism, poststructuralism and later postcolonialism. Questions about what was being represented and the ethics of image making dominated anthropology, sociology and the emerging discipline of cultural

studies. The literary turn in anthropology was marked by the work of Marcus and Fisher (1986) and Clifford and Marcus (1986). In the humanities more generally, art history, cultural studies and social theory had been dealing with poststructuralist discourse for some time, and had applied a number of deconstructive strategies to the visual domain (Jay, 1988, 1993; Taylor, 1993; Foster, 1996). Foster (1996) has noted in a more detailed discussion the impact of postmodernist discourse and poststructuralist semiotics on the general moves within the humanities to 'reclaim the real' amid the uncertainty of critical discourse.

Late in the 1980s, with the rise of the HIV/AIDS epidemic and an appreciation of the role of injecting drug use in the spread of HIV, the need for drug ethnographies conducted by cultural anthropologists was re-energized (Grund, 1993). There was a sense that drug injectors were 'hard to reach' and ethnographies were needed to find these populations hidden from the gaze of public health (Fitzgerald, 1996). This re-emergence may also have in part been due to a reaction against the literary turn in anthropology and a move more generally within the humanities to reclaim the real.

This refocusing on the form of texts at the heart of cultural anthropology's storytelling was mirrored in many other parts of the social sciences. In response, critical medical anthropologists such as Merrill Singer (1995), working with injecting drug users, were influential in trying to recover anthropology from the literary turn.

Film making in cultural anthropology has a strong history in both Europe and America (Hocking, 1975/1995; Taylor, 1993; Devereaux and Hillman, 1995). I will not deal with ethnographic film making here, other than to direct readers to the journal *Visual Anthropology Review* as an ongoing source for discussion of ethnographic film making in North America. It is worth mentioning, however, that realist ethnographic film making in North America more generally underwent significant challenges in the 'play of the real' in film (Devereaux and Hillman, 1995). I do not discuss television documentaries of illicit drug use within this discursive formation either, because of the differing formats, modes of production and the commercial context when compared to ethnographic film. The distinctions between ethnographic film making and cinema more generally may not now be so apparent, as the documentary form has developed significantly over time. Taylor (1994) provides excellent coverage of the trajectory of ethnographic film making in the twentieth century. Ruby (2000) and others have also discussed the direct documentary form and the interaction of this form with ethnographic film making. What is most evident in this discourse has

been its rejection of realist forms for an accommodation of the multivocality of filmic texts following on from postmodernist readings of vision and visuality (see Minh-ha, 1993; Moore, 1994).

More recently the explosion of auto-ethnography in web blogs and social media sites such as Facebook, and YouTube has changed the ethnographic landscape dramatically (Gatson, 2011; Hallett and Barber, 2013). I do not explore this arena in this chapter as there are substantial content restrictions on illegal drug use in many public sites. Early examples such as 'Erowid' (Gatson, 2007) indicated that the content being formally restricted made little difference to the dynamics and traditional tensions involved in the ethnographic endeavour (Hallet and Barber, 2013).

Documentary photography

Documentary photography has its roots in a liberal humanist tradition focused on the frailty and emotion of the lived life, the documentation of the family of man and the paradoxes of the human condition. As well as describing a thematic, the term 'family of man' refers to the celebrated 1955 New York Museum of Modern Art exhibition of that name which showed the work of documentary photographers such as Eugene and Ailleen Smith (on Minimata disease), Walker Evans and others.

The family of man tradition has been incredibly influential and continues to form the basis of most visual drug ethnographies through either direct reference to genre photographs or in the way photo-documentary is performed. The photo-documentary tradition started with visionary social reformers wanting to improve the plight of the downtrodden. They would go in, photograph, and then move on to the next project. A core criticism of documentary photography has been this practice of ripping and running, where the subjects are pitied, the photographer celebrated, but little is done to change the plight of the needy (Braden, 1983).

The North American documentary tradition originated from the works of Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine, two social reformers at the turn of the nineteenth century (Becker, 1974). Riis' *How the Other Half Lives* (1901) documented living conditions in the slums of New York's Lower East Side, however it stopped short of challenging inequitable structures of American society. From 1908 to 1923, Hine exposed the exploitation of child labour and the dehumanization of workers. Although eminently ethical, this work made few inroads in changing working conditions for either group.

The documentary tradition received its most renowned impetus in 1935 from the American New Deal, when the Farm Security Administration commissioned photographers to document the plight of rural poor in the US Midwest. Most renowned of these was Walker Evans' *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. Like Evans, other photographers including Dorothea Lange took the poor and marginalized as the subject of their representation and social realist photo-documentation became acknowledged as a skilled occupation.

The documentary tradition was intimately linked to photojournalism during the 1930s, when tabloid format magazines like *Life* and the *Daily News* emerged. These publications popularized the photo series format (for example, 'a day in the life') and cemented the realist tradition in photojournalism. Photo-documentary artists, however, saw themselves as separate from journalists. Somehow their work was about the bigger issues of the human condition, rather than just reporting the news. Social realist photo-documentary was finally acknowledged as an art form with the already mentioned 1955 New York Museum of Modern Art 'Family of Man' exhibition. Some other significant names within the documentary tradition began to emerge from the New York school: Robert Frank, Louis Faurer, Alexey Brodovitch and, later, Eugene and Ailleen Smith, Diane Arbus and Sally Mann.

War had a major impact on the progression of both documentary photography and documentary cinema. Paul Virilio (1989) has made some significant connections between the uses of visual techniques in war and the generation of what human and technological conflict can look like. In the photo-documentary tradition, most of the influential European Magnum Photos photographers plied their trade in war zones. The small volume *Struggle* (Dubost, 1998) presents some of their efforts, starting with an image from the Spanish Civil War shot by Robert Capa. This form of photography, dubbed 'French humanist photography' (Mora, 1998), was highly influential in shaping the documentary tradition.

John Szarkowski's 1967 'New Documents' exhibition at the New York Museum of Modern Art acknowledged the subjectivity of documentary photographers in the works of Diane Arbus, Lee Friedlander and Garry Winogrand. While few of these photographers have specifically published drug photography, their work established the boundaries of the discursive formation and influenced the 'new documentary' photographers of the 1970s and 1980s (Mader, 1995). Later, artists who did focus their attention on drug users, such as Larry Clark, Nan Goldin and Eugene Richards, all built on this earlier photo-documentary work.

A distinguishing feature of the new documentary photographers was their intimate contact with the subject matter. The authenticity of their work was evident in their proximity to the action. For Clark, it was evident in his own drug use and criminal record. Goldin's authenticity was in the photographs of her own bruises from domestic violence and the appearance of her photographs as family snapshots. Her most celebrated work, the *Ballad of Sexual Dependency* (1989), documented her photographic and personal proximity to the complex sexual lives of her friends. In fact, one story has it that during her photographic training Goldin was encouraged to continue with her diary-style photography as it compared favourably to the earlier work of Clark (Goldin, 1994).

The new photo-documentary style emphasized authenticity over the artistic or technical qualities of the work. These last two photographers, Clark and Goldin, would have a lasting impact on visual drug ethnographies.

Contemporary art

I have drawn most of the description of this discursive formation from Foster (1996). The developments of contemporary art will be only briefly discussed, as it has a long history, too rich to be detailed here. I will, however, discuss the montage form within contemporary art as it has informed visual materials produced by, for and about drug users since the 1980s and continues on the fringe of visual ethnographic work.

Montage is characterized by the co-location of material with different form and content. It was most celebrated by the Dadaists and surrealists early in the first half of the twentieth century. The montage attempted to disrupt the realist image and make visible the often uncontrolled, unpredictable, improbable and sometimes overtly political dimensions of representation. In the 1930s, the montage form inspired political art in Germany such as posters and banners, and in the late 1960s and early 1970s the montage became celebrated in the work of Andy Warhol and Barbara Kruger. With the onset of HIV/AIDS, drug-user groups and AIDS-activist groups (such as Gran Fury, Guerilla Girls and ACTUP) used the montage form for both educative purposes and artistic commentary (Crimp, 1992; Sturken, 1997).

Foster (1996) suggested that in the 1980s, as a response to the crisis of representation brought on by postmodernist art practice, many artists sought to look beyond physical spaces, such as museums and art galleries, and began to see disease and desire as potential discursive sites for their art practice. Subsequently, artists began to borrow techniques and language from ethnographers. The authority, authenticity

and political weight of artwork were seen to be linked closely to the context of the art's production. Therefore, black photographers producing work about the black community were seen to be able to speak to differing extents both ethnographically and personally as artists (for example, see Gupta, 1992). Just as artists began to see themselves as ethnographers, by 1986 ethnographers started to envisage themselves as artists influenced by the literary turn that occurred within anthropology around 1986 (Foster, 1996). The reciprocal 'envy' created some dilemmas for both ethnographers and artists alike. Although the different textual forms they produced came from quite different traditions, both made claims upon the real. Whereas montage often featured in the forms created by contemporary artists when documenting or commenting on cultural practices, it was rarely used in orthodox drug ethnographies. Certainly, the montage has a principal location as a characteristic of drug-user-group educational material in Australia. Principal examples of this can be found in the Shoot Clean campaign from the New South Wales Drug User Association (1997), and the Blood Aware cartoon graphics by another Australian drug-user group, VIVAIDS.

This discursive formation has to date existed on the fringes of the realist tradition as celebrated by positivist academic ethnography. Contemporary art has, however, had a significant role in creating a discursive space for the 'authentic' participant–observer as artist/ethnographer.

Hollywood cinema

Hollywood cinema reaches a far wider audience than any of the previously described discursive formations. This is significant because of the breadth of its potential influence in shaping the imaginary landscape of what is seen to be an authentic reflection of drug use. In short, I suggest that Hollywood cinematic depictions of drug use have set a broad symbolic basis for its representation. However, as I noted earlier in Chapter 3, cinema has also been influenced by changes in other political, commercial and discursive domains.

There have been some significant contributions to the history of drug imagery in the movies. Lewingham (1979) suggested that Hollywood films about alcoholism between 1932 and 1977 reflected one or more of the four dominant explanatory models: moral, biological, psychological and sociological. Starks (1983) provides a comprehensive history of drug imagery in Hollywood cinema. He does not, however, embed Hollywood's representational practices within other discursive formations at the time. After Hollywood's initial fascination with drugs in the 1930s, censorship laws removed overt reference to drugs in Hollywood

films until around 1955, when *The Man with the Golden Arm* was released. Room (1988), in his reviews of representations of alcoholics in Hollywood films, noted there were numerous depictions of alcohol use during that time, though the type of imagery changed substantially before and after Prohibition. Denzin (1991) also reviewed the representation of Alcoholics Anonymous in Hollywood films over a similar period. Hirschman's (1995) work on the cinematic depiction of drug addiction from 1955 to 1990 is another welcome addition to our understanding of the discursive production of drug addiction through the cinema.

While there are many analytical techniques for thinking about drug movies, I wish to concentrate only on two: film genre and the semiotics of a key drug image.

Drug movies

Most drug movie histories refer to a number of key films within the genre. According to Starks (1983), Denzin (1991) and Hirschman (1995), there are three dominant drug-film stories: the realist tale of depravation and self-destruction; the morality tale of seduction, fall from grace and redemption; the detective crime buster; and monster or horror films. Grouped in the first genre are films such as *Easy Rider* (1969), *Trash* (1970), *Scarface* (1987), and biographical films such as *The Rose* (1979), *The Doors* (1984), *Sid and Nancy* (1986) and *Basketball Diaries* (1991). Within the second genre, the most influential have been *The Lost Weekend* (1945), *The Man with the Golden Arm* (1955), *Days of Wine and Roses* (1962) and *Clean and Sober* (1988). Detective crime-buster films are prolific and I will not even attempt to list them. I will discuss monster films later in this chapter. Comprehensive listings of drugs in cinema can be found at University of California Berkeley library (Drugs and Alcohol, n.d.).

The injection scene

In addition to thinking about genre in narrative, there are also dominant framings (or shots) frequently reproduced in Hollywood cinema that can cut across genre. The image of someone injecting into the arm is a core image that functions in a number of ways. In some cases, it has been used as a symbol of a full narrative disclosure (that is, now it is clear to the audience how much we know about this character, who, up until now, has been able to keep their drug use hidden) and consequently codes for an ultimate loss. Alternatively, Manderson, as discussed in Chapter 4, cites the syringe image as a penetrative symbol

that co-locates bodily penetration with sexual penetration and a symbolic scarification of the body through the war on drugs (1995). The image of the drug user injecting is a well-worn one that has been used in realist films, morality tales, crime busters and monster films. It continues to perform its narrative function and emphasize the otherness of the drug user. The injecting scene is clearly documented in *Human Wreckage* (1923), *The Two Faces of Dr Jeckyll* (1960), *Way Out* (1966), *Speed Is of the Essence* (1971), *I, Monster* (1971), *Pulp Fiction* (1996) and *Trainspotting* (1997) to name just a few.

The point of going into such depth with this analysis is to illustrate that the images we tend to think of as demonstrating authenticity (such as the 'junkie' shooting up) have been used in the cinematic marketplace for some time. Cinematic depictions use their images to code narratives as more or less authentic. For example, even a morality tale will attempt to enhance its realism by including an injecting scene. Hirschman (1995) notes that sometimes this can go horribly wrong, such as in *The Man with the Golden Arm*, when the artificiality of Frank Sinatra's character's injection added to the film's inauthenticity. When it is executed properly, the injecting scene codes for authenticity and proximity to action.

The AIDS culture industry

There is quite a lot of academic work describing the visual materials of the HIV/AIDS industry (Gilman, 1988; Crimp, 1992; Horrigan, 1993; Sturken, 1997). Rather than map a trajectory of this machine, I will concentrate on the work of Crimp and Sturken as reviewers of the political effects of this formation.

One of the most significant impacts of the HIV/AIDS industry was to lay claim to expert status through experiential narratives of suffering (Sturken, 1997, p. 157). In North American cultural politics the documentary image was a key point of contest over who owned AIDS. Inner-city communities, equally devastated by poverty and the drug market, were ill-equipped to compete with the gay men's expertise in cultural politics. A wide array of AIDS-related documentary materials proliferated, with an explicit focus on gay men's health. Greyson (1990) described the different materials through his genre of AIDS-related media production as follows:

- Cable-access shows
- Documents of performances and plays addressing AIDS
- Documentary (memorial) portraits of PLWHA

- Experimental works by artists
- Educational tapes on protection against HIV
- Documentaries portraying the vast range of AIDS service organizations
- Safer sex tapes that adapt the conventions of porn to teach bisexual, straight and gay audiences the eroticization of sex
- Activist tapes documenting protests
- Tapes documenting alternate treatments for HIV infections and AIDS-related diseases.

What characterizes most of these materials is the proximity of the voice of the subject in the textures of film production. The authenticity of these materials is foremost. Horrigan (1993) notes that the gay community understood that the needs of the living are only served when all lives are rendered as 'complex, subjective and particularized'. While this could be read as a soft version of identity politics, it also provides some insight into the impact of the HIV/AIDS formation. If anything, this formation made documentary more complex, through the intense cultural politics involved in its production. Politically sophisticated and culturally competent, AIDS activists made news when there was dissent about representations of PLWHA (Crimp, 1992; Sturken, 1997). This representation, however, was generally confined to those in the gay and lesbian community. Public appreciation of the impact of HIV/AIDS in North American inner cities through injecting drug use was limited because of the domination of the field by gay image makers (Sturken 1997).

Since 2004 the harm-reduction movement, an assemblage of drug policy researchers, advocates and policy practitioners, convened the 'International Drugs and Harm Reduction Film Festival' at their annual international conference. Much of the driving force for this film festival came from drug-user advocates and drug ethnographers at Australia's Burnet Institute of Medical Research. In many ways, the film festival demonstrates the interest in this section of the HIV/AIDS policy community in mobilizing its activities around film and video techniques.

Drug photography

The sort of images that have arisen from the discursive formations discussed above can be broadly located into genre. A genre is not simply a type of image, it also makes reference to the means of its production and the impact of its reception (Fiske, 1987). Genre brings together the way an image is made, the form of its imagery and the context

of its reception. In cinema, for example, the genre of westerns is distinct from period dramas, even though they may be about the same period of Midwest American history. The reason for thinking in terms of genre is to dispel the myth that images either reflect reality or just magically happen. Genre as an analytical tool is important because it challenges the orthodox modernist myth that good photographs come magically from the eye of the photographer at critical moments that only great photographers can anticipate. Images connect with each other through intertextual citations. Sometimes the intertextual links are made through borrowing concepts, types of framing, image content or the means of image production. In this way intertextuality is an important analytic tool for understanding genre.

Henri Cartier-Bresson was famous for popularizing the idea of the 'decisive moment' in photography: that moment when a combination of human interaction with physical factors produces the magic of a great photograph. In addition to this magic, there are other factors that make images 'work'. The most important of these is the intertextuality of the image, or how it speaks to previous images and calls to mind other texts. Each photograph carries with it a history of photographs and proposes a certain set of power relations between the photographer, the subject and the audience (Barthes, 1977). Genre photographs are images that make reference to, or cite, previous images, previous photographers, and subject and audience relations. In the next section, I explore the intertextuality of some recent drug photography and trace some relations, first to the work of the documentary photographer Larry Clark and subsequently to the physiognomy of the 'erotic exotic'.

Secret primitive desire

There is a tendency in drug research to attempt to reshoot familiar images of dark, seedy, secret worlds. This can have the effect of othering the subject, or making them different through eroticizing and exoticizing them. At the same time, because these images have such a long history, the erotic or exotic photograph can homogenize the subject as 'not me' and thus a certain safety or distanciation can occur between the reader or watcher and the subject. As an example, in a foreword to his evocative photographs of 1930s Paris, Brassai comments on the 'night people' and the secret world in his photographs:

> The real night people, however, live at night not out of necessity, but because they want to. They belong to the world of pleasure, love, vice, crime, drugs. A secret, suspicious world closed to the

> uninitiated.... And yet, drawn by the beauty of evil, the magic of the lower depths, having taken pictures for my 'voyage to the end of night' from the outside, I wanted to know what went on inside, behind the walls, behind the facades, in the wings: bars, dives, night clubs, one-night hotels, bordellos, opium dens, I was eager to penetrate this other world, this fringe world, the secret sinister world of mobsters, outcasts, toughs, pimps, whores, addicts, inverts (1976).

For the photographer/ethnographer who sees herself or himself as 'outside', the inside world is a secret world, a place to be penetrated. Secret world images tend to accentuate the otherness and reveal the distance between the image maker and that world. The core of the illicit drug genre is images that attempt to penetrate and expose secret worlds, where primitive desires dominate. Note the penetrative impulse and the imposition of a discursive depth in these deep, secret, sinister and dark worlds.

This type of photography has been done to death, yet it continues to dominate newspapers and tabloid magazines. The most recent version of this has been photography of drug use at raves and gay dance parties, where the magic, altered state of the dance party world is re-enacted using a range of extended cinematic and photographic techniques such as 'flash and blur'. The flash and blur effect is created by using a flash with a relatively slow shutter speed. The effect is to freeze the primary object in the frame, while other moving objects blur or stutter. This creates both a doubling effect and an illusion of speed through a blurring of context. See the photographs by Patrick Henry in the cultural studies work, *The Club Cultures Reader* (1997), for an example of this kind of photography. Beautiful as they are, these photographs attempt to capture the otherness of the situation through the stuttering and repetition of light sources and the misting of backdrops. Similar effects have been used in the cinema, most extensively during the 1970s in films like *Klute*, *The Trip*, *Zabriski Point* and *Easy Rider*. See Starks (1983) for stills of Peter Fonda that attempt to approximate the perception of a hallucinatory drug experience.

There are, of course, a number of drug photographs that act as key citational images within the genre. Some of the most important such images come from the drug photographer Larry Clark. Central to his images is a deep fascination with the dark, primitive desire, for sex, violence and illegal drugs.

A 1998 photographic exposé of heroin use in a Melbourne newspaper by Jason South exemplified this focus on the 'primitive'. The central

Figure 6.1 A drug user as modern primitive
Photographer: Jason South. Used with permission of Fairfax.

image was an extreme close-up of a drug user's jaw clamped around a syringe (Figure 6.1). It caught my attention not only because it was an amazing photograph showing in detail all the bristles on a drug user's unshaven, menacing, bulldog-like chin, but also because of its overt citation of a photograph from a famous drug ethnography published several years earlier. The cover photograph of Eugene Richard's *Cocaine True, Cocaine Blue* (1994) has an extreme close-up photograph of a woman with a syringe between her teeth. In this case, photo-documentary work from 1992 New York has shaped the image for a photojournalist who, in 1998, in turn sets the imaginary landscape of what an injecting drug user in Melbourne, Australia, looks like. A similar image on the front page of the Weekend *Guardian* (7 December 1996) shows a Glasgow Rangers supporter with a syringe between his teeth. His fists are raised to display love–hate tattoos on his knuckles, reinforcing the primitive desire now globally identified with injecting drug users.

The career trajectory of the photographer Larry Clark is a good example of the interconnectedness between documentary photography and other machines. Clark, I believe, has been the most influential documentary photographer of illicit drug use in the past century. His explicit participant–observation realist images demonstrated the conjunction between sex, violence and drug use among Midwest American youth. Most graduates of photography schools would be familiar with Clark's

telltale photographic technique and his explicit participation in his subject matter. Clark is like a limit case in visual drug ethnography. The images connect drug use with Western society's purported deepest and darkest 'primitive' desires.

His first work *Tulsa*, produced in 1971, created considerable controversy across North America. The work, which showed young boys playing with guns, drugs and sex, was reviewed as brutally honest and revealing. His second photo essay, *Teenage Lust*, published in 1983, again demonstrated his capacity to photograph young drug users in an erotic, voyeuristic manner that immediately unsettled the viewer. Clark's wish and ability to disturb the viewer was perhaps most evident in a photograph from *Teenage Lust* of a gang rape scene. The photograph was titled 'They met a girl on acid in Bryant Park at 6 am and took her home. 1980'. The image resonated in my head long after I turned the page. The photograph depicts one boy penetrating a semi-comatose naked girl on a bed. A second boy stands waiting some feet behind with an erect penis in his hand. Clark, although behind the camera, is not in the image. Immediately the viewer is placed in an unclear position. Is this violent pornography, social documentary or both? Should you view a photograph taken by someone who stood by as a seemingly unconscious woman was serially raped? Clark is definitely not acting from a liberal humanist 'family of man' tradition; he is deploying a realist 'mirror to the world' technique, whereby his disclosure of a usually invisible act is seemingly transparent in its production. Viewing it requires some complicity between the viewer and the perpetrators. Opinion is divided about Clark. His ethical ambivalence has been applauded in some liberal quarters (Mader, 1995) and deplored in others. One thing is sure, some very influential work on drug use is indebted to the images he produced in the mid-1970s. Personally, I find the ethical ambivalence in his work unappealing and I do not trust the apparent authenticity of the work.

Clark, as I have already indicated, has profoundly influenced other photographers. In 1994, Eugene Richards published his coffee-table book on cocaine use in the United States, *Cocaine True, Cocaine Blue*. The images owe quite a lot to Clark, using several of his techniques: shooting 'against the light', kitchen shots, and the co-location of sexual scenes with violence and injecting drug use. Richards revisits most of the angles covered earlier by Clark. Richards even makes reference to Clark's iconic photographs of boys with hand guns with his own depictions of young men and their armoury (Richards, 1994, pp. 50, 108). Similarly, Sturrock's more recent photographs of injecting drug use in the United

Kingdom in part reference Clark's work, with his close shots of people injecting each other.

Clark has also had an enduring impact on representations of illegal drug use in Hollywood cinema. In an interview with Paul Schrader (the screenwriter for the much-acclaimed Scorsese film, *Taxi Driver*) Clark's photography was cited as one of the key influences in setting the scene for the underground feel of the film (Felsenburg, 2000). *Taxi Driver* is a cinema classic and many more recent feature film directors have studied it as a model for depicting the underside of American culture. For example, Quentin Tarantino cited *Taxi Driver* as one of the films that most influenced him as a director. Tarantino went on to direct the Hollywood classic *Pulp Fiction*, where both the symbolic and narrative use of drug images were highly celebrated.

Interestingly, Clark himself reworked his own images across different media. The photograph of the serial rape of a drugged girl in his book *Teenage Lust*, was, I believe, re-enacted in his 1993 feature film *Kids*. *Kids* attracted widespread debate over the depiction of a group of 13- and 14-year-olds in 1990s New York. The film finished with a rape scene of a semi-comatose girl, although this time the story had an added layer of complexity as the girl was HIV positive. Controversy over the film centred over its realism in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Public health commentators wrote reviews in the mainstream press asking questions about the film's potential to teach society about the need to somehow respond to these reckless youth.

In the public health outcry over the impact of these realist images, little was said about the manner in which they originated. Photographs by a documentary photographer were transformed into a landscape for Hollywood cinema, which in turn became a ground for a public health debate. This transition came about primarily because of the conjunction of Clark's ethnographic authenticity and the authenticity demanded by HIV/AIDS discourse. The mechanisms that sustain this authenticity, however, have rarely been explored.

Another element of Clark's legacy appeared in 1998, as part of an Australian television advertisement for a drug treatment programme. As discussed in Chapter 4, the advertisement had a realist narrative form: two men break into a house, steal a video, sell the video for heroin, inject the heroin and collapse on the floor of a dimly lit room. A voice-over takes the viewer through the 'diary' of this heroin user, telling the story of his day. By way of researching the subject, the copywriters who created the advertisement watched three 'drug' films: *Basketball Diaries*, *Pulp Fiction* and *Trainspotting*. A number of elements of

the finished advertisement were clearly and deliberately derivative from those films. The voice-over narrative and a female character were taken from the film *Basketball Diaries*; the overhead shot of the key male character collapsing on the floor after injecting was taken from *Trainspotting* and a close-up of a syringe with blood pluming back through its barrel came from *Pulp Fiction*. Yet another feature of this advertisement could be seen to derive from Eugene Richards' work. Richards' cover picture of a drug user with a syringe in her grimacing mouth also appeared in the advertisement as part of the lead character's injecting routine. I conducted interviews with a number of people involved in producing the advertisement. From these interviews, it was suggested that for the drug treatment centre management (for whom the advertisement was made) the most impressive part of the advertisement was its realism.

Clark's photography is clearly not the only source of cinematic drug images. There is, however, a broader point about the landscape in which drug photography resides. 'Realist' images of drug users, whether derived from empirical ethnographic drug studies or not, have to deal with the fact that there is a pre-existing body of photographic work that has established an imaginary landscape of what 'authentic' drug photography *should* look like. These images have lasting effects and their influence is felt in the commercial world as well as the academy. They do nothing less than shape what we think authentic and real should look like.

In Clark's later cross-media work, *A Perfect Childhood* (1990), there are some clear markers of how he composes his own life's work in his photography, poetry, diary entries, and with television news coverage of teen sex, violence and drug use. The thread of primitivism in Clark's work is most clearly evident in this later work. Clark notes his own drug use in a particular way. His patient record of drug use from St Lukes/Roosevelt Hospital lists the use of 28 different drugs over the period 1968 to 1990. Clark does not just want his drug history known; for him, his drug history is a work of art. Drug use is part of his life work.

For Clark, the drug user is a modern primitive. Like the young boys who play with guns and explore their sexuality, Clark's drug users plumb the depths of rapacious desire, so repressed and unexplored in the modern body. Clark's lifework is to bring this dark primitive desire to light in a liberal artistic venture. In an early interview Clark noted that as an apprentice to his father (a professional photographer) Clark was fascinated with images from the *National Geographic*. Nowhere is this more

evident than in his work with large penises. Clark enjoys images of young boys with erections. These images are rarely homoerotic. Most usually, they contain residual traces of heterosexual markers. In the case of *Teenage Lust*, naked erect boys are usually framed in relation to young women or co-located with young women. In *A Perfect Childhood* an image of boys with erections is co-located with a postcard titled, 'My god is pleasure'. Clippings from hetero-porn magazines include bylines such as 'Rape is a turn-on'. Twenty-eight pages (containing 31 images) are devoted to a sex sequence of what looks like a prostitute giving oral sex to a young pubescent boy. The sequence is not just ironic repetition. Clark's point of view ranges from overhead to bed level, making sure the act is covered as completely as possible.

The pastiche of materials in *A Perfect Childhood* constructs Clark as drug user, photographer and explorer. He is never more explicit in his authorship than in his citation of Marshall McLuhan: 'The criminal like the artist is a social explorer. M. McLuhan (1911–1980).' In a two-page spread on page 46 of *A Perfect Childhood*, the most important connections become evident. Clark co-locates a magazine clipping of a naked African, his penis tied in a knot, with clippings of an African-American boy shoving food in his mouth, two African-American men being arrested with their trousers undone, and a large promotional flyer from rock band Metallica that shows a vast, open-mouthed, muscle-bound monster. All the images in some way work to a primitivism marked through perverse renderings of the naked black body.

Clark brings together his crime and his art to make himself a work of art through being the modern explorer of primitive desire. Some of his art cites other artists' citations of his earlier work in a tribute to his own influence. In a quiet corner of another two-page spread, Clark included a postcard image of Robert De Niro from *Taxi Driver*. With crazed eyes, a full load of amphetamines, a Mohawk haircut and a bullet wound in his neck, Travis (De Niro) puts a bloodied finger to his head, pulling an imaginary trigger on himself. Travis' inchoate violence as allegory for modern America's obsession with purity captures a major chunk of the Clark story. It comes as no surprise, in this testament to his art, that Clark includes a Hollywood citation of his work as a part of his own life. Clark cites cultural authority from those working off his own life performances. The primitive desire that Clark has made real and authentic through his own photography gathers authenticity through recitation of cinematic evidence.

Clark's work establishes a landscape from which a number of machines draw to produce authenticity in drug photography. His

apparent proximity to the rapacious desire that is his object creates evidence of experience that grants his work a provenance. The primitive lives on as an element of the machine that produces the drug photography genre. When drug users are reproduced with full faces, part of the face is that of the primitive, and we have Clark's pubescent interest in *National Geographic* to thank for that.

In search of a face

Documentary photography is often the ground on which identity politics is played out (Gilman, 1988; Crimp, 1990, 1992; Patton, 1990, 1995; Sturken, 1997). In this section I examine some discursive practices in light of the contributions of Clark and others to documentary photography and discuss the possibilities for faciality. It is important to note that while I will be examining drug-user faces in detail, faciality for Deleuze and Guattari should not just be read literally.

Dead heroes

Figure 6.2 shows the image from a 1999 obituary news story about street drug user Craig Isoldi published in an Australian tabloid newspaper, the *Herald Sun*. This image is also examined in Chapter 4 in the discussion of illegitimate syringe handlers.

The text of the article portrays Craig as a victim of a callous shooting. He was someone's son, valiantly struggling in his battle with heroin, a tragic, timid victim. The article contains two photographs. One was from several months earlier when Craig posed for the *Herald Sun* in an exclusive report on street drug use. Face obscured, crouching in the dirt, it could be anyone holding the loaded syringe. In contrast, the obituary story includes a snapshot provided by the family that shows Craig smiling gently with a bird resting on his hand. There is only one face in the picture. These contrasting images capture a key element of my argument about photographing drug users' faces in news media: a drug user must be dead to have a face.

The faceless drug user is inscribed as unknowable and illegitimate. Whether the drug user is sociopathic, reckless, criminal or a victim of society, without a face they have no legitimate social or political voice. Being faceless precludes them from either a system of capture or a regime of signs upon which to inscribe. The machine of faciality cannot place the subject within a politics of identity if it is prevented from capturing a face. So long as the drug user is using drugs, and is rendered faceless, the drug user is forever relegated to a virtual place, a derelict zone in which

Timid: friends said drug user Craig Isoldi (above) would not hurt anyone. Inset: Craig prepares heroin earlier this year.

Figure 6.2 Craig Isoldi in life and death
Source: *Herald Sun*, May 1999.

there is no identity. The drug user is forever becoming-other. Cinema itself could not have produced a more fearful image: the unknowable drug user who has no identity. That which cannot be named is the darkest of all monsters.

Once drug users are dead everything changes. The faces of lost soldiers, lost souls or valiant heroes deserve viewing in a range of public media. There is a long tradition of celebrating those lost at war through public demonstration of them at their healthiest (Scarry, 1985). Showing the faces of those lost valiantly in life's struggle is an eminently ethical act of grieving. Although the epitaph has changed dramatically over time (Aries, 1985), the obituary photograph, showing the faceless drug user and the face-full, valiant lost hero, performs two functions. More will be said about the gendering of injecting drug users in Chapter 12. Suffice to say, the dead drug user is intertextually related in news media photography as a dead male soldier.

These are not gay men either. In these photographs, the victims of the drug war are family men. How different the pictures are to those of people dead or dying from HIV/AIDS. The highly class- and gender-specific victims of injecting drug use are heterosexual, working-class men.

Evil drug dealers

Death can be social as well as physical. Drug users who are sent to jail can also have a face because they have died a social death. Very rarely does the sentencing of a drug user warrant a picture in the newspaper.

As Manderson has suggested, Australian drug laws reflect our commitment to racist and xenophobic immigration policies (1995). So too do our photographic practices with regards to drug dealers. A front-page photograph and story from the *Herald Sun* (Melbourne) on 7 October 1997 shows the discursive distinctions between how the faces of drug users and drug dealers are inscribed. The drug user remains faceless while the dealer, Tien Pham, peddles his deadly trade. Most street-level drug dealers use heroin themselves. But in this case, Tien Pham is not a drug user; he is clearly marked, through the headline, as a 'dealer in death' – one with an Asian face.

It appears from the copy in the article that the journalist and photographer were present at Tien Pham's arrest and sometime later at his conviction. This is no chance image. The newspaper worked with police over a period of time to gather the photographic material for publication. The images were then archived until the villain was convicted. In Australian law, it is only after conviction that the face of an offender can be published. The capacity to produce a face is critical for the power

of this story. They could have run the story at the time of arrest, but chose to run it several months later after the drug dealer was convicted and the face could be fully disclosed. Not just another pixellated face, the dealer in death is given a clear unambiguous identity: the evil Asian.

A social death in this case does not just mean incarceration. Pictorial evidence shows the social death of the evil Asian as the policeman shoves Tien Pham into the police car. Evil is punished. In this grid of capture, where the drug user has a face, the face is not just any face. The face of the socially dead is the face of evil. The drug user, again, cannot have a face; it is obscured. The socially dead drug user either gets erased or pixellated or gets configured as evil by being a dealer. It is indeed ironic that in purportedly trying to protect the individual drug user's identity, the media representation robs them of it. There is no doubt that interesting and varied drug stories are hard to tell. There are only a few permutations of the characterization possible.

News media

Perhaps the most explicit example of the erasure of drug users is to be found in news media photography. This photography explicitly marks drug-using bodies as hidden. These bodies are not just any body, they are now a partially erased body, an identity in itself. As much as it shrouds identity for legal purposes, the pixellated face works doubly to enshrine something hidden. The reason for obscuration is as obscured at the object itself. At one level, the individual is innocent of any crime; however, they would only be obscured if they were newsworthy enough to warrant criminality. The obscuration also functions to render the subject voiceless in the production of the image. Without being able to attach a political voice to the image, no one can argue against the production of this image for an argument of defamation: it has no face and therefore no identity. There is little possibility of the object staring back (Elkins, 1996).

War

I have already suggested that war has been an important thread in the intertwining of discursive practices shaping drug photography. I want to discuss one more aspect of war and its role in drug-user faciality.

In Philippe Bourgois' ethnography, *In Search of Respect*, the 'good' photographs are those that speak to an imaginary of what this place and these people could be: shadowy, clandestine and powerful. These images, taken by Susan Meiselas, are strongly derivative of street photo-documentary and continue the tradition of Larry Clark, Geoffrey

Biddle and Eugene Richards. Bourgois' own snapshot photographs, which seem a touch flat, do not have much technique and, more importantly, have little connection to the drug photography genre. The collection of photographs throughout the work is uneven and complex. Bourgois' principal professional photographer, Susan Mieselas, is a member of the Magnum Photographers group. She is most famous for her war photography in Central America and Central Asia. While Clark connected primitive desire in the co-location of guns, sex and violence in urban America, Meiselas connects the primitivism of drug use with the primitivism of war through her trademark graphic style and framing. There are merits in Virilio's observations of the connections between war and visuality. Drug use becomes part of a broader discourse of war through the framing of drug users in the same lens as warriors. No wonder dead drug users are represented as dead war heroes. Even when they are alive, drug users, primitive in their emotions and cognition, are already at war. War discourse underpins the discursive production of drug users' bodies, either through the documentary tradition or through the production of the dead working-class male in obituary photographs.

Bourgois, in his empathy and political economy, renders the drug users primitive and warlike. Any pretence for valour and advocacy in his work, *In Search of Respect*, need to be contextualized by his reproduction of the characters in his story as faceless foot soldiers.

Possibilities for faciality

My analysis posits a configuration of discursive practices that at the same time enable certain faces and disable the possibility for other faces. The following section explores some possibilities for faciality that focus on its literal and metaphorical application.

A key issue in image making is the control of the production of face in marginal groups. One alternative to the tradition of the lone photo-documentary artist is the leftist-inspired documentary approach, where the means of image production is given to subjects. This technique was used widely in the 1970s in sociology, features extensively in HIV/AIDS cultural materials and has been used for some time in other areas of public health research (Wang et al., 1996). Skill acquisition, control of the means for image production and a more complex rendering of subjects' images of themselves are the key advantages of this type of approach (Braden, 1983). The disadvantages are that it is expensive, time consuming and the images produced may not be suitable for a mainstream audience or for the funding source (Wang et al., 1996).

An example of this approach in drug discourse has been the production of educational videos of safe injecting practices made by Australia drug-user groups (NUAA, 1998). These projects, while not strictly research, can be extraordinarily revealing and productive as they expose the complex identity politics of image making in community settings. The educational video, *The Edge*, was produced in 1998 as part of the New South Wales government-funded Tribes programme. In this community-based education initiative, small groups of drug users were funded to develop educative materials for the prevention of blood-borne virus transmission and drug overdose. I will examine this resource as an illustration of the identity politics inherent in blood-borne virus education initiatives and speculate on what it suggests about the possibilities for faciality.

The video follows a small band of drug users at a weekend party. Incorporated into the narrative are educative moments, when text messages overwrite the drama. All the action takes place in a countryside house. The characters are clearly over 35 years old and the atmosphere is clean, friendly and caring. Inside shots dominate, ranging from injecting scenes around a table, through recovery on a sofa to a dance scene cut to an electronic music soundtrack. A re-enactment of an overdose situation provides a template for emergency response and throughout the party sage advice about proper injecting practices is passed on from the more experienced users. Obviously shot on a small budget, the production values are not very high, but the authenticity of the cast is never in question.

There are some familiar editing techniques. In particular, the dance scene uses image doubling and a number of cross fades to suggest a kind of altered state. These are reminiscent of the techniques used in classic drug films such as *Easy Rider* and *Zabriski Point*, but here they also mark out the altered state in the dance scene. While the subject matter and low production values mark this as different from mainstream film, some of the cinematic techniques connect the video to more familiar terrain. The treatment of drug-user faces is perhaps the most significant feature of the video. Faces when discussing, using and recovering from drugs are fully visible. They are old, haggard faces, but they are faces.

There is a tendency within drug services to use older drug users in education materials. Finding people prepared to inject for the public is not easy and most of the time older, well-known and established drug users are the only ones prepared to be recognized in public materials. I first viewed this video in a needle and syringe exchange during working

hours. As clients walked into the service, they joined with the staff to watch the video. There was a lot of laughing and joking about how old the drug users were. Staff and clients were watching carefully to see if they knew any of the drug users in the video. All watched carefully for the accuracy of the depictions of the injecting scenes. Were there any mistakes? Did they get the messages right? The verdict was that there were technical mistakes in the safe injecting messages and that the age of the drug-using cast made the video too much of a target for ridicule from younger users. I am not so interested in the accuracy of the material. What interests me here is how the video can reflect a process of identity construction.

There are a couple of key moments in the video when the machine of faciality becomes visible. The first moment is in the dance scene. In this scene, there are at least four extras who are filmed dancing but do not feature again in the video. The extras are significant as they provide a moment to fill out the scope of the video's imagined community and establish a constituency. Included in the extras are some clear reference points to a broader identity politics. There is a definite queer feel to the dance crowd. A woman, perhaps a transgender figure, with piercings and shaved head, cross fades to a gay man who is cut into a strobe sequence with four other 'bear-like' gay men ('bears' are a socio-sexual category of gay man – heavy, strong and hairy). The ensemble cast are edited through the cross-fading images of dancers.

The dance scene presents a continuity problem in the video as it attempts to look like a nightclub scene complete with lasers and expensive dance lighting. The rest of the video is very clearly shot in someone's house. In terms of the editing and visual narrative, this scene occupies a different space. Most of the editing and post-production is concentrated in the dance scene. The colour palette shifts, the music intensifies and slow motion distorts time (the rest of the video is in real time). With image doubling, the repertoire of the characters moves from simply doing things (injecting, talking and so on) to imagining and experiencing the world. A curly-haired hippy-esque woman who looks soulfully upwards (at her own image-looking-upwards) could be the mum next door.

The machine of faciality connects the cast in a number of ways. The dance scene makes the ensemble more complex and connects them to a constituency. The inclusion of gay male and queer references is clearly intended to tie the ensemble to face. Older injecting drug users occupy a recognizable face. The dance scene achieves this. Through making the characters experience the world, putting them in a queer crowd

and using familiar cinematic techniques, the cast and production team are given some black holes to populate and a white wall on which to inscribe. This is their faciality.

The second moment in the video where the machine of faciality can be discerned is during the closing credits. Out-takes from the shoot show the cast fluffing lines, getting embarrassed and repositioning a surprisingly responsive 'unconscious body' to fit the frame. Very clearly the out-takes provide evidence of the self-reflexivity in the production. As is often the case the out-takes are more entertaining than the video itself. This light relief gives a human and very familiar form to an otherwise wooden cast. The fly on the wall which pretended not to be visible now exposes those authentic people behind the artifice of education. The machine reveals itself.

For Dowsett et al. (1999), a threshold for community discourse is whether members take themselves as subjects in their own discourse on community. Earlier in this chapter I quoted Dowsett et al. claiming evidence that drug users do not even talk among themselves because of their covert lives. This claim should be read in light of Dowsett's experience as a gay HIV/AIDS educator emerging from the AIDS industry identity politics of the late 1980s. His evidentiary approach to ownership of the education discourse is possibly a political strategy designed to maintain control over HCV/HIV education funding through a violent erasure of drug-user identity. Dowsett performs a narrative that attempts to make drug users invisible and in doing so re-enacts the North American identity politics debate of a decade earlier.

It is possible that Dowsett et al. didn't know about this video. Perhaps they chose not to consider this material as educative. Certainly the educative values of such videos are questionable, but what should not be ignored is the capacity of this type of material to become a resource for community building and for creating a ground for an identity politics. As noted earlier in this chapter, for Crimp, Horrigan, Greyson and Sturken the identity politics in HIV/AIDS and gay cultural discourse has visibility as its object. For Dowsett et al. to ignore this type of material reflects either a deliberate blindness or scholastic laziness.

Bringing evidence to dispute the claims of an absent community is a way of responding to Dowsett et al. Documentary photography can also play a role here. Figure 6.3 documents what I have called 'Testa's manifesto'. This graffiti on a toilet wall in a street heroin market lasted less than three days. There were several messages in the piece. Some parts of the piece were directed overtly to drug users ('And to all you lazy fuckers who find it so hard to put the cap on that oh so heavy fucken needle')

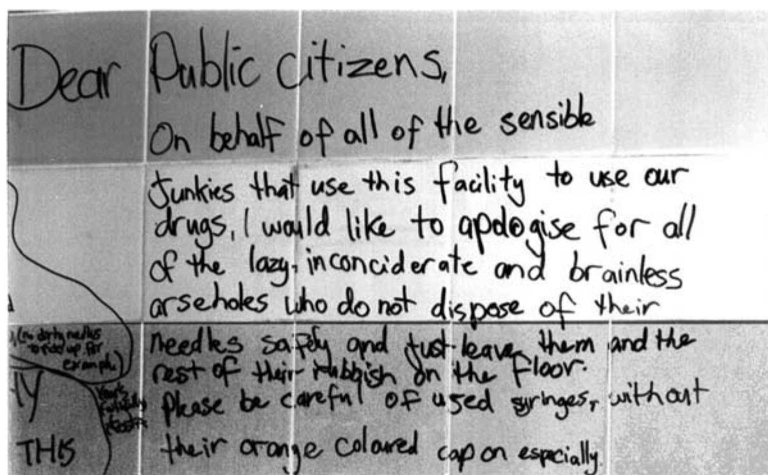

Figure 6.3 Testa's manifesto on a toilet wall, Melbourne, August 1998
Photograph: author.

and other parts directed to the general public. The educative message from this drug user was clear. The section directed to citizens read:

> Dear Public citizens
> On behalf of all of the sensible
> Junkies that use this facility to use our
> drugs, I would like to apologise for all
> of the lazy, inconciderate and brainless
> arseholes who do not dispose of their
> needles safely and just leave them and the
> rest of their rubbish on the floor.
> Please be careful of used syringes, without
> their orange coloured cap on especially.

When this graffiti appeared in 1999, it was calculated that the toilet block in which it was written provided a setting where drug users were on average injecting once every 12 minutes in the four cubicles. Any health messages communicated in this environment had maximum exposure to the niche audience. There should be no doubt that drug users were able to speak to and for themselves, about themselves, even in the most difficult of settings. Unfortunately, the council cleaners washed the graffiti away as part of their usual routine.

Figure 6.4 Community sentiment in a street heroin market, Melbourne, August 2000
Photograph: author.

Deleuze and Guattari suggest that it is essential to know the face in order to dismantle the face that structures the links between signifiation and subjectivity. It is hard enough to dismantle an intransigent identity captured in an apparatus of power, let alone identify with an unknowable face. The pixellated unknowable drug user is juxtaposed against the dead hero (obituaries), the evil dealer (crime shots) and the primitive (Larry Clark's legacy). There are not many options available. It is no surprise then to find graffiti in street heroin markets that proclaim the merits of dead drug users over live ones (Figure 6.4).

The challenge is for drug users and those involved in cultural politics around drug use to find a face for drug use. In many circumstances the challenge is to break free from oppressive faces that constrain the

possibility for new identities and new subjectivities. Surely this was the ethical imperative underpinning Deleuze and Guattari's articulation of the faciality machine. The challenge for drug users is to both dismantle the faces that dominate the dead drug user and to find faces for the living.

It is important to not read this as a call for a new, cleaner image for drug users. Given the marginalization of drug users, this simply would not work. Most importantly, a new face needs to be more than a brighter, cleaner or class-specific image. A new face is a new process for putting the possibilities for subjectivity together. My call for a new face is really a call for some new discursive practices that enable drug users to put themselves together in a diversity of ways.

As Michael Taussig notes, the face creates the very possibility of evidence (1999). The consequences of not having a face are severe. A most fearful figure is that which cannot be named. Without a face, the drug user occupies the terrain of the magical. For Taussig, the faceless has a special power:

> The tantalizing presence generated by facelessness remains. *Los sin rostro*, the faceless ones. They diffuse through the communiques, infinite in number, like Canetti's invisible crowd of the dead. They crowd the texts, crowding truth, crowding secrecy, into a corner . . . A contagion of defacement more magical than any *nahual* = being hidden, enveloped, disguised, veiled, cloaked, hiding 'in snow and sunlight on white walls and clouds on rocks, moving down windy streets with blown newspapers and shreds of music and silver paper in the wind'. (1999, p. 246)

The grounds of political action are shifted by the faceless. For Taussig, the faceless Zapatistas undermined the colonialist politics of the Mexican state by virtue of the at once de-identifying and ubiquitous ski-mask. There is, however, a risk in the political position of being magical: being fixed to the magical ties the faceless to a site that can prevent them moving from facelessness. As Deleuze and Guattari note, some social formations need a face and a landscape (1987, p. 181). Without a face there can be no subjectivities extracted from the strata, and no landscape in which a politics can be conducted.

Faciality without a face

In this section, I explore the possibility of faciality without necessarily inscribing a literal face. As an alternative to the fascination

with presenting an unknowable face, I will discuss the production of an encounter with drug-user identity through narrative in an ethnographic film.

Over the period 1999–2000, I produced an eight-minute film, *Kierin*, based on fieldwork, documentary photography and audio-taped interviews with drug users. In consultation with the local drug-user group, my partner/colleague (Dr Mary O'Brien) and I edited interview transcripts from tape-recorded interviews with drug users who bought heroin from street drug markets. My ethnographic fieldwork involved living in a rental house in a street drug market, and working as an outreach worker on a needle and syringe exchange programme two to three nights a week. Existing tape-recorded material from interviews conducted by other drug users in street drug markets were also reviewed and edited. In short, we worked closely with VIVAIDS to deliberately construct a face for drug users that could affect some specific political outcomes.

Verbatim transcripts of interview were transformed into first-person monologues by re-sequencing narrative elements, removing the interviewer presence in text and editing out unwanted material. The monologues were published in textual form in a locally disseminated technical report on the health and social support needs of drug users (Fitzgerald and O'Brien, 1999). One of the seven published narratives was then selected for pre-production for a short film. The monologue was storyboarded, re-edited and re-voiced. Location vision shot on digital video was collected over a two-week period, and a visual narrative was constructed through desktop digital editing. Documentary still photography collected over the fieldwork period was also digitized and edited into the digital video. The drug-user group VIVAIDS was consulted during production on the visual narrative that was being composed.

The resulting visual narrative could be broadly described as conforming to a road movie format and shows the world from the point of view of the drug-user narrator – Kierin. Essentially, the film views life through Kierin's mind as he goes on a journey. The viewer could be sitting next to him on a tram travelling from the suburbs into the centre of the city. *Kierin* tells the story of going into the city to buy heroin. As the external trip to buy drugs progresses, the internal journey (getting to know the character more deeply) also proceeds. The visual narrative is slow and contemplative. Vision through the window of the tram anchors the story to specific landmarks, but an impressionistic feel is emphasized through cuts to image pans across still frames, shifts in narrative time and slow-motion sequences. The visual narrative is driven by the audio narration.

The first-person narrative seems real. This realism is offset by a modulated visual narrative and a visually absent narrator. There are no injecting scenes or talking heads. In the film's only action sequence, where the narrator tells of being assaulted by three violent stand-over men near an amusement parlour, the action is depicted using video of an animated fight sequence from an arcade game.

The narrative is ordered into eight thematic segments by fades to black with white titles. There is no doubt that this is a real story, it has the feel of a documentary form, but it departs from both documentary and reality TV conventions. Authorial voice is problematized by there being a realist first-person audio narrative accompanied by an impressionistic visual narrative. If this film had been made by a drug user, it would have all the hallmarks of an autobiography. The problem is that while the audio is authentic the real-world identity of the author is not clear.

An important aspect of editing the monologues was locating the street injecting drug user as reflexive about the numerous social processes at play in the drug market. Showing the primary actor being reflexive about his own role in a broader series of social machines would do more to articulate an agentic subject than any advocacy on the part of the authors. More specifically, we (myself in consultation with VIVAIDS and the transcript editor) wanted Kierin to tie together the complex relations between ethnic tensions, social class, the media and the police, to show that the street drug market is not simply an aggregation of marginal drug users moving like bees to a honey pot. Kierin demonstrated a first-hand account of the complex sets of relations between a range of market forces.

Each of the film's thematic elements was tied to a particular policy outcome. Commentary on police was tied to a particular debate being conducted in Australia about zero-tolerance policing in street drug markets. The illustration that drug users are able to adapt to policing was meant to facilitate debate on this issue. Kierin's account of 'whities' reversed the usual erasure of whiteness from discussion of ethnicity in inner-city drug use. It should be noted that Kierin's actual words were not fictionalized; there was just resequencing and deletion.

The visual narrative ends at his retail location, the street drug market. The tram stops at a real estate billboard boldly pronouncing the precinct as an 'exclusive retail location'. At the same time, Kierin completes his narration with a fairy-tale account of what life would be like using pharmacy-administered prescribed heroin. The journey is over. We have arrived at what Kierin really wants: a drug-using life that is not criminalized. This co-location allowed us to complete our narrative through

the juxtaposition of a larger drug-policy issue in contrast with Kierin's fairy tale. The film therefore operates as an assemblage of narratives, visual, spoken and intertextual. Faciality moves across the individual to the collective.

The ordering of thematic elements is significant, but it was not solely related to the spoken text or the trajectory of the spoken narrative. In preview sessions it was noted by the drug-user group that the original opening-night sequence of hand-held vision in a street laneway started the story in a menacing light. Following the previews this element was resequenced. There were other modifications following the preview. The vision behind the fight sequence was changed to include images from the arcade game 'Streetfighter', as it tied the vision more tightly to the spoken narrative and introduced some more recognizable animated characters.

The audio narrative served as the skeleton for the visual narrative. The contemplative feel of the audio shaped the feel of the visual narrative. However, the thematic organization of the audio is an assemblage of relations between drug user, drug user interviewer, transcript, policy adviser, editor, scriptwriter, voice-actor and digital production team. As the film progressed, the character of Kierin became more heavily constitutive of an assemblage of bodies involved in the production.

At work in *Kierin* is an attempt to challenge the discursive practice of obscuring drug-user faces in drug ethnographies. Without a face there is little possibility for subjectivity. In *Kierin*, the voice is close, the images are familiar, the viewer is seeing the world through Kierin's eyes. His words are familiar and articulate and he has some common-sense insights into the trappings of scoring heroin in the street market. And yet, we never see Kierin, not even a silhouette or cropped image. The conspicuous absence of a face is counter-posed with the close proximity created through his authentic words. There is no doubt that these are his words and maybe these are the images that flashed before his eyes. Through his words, we are coming close to Kierin as the audience travels on this eight-minute journey.

By self-consciously removing any possibility of seeing Kierin, I wanted to foreground that the audience can come to know him without seeing him, and that the viewer should wonder what he looks like. What kind of face would Kierin have? Most distinctively, Kierin has a voice rather than a face. The voice is very powerful, it directs the flow of the film, it knows all things and is not delimited by a face. It is, as Michel Chion has termed, the *acousmêtre* (1994, 1999). Positioned in this way, the voice has great power and a presence in the space of the film. The *acousmêtre*

cannot simply be a detached commentator on the film's action, it must 'haunt the borderlands that are neither the interior of the filmic stage nor the proscenium – a place that has no name, but which the cinema forever brings into play'. The *acousmêtre* has a number of powers:

> The powers are four: the ability to be everywhere, to see all, to know all, and to have complete power. In other words: ubiquity, panopticism, omniscience and omnipotence.
>
> (1999, p. 25)

The *acousmêtre* is a character who moves in and around the image. The character is clearly part of the action, but is removed from the screen and can comment coolly on the flow of the visual narrative. Precisely because of the positioning of the *acousmêtre*, the audience is reminded of its relationship to the screen image. Simultaneously the *acousmêtre* tells the story and underscores the form of its production (Chion, 1999). By simultaneously being part of the story and not part of the story, the *acousmêtre* foregrounds the politics of voice in the story being told.

There is a risk that by not making Kierin visible, we again may be instantiating an unknowable otherness. However, by avoiding any attempt to partially disclose Kierin, we hoped to bring Kierin closer without ceding to a visual-identity politics. Instead, we foregrounded Kierin's comments about the problem of being visible. Kierin himself says that he doesn't think he is that visible – most people wouldn't be able to tell who he is. How much closer can an audience come to a drug user than when he talks about his own visibility in a first-person narrative?

There are some problems with the *acousmêtre*. Most particularly, the problems reside in the politics of making the voice. In this case, *Kierin* was produced by a non-injecting drug user in collaboration with a drug-user organization. Original concepts, monologues, and rushes were all shared with the organization. The original interviewee, however, was never consulted about the film. His story was published as a monologue in a social science technical monograph about the social impacts of heroin use in the community. Rather than approximate a drug user's voice, I voiced the monologue. At preview screenings a number of audience members commented on the voice being believable, but not what they expected. The voice was more middle class than they anticipated a drug user's voice would be.

There is an ethic at work in *Kierin* that responds to a long discussion about the control of representation in ethnographies. As Dove (1999)

has suggested, there are moments when the importance of image making outstrips any reticence to engage in representational politics. In the case of *Kierin*, an expanded understanding of what constitutes faciality enabled the positioning of the drug-user character as the most powerful character in the story. At the time, this was aesthetically and politically acceptable to the drug-user organization. As Gross et al. (1988) have suggested, this was an example where the subjects collaborated in the production of a voice. More importantly, the collaboration involved an explicit attention to the politics of faciality in the construction of the drug user.

In addition to being an *acousmêtre* the character of Kierin fulfilled the criteria for being an I-voice (Chion, 1999). Close miking and the absence of reverb ensured an intimate encounter between the audience and Kierin. Chion noted that the I-voice is close miked and not located in an acoustically familiar space. A short reverb was added in post-production to give the feel of Kierin's voice originating from an enclosed space. The choice to apply a slight reverb was to place Kierin in a space and make the voice a little less magical and a little more familiar.

Although there are trenchant machines at play in the production of drug-using bodies, there are ways to present drug users other than evil, primitive, dead or at war. There are a number of ways to engage with the abstract machine of faciality. Many drug ethnographers bemoan the difficulties of making images of drug users in ethnographic work. A problem with recent realist drug ethnography has been a focus on identity as being about visibility. There are numerous ways through which to engage with identity that are not through facial identity. Indeed, faciality involves more than a face. Different media open the possibility of exploring the links between face, voice and identity in ethnographic work. As Chion notes:

> The voice is ceasing to be identified with a specific face. It appears much less stable, identified, hence fetishizable. This general realization that the voice is radically other than the body that adopts it (or that it adopts) for the duration of a film seems to me to be one of the most significant phenomena in the recent development of the cinema, television and audiovisual media in general.
>
> (1999, p. 174)

In his discussion of the dangers of identity politics, Massumi noted that if groups do not define their own identities it will be done

for them (1993, p. 32). He suggested two principles, the first to add perspective to identity by including alternative identities, the second to add movement to identity.

When making faces through making images, telling stories and constructing narratives, no one escapes from the politics of reproducing discursive practices that produce black holes. In the case of the New South Wales Users Association for AIDS (NUAA), drug users chose to reproduce drug users as old and haggard. They also chose to mark out a wider queer constituency. In the case of *Kierin*, I chose to foreground the identity politics by showing that an intimate proximity is not just about facial visibility. Having a voice is not the same as having a face; both, however, can bring people closer to the abstract machine of faciality.

Faciality should not be taken literally; it can be achieved in many ways. By placing the drug user as the narrator and controller, the abstract machine of faciality can begin to work in a different register. There is no getting outside the machine of faciality. There is only knowing your face and learning its features, in order to escape its limits.

7
The Spatial Economies of Drug Dealing

There are a number of discursive strategies that have tried to deal with a weeping sore in drug policy. Socioeconomic disadvantage, poverty and under-development are all implicated in illegal drug markets. Depending on the contingencies of the time, sometimes drug use causes these structural problems, and sometimes structural problems create the opportunities for illegal drug markets.

During the 1970s there emerged a literature from urban sociology, anthropology, development studies and population health that suggests that drug markets are created by economic marginalization and structural 'determinants'. Although this was a powerful literature, by virtue of the intransigence of the subject matter – determinants being what they are – the determinants approach has never really been able to effect change. Individualized approaches to reducing drug-related harm still dominate internationally. The poor and marginalized are still being exploited by violent and coercive drug marketeers. In the mid-1990s, a policy movement emerged from some HIV and development researchers in the United Kingdom that tried to reinvigorate a structural determinants approach by creating a new set of intellectual and policy tools based on so-called 'risk environments'. As a discursive intervention, this has been very effective. The movement has attracted significant interest and support and has made some inroads in putting the determinants approach back on the policy agenda of international agencies such as UNAIDS (the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS) and WHO. This chapter is part of an effort to grapple with the risk environment movement and structural determinants approaches to produce an empirical understanding of what goes on in a drug market setting.

It is becoming clear that the spaces in which people inject drugs can profoundly affect the outcomes of drug use. Following from the

work of Rhodes, Moore, Taylor and others, it has become increasingly important to document the small details of risk environments to better appreciate the intertwining of the deployment of risk in structural conditions, the discourses we use to understand drug use, and the physical structure of domestic spaces and ordinary day-to-day activities. These complex spaces, often called 'risk environments', involve social, political, discursive and material dimensions.

Here, I use different sources to describe the experience of risk environments. Two domestic spaces, one a heroin dealer's house and the other a speed dealer's house, are used to illustrate the constructed nature of space. Rather than simply being a spatio-temporal container for action, space is made through experience. This chapter illustrates how we orient ourselves in space in relation to a complex amalgam of sensations, memories, inscriptions and intentions. How we come to document and understand the experience of risk environments shapes the kind of interventions we develop to reduce harm. The rich description will form the basis of a discussion of constructs such as community 'vulnerability' and 'oppression sickness'. The two cases illustrate different mechanisms through which these small-time dealers shape and are shaped by their risk environments. The reciprocity and variability in our relations to the socioeconomic environment reveals that the 'determinants' approach to understanding marginality and drug-use needs to be refined.

Risk environments

Singer et al. (1992) and Rhodes et al. (1999) suggested some time ago that understanding the risk environment is central to understanding the spread of HIV/AIDS and other blood-borne viruses. Since the explosion of injecting drug use in eastern Europe and the related increase in drug use-related HIV infections (European Centre for the Epidemiological Monitoring of AIDS, 2004; Donoghoe et al., 2005; Godinho, et al., 2005) it has become increasingly apparent that the risk environment, especially in transitional settings, is a strong determinant of HIV/AIDS spread (Rhodes et al., 2005). Rhodes and Simic (2005) developed a comprehensive framework for interventions into the risk environment that included physical, social, economic and policy dimensions. More specifically, they and others have suggested that individualist behaviour-change strategies are insufficient and interventions need to be targeted across different dimensions of the risk environment to ensure good public health outcomes (Donoghoe, et al., 2005; Fitzgerald, 2005b).

There are, however, technical, empirical and theoretical difficulties in describing the multidimensional risk environment. This chapter

contributes to the ongoing task of mapping the risk environment through an examination of how the risk environment is experienced. Although at times the experience of risk has been marginalized to qualitative colour in risk analyses, experience has recently been noted as an important dimension of policymaking, especially in relation to gender-based policy responses (Hankins, 2008).

Determinants of drug use

There is a burgeoning literature that examines the power of 'determinants' of drug use (Loxley et al., 2004). This work is based on the tradition within public health to identify risk factors that predict drug use and drug-use outcomes either at an individual, community or population level. In a qualitative meta-review of this literature, Galea et al. (2004) suggest, unsurprisingly, that the factors that predict poor drug-use outcomes are both structural and psychosocial in origin. A consistent predictor of illicit drug use is neighbourhood disadvantage as measured through socioeconomic status (SES) indicators. Lower SES confers a greater risk of needle sharing (Mandell et al., 1994; Strathdee et al., 1997), a higher prevalence of risk behaviours (Kang and de Leon, 1993; Vidal-Trecan et al., 1998) and a higher risk of blood-borne virus transmission (Alter and Moyer, 1998; Friedman et al., 1998). A prospective cohort study of injecting drug users in Spain (Jarrin et al., 2007) reported low educational achievement as a strong predictor of mortality for drug users. In fact, Jarrin et al. (2007) go so far as to suggest: 'Improving the material situation of IDUs [injecting drug user] with lower education will have, at most, a limited effect in reducing the strong educational inequalities in mortality' (p. 192).

A somewhat different description of the relationships between structural determinants and drug-use outcomes can be found in the review of prevention literature by Loxley et al. (2004). In this review, the authors invoke metaphors of 'cascading risk' and 'avalanches of risk' to describe the complex interactions between risk and protective factors in creating drug-use outcomes. The use of cumulative metaphors of 'cascades' and 'avalanches' of risk attempts to capture the interplay between risk factors; however, the determinants seem to mount up into an insurmountable force that makes risk more and more abstract and less and less comprehensible. For example, it is hard to imagine an individual experiencing an 'avalanche' of risk. The risk factor literature tells us the presence of determining forces, but does little to help us understand how they are deployed.

Qualitative accounts can provide more situated explanations of the relationships between determinants and drug-use outcomes. Most

famous of the North American drug ethnographers to make the connection between socioeconomic life and drug use is Phillippe Bourgois. His important work *In Search of Respect* (Bourgois, 1995) captures the cultural significance of violence, drug trafficking and drug use, and locates participation in the drug market as part of the 'American dream' of economic security, prosperity and meaning. For the young people in Bourgois' study, participation in the illegal drug market could confer the respect which they could not obtain when working in the legal labour market. Participation in the illegal drug market, of course, also increased the risk of violence, incarceration and negative health outcomes. There is still a sense in Bourgois' account that drug use is produced by the social environment rather than being part of the experience of social life. In this account, drug use and associated harm was an effect of socio-cultural structures (Vitellone, 2004). Maher (1997) has proffered an alternative to this overly deterministic account by showing that class, race and gender relations in urban drug markets are part of the drug experience, thus the social world is threaded into the experience of drug use, rather than the social world being a causal determining factor of drug use (Maher, 1997).

Similarly, Merrill Singer (2001) describes the relationships between social determinants, community vulnerability and drug use through his model of 'oppression sickness', which encapsulates the relations between structural violence, health inequalities and drug use. A consequence of the 'oppression sickness' approach, however, is that drug use and its outcomes are products of liberal market conditions, and thus the contributions of market participants are obscured by the over-determining force of the structural environment.

What is lacking from the above accounts of drug use and socioeconomic determinants is a contemporary rendering of global capitalism and how it might structure risk environments through the activities of its constituents. Participants in drug markets, as they appear in Bourgois (1995) and Singer (2001), tend to be a little like 'cultural dopes' following a cultural script (the former) or victims at the hand of a rapacious violent world system (the latter).

North American Marxian anthropology has debated this tension between the force of structure and the experience of consuming subjects for some time (Gledhill, 2005). Taussig (2004) draws inspiration from the earlier writings of E. P. Thompson who, from an early point, acknowledges the complexity of modern capitalist relations. We necessarily see human beings as 'part subjects, part objects, the voluntary agents of our involuntary determination' (Thompson, 1978, p. 119).

The modern capitalist subject is not separate from the processes of capital. So long as we consume and enter into product value chains, we are always-already part of capital.

Modern theories of capitalist relations tend to suggest that global capital as a process is not a uniform force applied to human labour across the globe. Rather, capital is a disseminated force of modulation, incorporation, emergence and intensive expansion (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; Negri, 1988; Massumi, 1992; Haggerty and Ericson, 2000; Urry, 2005; Thrift, 2006). These four terms are shorthand for the capacity of global capital to thrive on changes in the form of marketplaces (modulation and emergence); to incorporate the boundaries of markets as capital extends (incorporation); and to subsume the innermost spaces of everyday life to capital (intensive expansion). An example can be found in the disease-mongering activities of the pharmaceutical industry in its attempts to medicalize sadness (Horwitz and Wakefield, 2007).

According to Rhodes and Simic (2005) the economic dimension to the risk environment needs to be understood if we are to truly grapple with the deeper forces that structure drug-using environments. A key challenge is to develop analytical tools that can adequately capture the force of capital as a determinant of risk environments, while at the same time retaining an understanding of the experience of those participating in the processes that determine us. A deeper challenge in this task is to create an account that does more than position individuals and their drug use as simply effects of the social and structural environment.

The experience of risk environments

Understanding what someone feels provides an account of the intentions of individuals. As Philippe Bourgois suggested in his famous account of crack dealing in El Barrio, how men felt when they engaged in the drug economy is what illustrated how the economic superstructure of free market capitalism was inscribed into the dreams and aspirations of low-level crack dealers. Philip Lalander's (2002) work on identity, cinema and injecting drug use in Sweden is also instructive in illustrating the power of discourse to shape the meaning of drug use and, ultimately, drug-use behaviour.

As Riaño-Alcalá's (2006) account of drug-related violence in Columbia suggests, the inscription of places with memories structures our present and our future. In environments where violence silences intense social suffering, place-making through memory is a 'bridging practice' that allows people the opportunity to make sense of their social world. Practices of memory restore a sense of place for those who are displaced

and fragmented (Riaño-Alcalá, 2006, p. 66). Place-making is not just a redemptive practice; it provides a window onto the collective work that a community does to resist, control and affect the determining forces around them. Listening to the experience of place-making can reveal the crucial intersection between the deployment of determining forces and the attempts by those subject to force to resist, reconfigure and remake their world (Riaño-Alcalá, 2006, p. 85). From the outset, this analytic framework is focused on the agentic practices of those who are subject to force.

Place-making was a particularly important analytic tool for my ethnographic study of HCV risk in a rural Australian town (Fitzgerald et al., 2004). Initial findings from the study focused on an over-determining sense among young injectors that the place in which they lived was contributing to the inevitability they would get HCV (Fitzgerald et al., 2004). Here, I try to tease apart how the everyday-present (in the form of domestic spaces in that study) is shaped by the risk environment, and in particular how this might inform a rethinking of our approach to economic determinants of risk environments.

The evidence for this analysis is drawn from ethnographic work among injecting drug users in a rural centre of around 90,000 people located two hours' drive north of Melbourne. The research team of two chief investigators, a research officer and a PhD student spent over three years working with three intertwining networks of around 12 injecting drug users. We interviewed 54 drug users and spent time with the key dealers in these networks. Tape-recorded, semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted in the houses of drug users and low-level drug dealers. A number of different data types were collected. The focus in this research was on meaning and interaction rather than behaviour (Fitzgerald et al., 2004).

The research was approved by the University of Melbourne Human Research Ethics Committee. Some identifying details such as names, places, relationships and events have been changed to protect the identity of individuals.

Place-making

My examination is tempered by a strong ethnographic belief that the incorporation of discourse by drug users is not neat, uniform or determining. Similarly, the shaping of individual behaviour by structural forces is neither complete nor simple. I look for variation in how drug users experience the risk environment. As a consequence I also look for

variation in how drug users shape their material worlds as a result of the dynamic interaction between risk-environment factors.

In the tradition of theoretically informed methodology of ethnography (Willis and Trondman, 2000), I tell some stories, inflected and interpreted through the lens of a theoretical interest in emotion, power, and the inscription of bodies and spaces. My theoretical reflections, however, are rooted in ethnographic, empirical observations. For example, although there is a large discourse on spatial theory, my recourse to spatial theory is limited to its application to the area of drug use. Here, spatial theory refers to an understanding that space is not a container in which action occurs. Space is made through the interactions between bodies, emotions and physical materials. In one sense this is not a difficult idea – we use it all the time when we paint a room, put up a poster or string some decorations around the house at a time of celebration. We make space, we inscribe our environment with emotion and meaning through our spatial practices. Places are the meaning-inflected scenes that may or may not have physical correlates (Dovey, 1999). These stories are told in the ethnographic present, to emphasize the situatedness of the stories (see Stoller, 2005), and to produce an intimate experience for the reader to bring these accounts into a closer proximity for them.

The speed dealer's house

Ian has been dealing speed for most of his adult life. He is 26 and injects speed episodically, as does his father, mother and his older brother. He lives with his wife and three children in a flat in what we will call Ramsay Street. The flat has been the site for numerous weapons incidents, fights, run-throughs and police raids. This cul-de-sac is not well known to the broader community as a drug-using space. For the police and those in our drug-user networks, however, Ramsay Street is a drug street.

In Ramsay Street, illegal drugs could be thought of as a 'keystone' commodity (Trocki, 1999, 2002); that is, the economic, labour and social relations in this short residential street are structured by amphetamine, heroin and marijuana trafficking and consumption. The dilapidated government-owned housing supports around 15 low-income families, living in poverty, isolation and extreme marginality. The street is about 15 minutes from the centre of the rural town. Public transport is inadequate and because of the high levels of poverty and unemployment, and low levels of car ownership, the residents spend most of their days in the street. Consequently, social surveillance is intense. There are two

drug dealers in the street. Although there was a free outreach needle and syringe programme operating each night which could deliver clean injecting equipment, residents in this street rarely used this service for fear their neighbours would know that they had access to drugs.

The friendship, sexual and drug-market relationships across Ramsay Street are complex. The most socially vibrant house was also the house where most drugs were trafficked and where most social support could be sought when it was needed. Although this was a violent street, the violence (mostly drug related) was often derived from dissatisfied customers coming to the street to score.

The street space through which these relations criss-cross is structured by a spatial relation: the street space is panoptic. Residents living in this street can always see who comes in and out of it. The spatial relation is a paranoic one whereby each resident, as soon as they move into the street space, is aware that they are subject to social surveillance.

This may help to explain why it is so difficult to deliver anonymous needle and syringe programme services in this street. Most outreach needle and syringe programmes in Australia have anonymity as a core principle of service provision. In Ramsay Street, trying to maintain anonymity was simply impossible. The street space in which the mobile needle and syringe programme vehicle could travel was highly scrutinized by residents on both sides. Everyone knew everyone else's business in this space, as noted by one of the residents as he described the street:

> Resident: I know Ray, Ray's not bad. I sort of know Jim 'cause, I'm going out with his daughter's friend. I know Jean 'cause Henry's going with Jean, I don't know Matt, I don't know these [points across the road] punk-faggots. I know Sue and George, I hate Wendy she's a fuckin rat, and Sarah's a hooker, so there you go. Hettie is a dog, you know she dobs us in [calls the police], 'Them people there, they deal drugs'. You get a bit sick of it in the end, but it's not bad.
>
> (Jason, 18 years old, Ramsay Street)

Access to clean injecting equipment in this space was determined by the level of surveillance exerted through the spatial relations. If someone called for a delivery of clean syringes, mostly everyone in the street knew about it. This risk environment was thus structured through the surveillance (both visual and communicable) operating through the space. Mapping the spatial relations of the street goes some way to articulate the level of social surveillance that forms the blood-borne virus risk environment.

Ian's house is the primary site of surveillance. When conducting interviews in this house we are always conscious of the people coming in and out of the street and in and out of the house. Ian has a stun gun taser, a sword, a gun and an attack dog. Everyone in the room jumps when an unmarked white van cruises past the house. No reason to jump, it was a delivery van. It was just matter out of place in the street.

The two most striking things about Ian's lounge room are the rubbish and the bookshelf of encyclopaedias. First, the rubbish. I have never been in such a dirty house. Walking through the house involves wading through piles of food rubbish up to 50-centimetre deep. Pizza trays, burgers, biscuit boxes, chips and food wrappers, all the major food groups are distributed across the floor. This is the antithesis of a middle-class house. It is also the antithesis of the controlling, organized drug dealer's house. This house is pure chaos. It smells, it is dirty and the attack dog's younger brother is constantly trying to sleep on my lap, while at the same time rousing to bark menacingly at the sound of an approaching customer at the front door.

Above the rubbish perched on a black entertainment unit is a 42-inch plasma screen. On the floor is a PlayStation and a couple of customers and family members wired to the action game being played out in widescreen. Everyone drops in on Ian as they enter the cul-de-sac to visit friends. They also drop in to get their speed and to find out the state of play in the street. Like most dealers' houses it is a hive of activity. Ian's house is shocking. If there were ghettos in Bendigo, as we suggested in our report, this street would be one.

At one end of the lounge room is a low-level bookshelf. The unmistakeable binding of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* catches my eye. The volumes are clean and free of clutter. I ask where they came from and Ian tells me the story of family break-up and conflict that lives with the collection. The *Britannica* rarely gets opened, but as a medium through which the stories of his family are told, they are regularly and routinely browsed. He doesn't open them for facts, he uses them as the touch point for a story about family continuity. His story about trying to hold on to the encyclopaedias for the sake of one parent over another is the vehicle for a story about his belief in the power of family to prevail when the world attempts to tear them apart. He maintains the encyclopaedias amid the violence, filth and mayhem that is his house. He maintains this little sign of continuity in the face of turmoil.

I, too, was brought up with a set of the 1972 *Britannica* on the bookshelf. I love encyclopaedias for the stories they tell. The assumption that

the world can be captured in a book fascinates me. I remember every night in my family house of six children, wanting one or other volume to help me with my homework assignments: ‘Can I have P when you’ve finished with it? I’ll swap you with the . . . ’. For me, *Britannica* is warm and friendly and reminds me of eating oranges in winter at 9 p.m. before going to bed after my homework. For me, they are less symbolic of the struggles of family than a reminder of the seasons of the year. What fascinates me more is the place that they have in Ian’s room. This little oasis of knowledge is not about knowledge; for Ian, it is about the strength to prevail.

Ian tries to get away from the cul-de-sac as often as he can. When his car breaks down he feels under pressure:

> I need it for work, and I would like it so I could go away this weekend and just get away from this little hell-hole of units . . . I like to head up there basically to get away from the flats, the normal crap that’s in the flats, um, yeah, its always the better place to go, good fishing lots of nice weather, yeah I try to get away there as much as possible but it never really eventuates, most of the time I just go fishing close by around here.

Ian is the primary carer for his three children. If he was subject to scrutiny from child protection there may be issues raised about hygiene, diet and safety. But he has never been subject to an order by child protection. I have seen him with the children and he was great. His is the classic working-class narrative of a strict moral code that privileges family above all else. Regardless of his strict adherence to the rules that have shaped him, he recognizes a world outside the one that he finds so claustrophobic.

> You can only pick your friends from what you’ve been taught . . . No matter where you go in Bendigo you end up finding people who will rip you, back stab you, stuff you don’t usually find, stuff that you find up here in the drug scene.
>
> Nine tenths of those people that use and all that stuff, don’t have a full time job, don’t work through the day, and then if you start hanging around them you become like them. You start to lose the enthusiasm to work, you start to lose goals, morals priorities, and then before you know it, you’re one of them and you cant seem to get back to be friends with people that work, have goals, have morals,

> have achievement in life, what they're trying to strive for, not waiting around working out where they get their next whack from. That sort of stuff, everyone in Bendigo seems to be more interested in that other class. I find, which makes it hard. And you can't seem to find any friends in Bendigo because they're all basically the same, it's pretty shitty.

The mess and disorder hides a highly ordered space. Anyone coming into the house with the intention of stealing his gear would think twice about sorting through the rubbish to find his stash. He keeps a small stash in the lounge room coffee table drawer – but you would be hard pressed to find it among the rubbish. Ian knows where everything is and uses only a few objects to mark the space. The bongs on the coffee table, the encyclopaedias and the stash under the table are all embedded in the rubbish. In the way that the house can be a mirror of self, Ian's house of crap camouflages the home. His masculine presence dominates, not because he imposes himself through the space but rather because he hides himself in the space. The paranoic space outside is replicated inside. Inside, he creates a setting that allows him to watch, disappear and move around with partial visibility. As if it is a labyrinth in which only he knows the correct directions, the guests are constantly watching, trying to find their way in the house. The paranoic relations inside are the same as outside, but in his house Ian tries to be invisible, both in terms of where and who he is. The only thing that stands out is the set of *Britannica* encyclopaedias. Rather than a symbol of aspirational class values, the *Britannica* set has been rewritten as a symbol for working-class family values.

The risk environment for Ian is structured around the inscription of the street space into his domestic space and his attempts to restructure the space in terms suitable to his trade, his emotional landscape, his dreams, class sensitivities, memories and his moral beliefs.

Moira, the heroin dealer's house

Moira is 21, injects speed and heroin and has been dealing both drugs for around two years. She is a single mum with a two-and-a-half-year-old boy. Moira's house is the opposite of Ian's. It is clean, well ordered and heavily structured in terms of what kinds of activities are permitted in different parts of the house. The primary organizing factor in structuring the house is the risk posed by her dealing on maintaining custody of her child. Although she has never been convicted for a drug offence she is known to the police who have attempted on several occasions to search

her property and seize drugs from it. Child Protection Services have had an interest in her activities for some time. She is subject to a high level of scrutiny from government agencies and the pristine state of her house reflects her response to this scrutiny. In one sense, her spatial relations are entirely gendered and yet thoroughly structured by the forces of the state.

Figure 7.1 shows a schematic of Moira's house and its activities. The laundry is the prime site for injecting. Weighing and cutting up, by her or by other dealers, gets done in the master bedroom. Smoking cigarettes is forcibly moved to outside the house because of passive smoking risks to the young child. Empty bottles of methadone syrup are stacked neatly on the kitchen benchtop. The front door is kept locked most of the time, but the house is not a fortress.

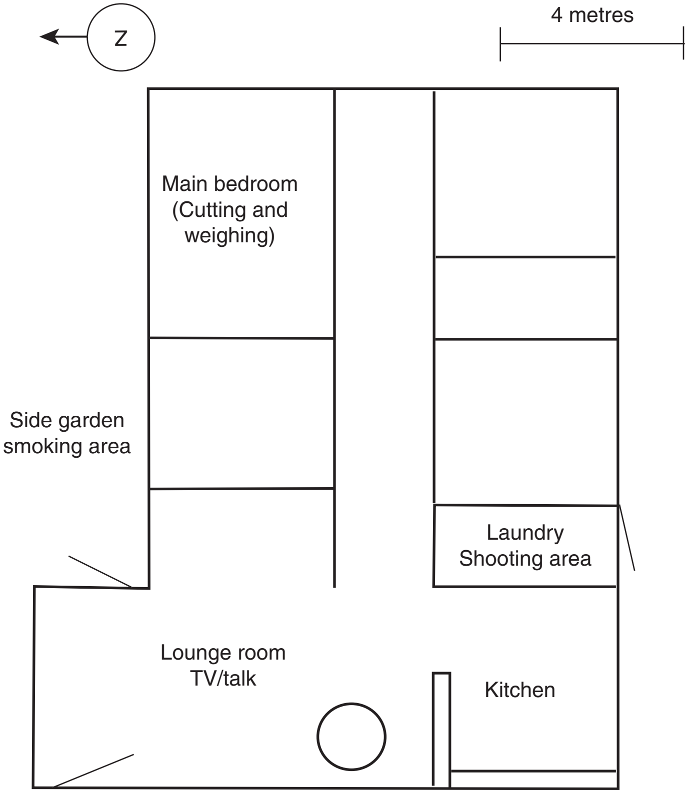

Figure 7.1 A schematic of Moira's house

Although Moira is conscious of keeping her house clean, neat and spatially controlled, her house, like any dealer's house, on occasions gets very busy. Especially late at night when the small network of users aggregates for a speed run, there can be up to 15 people flowing through the house.

Keeping the house clean is more than a chore. It involves a series of sexual and intimate relations. At different times Moira exchanges housework and intimate relationships for cheap access to drugs. The boyfriends clean, cook and look after the baby while she attends to business. The boyfriends recognize the value of her labour; she takes large risks, organizing runs to Melbourne to purchase shipments of drugs for around a dozen of her close friends. In the absence of a boyfriend, Moira has other friends willing to pay their way by doing household chores. They all know the trade is not just in labour, it is in risk. The organization of the house, therefore, is not just a consequence of state scrutiny. It enters into the drug economy, both in raw economic terms (labour for drug exchanges) and in terms of the economy of risk and intimate relations sited in the house.

Owen paces around the housing commission flat, tugging nervously at his White Ox cigarette. He pulls a chair back, sits down at the table, leans down with his elbows on his knees and hangs his head in an urban equivalent of the drover squatting on his hams. It is such a proud, country thing to do. He shields his face as it crumples a little under the pressure of the violence around him.

Thirty minutes ago, the three Ormond brothers came through the house with a gun looking for Mark, Moira's dealer. Owen and Moira had to cover for Mark and not tell the brothers where he might be. Owen knew that if they found out he was lying, he would get a good belting. Mark was not at the house, but earlier in the day Mark and Moira had, during a drop-off, narrowly escaped injury from the brothers. The brothers easily spotted Moira's car, as it was the only car travelling along a dirt road on the outskirts of Bendigo. The brothers pulled over, jumped out and waved down Moira's car. Moira stopped and, after a lot of gun waving and threats, Moira handed over AUD 1,500 and 15 caps of heroin. Fearing further injury, Moira jumped on the accelerator, jerked the car through the brothers and sped off to try and find a safe place for Mark. Mark was her dealer and her friend, and he deserved protection. Owen didn't much care for Mark; as far as he was concerned he was just another dealer.

On their return from their scam, the three brothers spotted Owen walking Moira's son along a suburban street. Owen knew them as one of

the town's bad families with a reputation for violence and intimidation. As far as he was concerned, he did not owe Mark anything, and Mark was getting too powerful in Bendigo anyway. When a dealer decides to play God and pick and choose who he sells to, he takes his chances. Sooner or later someone is going to top him. Two weeks previously Mark had been stabbed by two disgruntled clients, and now the Ormond brothers were after him. No doubt, Mark's fucked [in serious trouble]. Owen just does not want to be in the fallout when Mark gets what is coming.

An hour after the Ormond brothers came through the house, Moira and Owen were still arguing about what to do with Mark and the Ormond brothers. Owen was scared, and said so. Not an easy admission from a guy who has done time for armed robbery. Owen is 24, and one of the few people prepared to put it to Moira that, through her loyalty to Mark, she was endangering Owen, her child and all the friends who came to her house to score drugs. Moira was told by one of her clients that the Ormond brothers were after Mark. She rang Mark early to warn him and helped him by driving him to do some drop-offs. For this assistance she not only secured Mark's trust, but also four caps of heroin as a sign of gratitude.

Moira is not just a good friend. Protecting Mark is way of scoring free heroin. There is, however, a lot more at stake for Moira, such as being at the centre of things. The thrill of the social interaction is golden for Moira. It is the intensity of the affect that she finds energizing and a reason to continue to be part of the scene. There is a real energy in the room as two of her friends and clients negotiate with her about picking up some heroin directly from Mark. The intensity of the exchange between them instantiates the energy of living. It is not as trite as a thrill. There is so much more at stake than it being a thrill. In fact, the structure of Moira's house reflects the value she places on having a constant flow of people in her house:

> Owen really doesn't like, he goes off about it, he hates it, he wants a somewhat normal house, but its the way I've been, since, you know, and he keeps going on about it, and wanting me to stop it, but I just can't cause it's the way I've been since I was 15, and I hate, and I always have hated living by myself, I fuckin can't stand it, I hate being on my own.
>
> (Moira, 06: 10)

The thrill of the exchange is shown below in a transcript of how Moira organizes two of her clients to purchase and bring back drugs from her

supplier. After the clients have left the house, Moira reflects on what the interaction means for her:

> Moira: You going to see him [Mark], now?
> Leo: Most definitely,
> Julie: Can you come over tomorrow morning?
> Moira: No, you need to come back here, after you go and see him.
> Julie: Tonight?
> Moira: Yeah.
> Julie: Well it's up to him [Leo] cause he's driving.
> Moira: Well, I need you to come back here, that was the deal, you fuckin know that . . .
> Julie: Well talk to him [Leo] then, though, I've been drinking so I can't drive
> Moira: The fucking deal was, she got that . . .
> Leo: I can drive back tonight.
> Julie: Cool.
> Moira: You need to go and see him and you need to bring it straight back here, and then I'm gonna tax it and then I'll take it to Poul tomorrow, cause what you just got was mine.
> Leo: What I'm gonna do, is . . .
> Julie: No it wasn't, he's still got some left, so we're getting less for you.
> Moira: That's cool, but I still need you to do that for Poul, cause all hell will break loose, and I want it back tonight.
> Julie: I can imagine.
> Moira: No you can't, I got fuckin four letters, I got two phone calls tonight, from him, from jail, saying don't forget that, don't forget that, don't forget that . . .
> [Julie and Leo leave the house]
> Moira: . . . [to the author] 'You go, and you do this, and you do it-now', you see they listen to me, its great. I don't know, maybe I have this control over people, 'you do this and you do it now'. You know what's really odd, is that most people do it.
>
> (Moira, 35: 10)

Small-time dealing, such as Moira engages in, certainly means a lot more to Moira than simply economic benefit, or running a business or the means to fulfil a dream of material wealth. The proliferation of relationships that comes with being the centre of social and drug market activity is a core outcome for Moira. She loves having the role of mother, with all

its dimensions. Even though she has just celebrated her 21st birthday, Moira sees herself in a mother role to other drug users. She even calls herself the mother of Bendigo junkies. For Moira, being a dealer is about power. She organizes her house and her relationships around dealing, not for the sake of the drugs but for the social and power relations that emerge from the role.

Owen, her partner, has some very real misgivings about the risk. Although Moira finds the rough and tumble of the scene energizing he cannot stand it. A few months later Owen leaves Moira, Mark gets arrested and Moira replaces Mark as one of the town's major dealers. Even though the house gets even more manic, Moira still organizes other people to keep the house clean and well ordered.

The point with this story is that the spatial arrangement of Moira's house involves state agencies, a labour economy and a risk economy. The risk environment emerges from multiple interactions between structuring factors. How we understand Moira is entirely dependent on how we position her labour in relation to the deployment of forces that structure her house.

Keystone commodities, economic capture, capital and suffering

Both these stories emphasize the interplay between factors that structure the risk environment. Gender, poverty, the state, violence, crime and discourses of stigma punctuate the stories of two low-level dealers in the drug-using networks in this town. The take-home point is that we need to be sensitive to the varied factors that construct the risk environment. In addition, we need to acknowledge that these factors may find their expression in quite diverse, even perverse, ways. I bring these two stories together in a discussion of the experience of the risk environment, specifically in terms of socioeconomic dimensions of risk environments.

Ian controlled the movement of drugs and people in and out of Ramsay Street. When the other drug dealer in the street (Barry) was having disputes with clients, Ian was able to help by maintaining order in the street. When Barry stopped dealing heroin and fell on economic hard times, Ian helped him to establish a small cash flow from daily cannabis sales to a small number of clients. For the members of Ramsay Street, illegal drugs were a keystone commodity (Trocki, 1999), in that the drugs structured social, sexual and economic relationships. Expressed in another way, Ramsay Street residents were experiencing economic capture. Their labour value and the value of their human

capital was tied to the value of drugs running through the street. But this economic capture tells only a partial story of their lives in relation to the drug market and the risk environment.

Disadvantage predicts poor drug-use outcomes, but it is a blunt indicator of the centrality of the drug economy to the economic circumstances for the residents of Ramsay Street. The risk environment in Ramsay Street was thoroughly structured around a drug economy borne from disadvantage. There are some perversities in this story. Disadvantage was not necessarily related to the availability of cash. Both Ian and Barry ate the same quality food regardless of how well their dealing was going. Ian ate McDonald's hamburgers for dinner and Barry ate pre-packaged TV dinners – 'fish fingers'. Although the cash flows for the two of them were vastly different, they occupied a similar cultural space. In Bourdieuian terms, their disadvantage was borne from their inability to transform capital from one type to another (Bourdieu, 1986, 1993). At times Ian had plenty of cash, but he did not convert this into the symbolic or cultural capital necessary to change his neighbourhood role. In fact, his central role in drug market commodity relations precluded him from asserting a different social and economic role in the risk environment. His cash was tied to commodities and activities that could not be de-linked from the illicit economy in Ramsay Street. As can be seen in his interview text segments, he was acutely aware of his own capture and his own class location. He was no cultural dope. Ian was thoroughly agentic, albeit grudgingly, in his participation in a marketplace that was determined to undermine his health and welfare. In this sense the economic determinant of the risk environment was comprehensive.

When Moira assumed a higher level of dealing following the departure of her dealer Mark, the first material object she purchased was a computer and an online account. Once online, her main computing activity was her chatroom presence. Regardless of her physical or virtual location, her investments were in personal relationships. Moira was not socially isolated in the same way Ian was. In fact, Moira's economic positioning was related to her sociality. She used her sociality to extend her economic capacities, and reinforced her sociality through economic advantage. Capital processes streamed through Moira, in the sense that more and more aspects of her sociality were subsumed to capital. All her friends were part of her drug-using and dealing network and, increasingly, more aspects of her life were related to her dealing. In one sense, Moira was economically captured, but her capture was in extending the boundaries of herself through her social networks. Her capture was not

an issue of incapacity in the conversion of different forms of capital. Moira was positioned at the incorporative, rapacious and subsuming edge of capital. Each of her social relationships was subsumed to capital. She had organized her friends, boyfriends, customers, even the very structure of her house, to maximize her return. She was an embodiment of modern capital. It is both trite and banal to debate whether she was captured or whether she had captured the processes of capital. In a legal drug environment she would have been called a supermum. In this environment, she was a dealer subsumed to capital.

As noted earlier, Jarrin et al. (2007) suggest that educational level, both as an independent factor and as a proxy for SES, is a critical determinant of drug-user mortality. Jarrin et al. (2007) note that efforts to ameliorate the effects of disadvantage would, at most, have a limited effect in reducing drug-user mortality. The consequences of this position are stark for Ian and the other occupants of Ramsay Street. Efforts to improve the lot of drug users are in vain, according to this position, as they will have little impact on drug-use outcomes at a population level. The force of the determining risk factor (low educational achievement and SES) commits poorly educated drug users to probable ill health and early death. The empirical reality is not at question here, it is the degree to which the empirical picture delimits the potential for policy intervention through constructing the determinant as precisely that, unchanging and determining.

An alternative to this determining account is to try to conceptualize SES not as a cause of drug use, but as part of the experience of drug use for those in this risk environment. As Vitellone (2004) and Maher (2000) assert, it is important that drug use and the drug market are not considered separate to sociality. The rubbish for Ian is both a protective factor and a liability. The filth is part of the risk economy in Ian's house. On the one hand, it reduces his risk of exposure, yet on the other hand it increases the risk of health harms. The physical design of the street has produced a spatial relation inside Ian's house that attempts to remedy the formation of paranoic space outside the house. Ian's masculinity is an interesting alternative to the expression of masculinity evident in Bourgois' (1995) central character Primo. Primo used an expressive dominant masculinity as a central violent character oppressing women. Ian's class-based masculinity, while no less violent, is less demonstrative and more tactical in its deployment. His wife had a legal job in a factory while he dealt drugs from home and looked after the kids. His was a very different expression of masculinity that bore little resemblance to the gender iconoclast Primo from Bourgois' el Barrio.

Policy consequences

A key problem for harm reduction is what to do with risk environments that involve drug dealers. Providing pragmatic responses to the risk environment when it involves drug users is relatively easy compared to trying to find pragmatic solutions for local disadvantaged contexts for dealers. The usual response to drug dealers is to exclude them from policy initiatives. Examples such as 'clean and seed' in the United States or 'neighbourhood renewal' in Australia essentially exclude drug dealers from a policy response because drug dealers do not fit the image of the 'suffering addict' who can be rehabilitated or redeemed. Understanding local-level drug users and dealers and how they fit into the economic life of disadvantaged communities is the first step in developing appropriate harm-reduction policy responses.

Central to understanding the role of the economic dimension to a risk environment is to understand the contribution that the drug economy makes to SES. The two case studies in this chapter have illustrated a different picture about local-level drug dealers than has been previously articulated. Although these drug users and dealers are subject to force, they also deploy power through economic forces that then shape them and their local communities. To differing extents, these case studies should illustrate that the economic dimension of a risk environment is not separate to the experience of drug use. SES in this sense is not an independent factor that predicts outcomes. The experience of drug use and dealing is interpenetrated with the experience of class, gender, educational aspiration and status. This is not easy. Complex social environments never are.

The case studies have been used here to paint a complex picture rather than assert a thesis or reduce a multifaceted problem into more manageable, simple terms. The argument, indeed, has worked in the opposite direction to a social determinants analysis, where the complex social world is reduced down into a series of determinants or factors. The economic dimensions of a risk environment have been described through the social and spatial experiences of two drug-dealers. This description might make policy responses to these types of risk environments more complicated, but we may well need this level of complexity if we are to effectively use the risk environment method to reduce harm in drug-dealing environments.

8
Drinking as a Global 'Mo'-vement Assemblage

In the mid-2000s, there was a profound shift in the international regulation of alcohol. Alcohol producers such as Diageo, SABMiller and Fosters, in partnership with food distributors, have undermined the capacity for sovereign states to regulate alcohol consumption (Godlee, 2014). A recent *British Medical Journal* investigation into a failed attempt in the United Kingdom to introduce minimum pricing of alcohol revealed a level of alcohol industry interference in public policy rarely seen before (Gornall, 2014). This recent example of alcohol industry interference should not, however, be considered an aberration. The alcohol industry has a long history of influencing both governments and the public, and draws on techniques of engaging with the public that mirror those of the tobacco industry (Bond et al., 2010; Room, 2010).

A feature of these large global corporate entities has been the movement away from product-specific product portfolios (that is, distillers versus brewers versus winemakers) to integrated alcohol producers who produce a wide portfolio of alcohol products. In 2004 Fosters, for example, called this their 'total beverage approach'. Another alcohol company, Lion Nathan, called this a 'transference of capability' among their consumers or, put simply, the ability to drink both beer and spirits.

In addition to these changes to product ranges, there has been a development in the conceptualization of marketing strategies to the drinking audience. Marketing strategies now feature more complete 'vertical integration' between 'above the line' (ATL, overt media) and 'below the line' (BTL, framing or subtextual communication) strategies and more strategic use of technology in building brand equity and taste distinctions. This integration and social appeal is often achieved through attaching a social 'cause' to marketing with either corporate social responsibility (CSR) activities or cause-related marketing (Kim et al., 2013) through building what I call 'global drinking movements'.

These drinking movements are structured not so much around drinking behaviours or brand allegiance, but through engendering in the consumer a feeling of belonging, regardless of the brand or the product. In this chapter I outline what underlies these new activities through a case study showing how the Fosters Group and other alcohol producers have engaged with the men's health charity Movember through 'cause-related marketing' strategies.

Alcohol marketing campaigns and public health

In the mid-2000s Fosters integrated a number of product campaigns: the 'Boonanza' campaign for Victoria Bitter (VB) focused on Australian cricketer David Boon (see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rFGYcnBFxlw), the 'Barry Dawson' campaign for Cougar Bourbon (see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GC9WuJhyTog) based on a fictional character called Barry Dawson and, lastly, the 'Movember' initiative (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=crMP4PUDwIw) which linked a men's health charity awareness campaign with alcohol promotion. All campaigns achieved a great deal of attention and, in two cases, a number of awards. For those interested in alcohol policy there is a lot to be learned from the methods used by Fosters to engage with drinkers; methods that many would say were to the detriment of public health. From these campaigns we can learn about a new landscape for media consumption, and as a consequence, a new social landscape in which we can intervene to reduce the impact of the drinking culture. Importantly, these campaigns require us to rethink the processes through which cultural institutions are propagated. A starting point is thinking about how we frame culture and alcohol use (Room, 2003, 2013a, 2013b).

In Australia, public health frames culture in alcohol policy through what is called a norms and values approach (Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy (MCDS), 2006). This approach essentially suggests that culture is for the most part a set of shared meanings that form norms or collectively understood and agreed-to values about social and individual conduct. There are, of course, numerous other ways to understand culture and the choice of framework is crucial because the kind of public policy strategies we choose to pursue will be shaped by the frameworks chosen. The challenge that lies at the heart of approaching drinking cultures is to have analytical frameworks that are sensitive to cultural change and that can adapt to the social trends emerging from our globalized context (Hellebo, 2003). The social norms and values approach to culture, while easily understood and accepted by many, is not particularly

sensitive to cultural change and most importantly is based on an overly cognitive model of how people act in the world. From the cultural place recommendations in the Australian National Alcohol Strategy (MCDS, 2006, p. 30), the emphasis of social marketing campaigns is firmly on rationalist and cognitive strategies. This kind of approach assumes, generally, that cultural change emerges from people rationally making better decisions based on education and accurate information.

While the rationalist approach has its place, a number of alcohol marketers are now recognizing that brand loyalty and purchasing patterns are as much, if not more, driven by affective or emotional imperatives rather than cognitive ones. It is how we feel that matters as much as what we think. The norms and values approach puts too much emphasis on strategies that try to change how we think rather than how we feel.

Research International, a global marketing company that has serviced both the tobacco industry and the alcohol industry (its work informed the rebranding of Johnnie Walker for Diageo, see Chattopadhyay and Paalova, 2006) has a particular interest in branding strategies that focus on the emotional rather than the cognitive:

> Brands often differentiate themselves more by their emotional qualities than by functional differences.... It is the so-called 'softer' side of branding – image, personality and the relationship between brand and customer – that is now important. It is more vital than ever for marketers to get inside consumer's minds, to understand the deep-rooted feelings and beliefs that drive behaviour.
>
> (Research International, 2006)

Another difficulty faced in Australian drug policymaking is the tendency to eschew public intellectual debate in drug policy (Webster, 2005). As Earle Hackett observed in 1987, there has always been a tendency to focus on pragmatic responses, the 'easy trees rather than the difficult wood' (cited in Fitzgerald and Sewards, 2002). In this chapter I introduce some new ways of approaching culture to propose a different landscape to that engendered by the norms and values approach. These may enable us to envision some new ways to effect cultural change.

Frameworks for culture and drinking movements

Rather than review and contrast the numerous sociological constructs that describe culture, I am going to cut to the chase and summarize

an approach called global movement theory, which has emerged out of social movement theory. These global social assemblages are diffuse and not constrained by national, ethnic or cultural boundaries. They originate from Durkheim's original collective effervescence (Durkheim, 1995) and affectual attachment theory, whereby underpinning the aspects of any social order is an affectual foundation (Münch, 1988, p. 35). Maffesoli developed this further into a theory of modern transient collectivity based on 'tribes'. Kevin McDonald (2006) uses the global movement framework as a way to think about groups like the Falun Gong, radical Islam movements and the anti-poverty activists. There has also been an explosion of literature in response to the cultural globalization of hypermobile dance cultures (D'Andrea, 2007).

At the core of the most recent understanding of mobile, dynamic, collective action is the focus on feelings, emotions and affect. Global movements are defined as much by what we feel as by what we think. According to this theory, drinking both represents an interest and expresses an identity and through this constitutes a movement. Drinking movements are involved in *doing*, where the senses are at the heart of action. Rather than thinking of drinkers as a defined group or community, they can be understood in terms of embodied intersubjectivity, where what they encounter, hear, feel, touch and taste constitutes who they are. What they *feel* defines who they are.

Although the theory of affectual communities has been applied to diverse social and cultural contexts such as the Italian informal economy (Pine, 2008), criminal aesthetics in Jamaica (Jaffe, 2012) and national identity (Baldaccino, 2011), the theory is particularly interesting when it is applied to what are traditionally thought to be cultural institutions.

The theory would suggest that being part of a drinking movement involves an experience of moving and being moved by forces greater than oneself. Rather than simply being coerced by advertisers, joining with a drinking movement might involve the brief dissolution of the individual into a transient collective, a communitas. What the alcohol industry is selling might not just be alcohol, it is also marketing a sense of communitas, a sense of being part of something, albeit in a saturated state.

Many marketers are increasingly aware that the world of media consumption has changed dramatically with the integration of internet and mobile telecommunications. New forms of sociality are emerging in line with new communication tools. The marketers who are producing our beverage campaigns are listening carefully to the young people who use these tools and are trying to engage them not as alcohol consumers but

as media consumers (Kawasaki, 2006). These media consumers like to have a sense of control over the information they encounter. They watch less television. They form complex social networks through online communities and actively work to filter out those messages they do not want to hear (IPA, 2006). Neville Fielke, senior marketing director of Fosters Australia was interviewed about the Boony campaign:

> Neville Fielke: There is no doubt that consumers want to have an editing role, and they want to be in control of their destiny and so the key is to how they want to select and get involved as opposed to it being forced on them and that's a much more important and vital connection.
>
> Interviewer: It's a bit like pull marketing versus the old push model isn't it.
>
> Neville Fielke: Absolutely and clearly these days you've got to get the balance right and you need both but there is no doubt that the consumer wants to drive the outcomes.
>
> (Fielke, 2006)

For alcohol marketers, getting media consumers to drive, to control what they engage with, is the main aim. You will see a range of strategies below being used by Fosters to not just engage drinkers with the product or the brand, but also to encourage them to choose to become involved in something larger than themselves. I use an older anthropological term – communitas – a sense of being part of something. By choosing to be part of something, you make yourself amenable to the feelings that go with being part of the group. To understand how marketers are successfully appealing to drinkers we need to look for communitas, and it can be found in the groups and experiences being offered to media consumers.

For Boony watchers, it was the Boony Army (the term used to name those who purchased Boonanza merchandise), where you could play online games and insert your own photographs of your Boony doll (a statuette of David Boon, a key element of the Boonanza merchandise) as it participated in various parts of your life.

For the Cougar campaign, participation means joining with Barry Dawson in his Australian Cougar Arts Federation. The encounter with the characters from the Cougar Arts Federation takes place alongside real people in Myspace. All the Cougar characters have a Myspace page. Here is where the participation becomes quite tricky. Myspace has sites for Kath and Kim, Barry Dawson, Boyztown and a plethora of fictional

celebrity figures. By becoming a friend, you can link your site details to other people, send them messages and generally engage in a sociality that is a mix of network marketing, viral promotion and schoolyard antics.

Myspace represented a form of web-based sociality that mixed commerce with social networking. Elements of these participatory approaches have been around for a long time, although perhaps not web-based. Some simple strategies are suited to loyal brand drinkers such as putting Trivial Pursuit questions on the underside of Carlton Draught bottle tops. In contrast, there are also high-tech viral approaches such as the *Hands* movie (see http://www.shortlist.com/entertainment/10-best-guinness-adverts) used by Diageo for its Guinness product line to attract new drinkers. It simply gives the user an experience of advanced virtual creativity. Marketers would say that this is targeting the 'C' or content generation who are interested primarily in creating content.

Active participation is a prerequisite as a touch point with the product, where the product is not alcohol, but a feeling. Participation in most respects involves a form of affect arising from a sociality, whether it be signing up to a new group, being a vector in a viral messaging strategy or simply being willing to incorporate something about the brand into your usual social networks or social life.

It is the affective component of alcohol advertising that is most compelling for young people (Chen et al., 2005). From the literature, it was already known that children and adolescents respond positively to animals, humour and music in television beer commercials (Waiters et al., 2001). In a fascinating piece of reception research, the affective responses of young adolescents to alcohol advertisements were monitored. Young girls in particular are attracted to cuteness and boys to animal actions (Chen et al., 2005). Chen et al. (2005) interestingly reported that the four most-liked advertisements among these young people involved a ferret or lizard (Budweiser), a Dalmatian dog (Budweiser) and a mouse (Bud Light).

Engaging the media consumer through sociality

There seems to be a concerted attempt to do three things in the 2006 alcohol campaigns. The first was to install drinking into existing cultural formations. In the case of the Boony campaign, the effort to maximize the impact of the Boony doll was made possible through the use of new integration technology where television broadcasts transmitted unpredictable messages to the dolls during cricket viewing times. This

does not necessarily increase drinking, it simply gets people engaged with the brand and the campaign. The second action was an attempt to strengthen brand presence in existing drinking cultural formations. In some senses this is the more old-fashioned strategy. It is most evident in the attempt by Fosters to connect with existing drinkers through the figure of Barry Dawson, 'the Cougar'. The third engagement was to attempt to create new drinking cultural formations. This is perhaps the most difficult task. It requires the marketers to create new forms of sociality in which the brand is located, through viral networking and social network technologies such as Myspace, Facebook and YouTube.

Regardless of the type of engagement, the main consideration for the marketers is to think about contact with the product as not just purchase points but a combination of ATL and BTL 'touch points' for consumers. Note the emphasis here is on touch rather than understanding or recognition. The Boony campaign was described by the marketing partners in this way:

> The campaign was an equity building piece designed to reinforce the VB brands personality, relevance and positioning across the entire demographic of men aged 18–54yrs, with a particular focus on the 18–24yr age group.

In particular the overall objectives were to:

> Fully integrate the BTL and ATL activity in a relevant way that has a strong connection with consumers to the brand and the cricket sponsorship – VB One Day International Cricket Series.
>
> Create a multi-tiered promotion that maximizes consumer touch points.
>
> (Accure, 2006)

All of the above strategies require a combination of ATL and BTL approaches. This means that the media content need not be the only strategy undertaken. We need to look beyond the content to recognize what other work is being done in the campaign. A second consideration is that alcohol marketers are clearly aware that they have the potential through Myspace, Facebook and other social networking technologies to create new forms of sociality in which alcohol plays a central role. Fosters were aware that they needed to shift their target focus for VB away from working-class men to urban technologically savvy young men (Maiden, 2006). By all accounts they were able to achieve their

objectives. It would be interesting to see to whether this was achieved mainly through the contribution of new forms of sociality or through infiltrating alcohol into existing social and cultural formations.

Drinking as a global movement

There has been some commentary about the Boony campaign and the moustache ('The Tash') (Maiden, 2006). Some of it impressively exposes cynical links between Movember and the commercial interests of Fosters (CAAN, 2006; Munro, 2006). The multi-tiered aspect of the Boony campaign has also attracted significant interest among marketers.

In Australia in 2006, Fosters was the main sponsor of Movember, a men's health initiative that delivered considerable resources to depression and prostate cancer charities. There does seem to be a contradiction for a health charity event to have a sponsor who encourages drinking. The campaign included Movember websites, advertisements and social media sites. The website also included a streaming video of Barry Dawson, the Cougar and another figure, Jim BBQ. Both donned a moustache and drank a different Fosters' product.

The moustache was a common element of Fosters' two primary product campaigns, Boony and Cougar, and it was now central in this third charity campaign. The moustache was the symbolic link that pulled the consumer in to the experience of feeling part of something larger than themselves. The products are in one sense inconsequential to the primary task, which is to bring men into contact with a sense of communitas; the 'tash' is the touch point.

Movember was an extremely successful campaign in terms of exposure and donations. No one looking at the content on the Movember pool room webpage could possibly think that this was not a Fosters BTL venture. Equally, we should consider whether Beyond Blue and the Prostate Cancer Foundation were fully aware of the role they played in linking the Boony and Barry Dawson campaigns.

Senses are at the heart of action for a drinking movement, and the communitas expressed in the 2006 'A Mo Bro never drinks alone' advertisement on the Movember website is exemplary. Rather than just be suspicious about the links between drinking, depression and Movember, we should be asking a deeper question about Movember and Fosters. Why was it that so few in the media were willing to observe that Movember was really a front for Foster's 'Summer of the Tash' campaign? The integration between affect, communitas, technology, ATL and BTL strategies was simply astonishing and few were willing to smell

the rat. Perhaps the goodwill generated by the moustache through the Movember campaign immunized Fosters from criticism by health advocates. This is a classic outcome from cause-related marketing, where a for-profit partner gains a benefit from raising the awareness of a 'cause' by ensuring social ends and profit motives are complementary (Smith and Alcorn, 1991; Cornelius et al., 2008).

An important aspect of the integration of the moustache across VB, Cougar and Movember were the opportunities for men to actively participate in the campaigns. They could be a member of the Boony Army, a 'Mo Bro' and a member of the Cougar Arts Federation, depending on their bent. All involved wearing a moustache, all involved contributing photographs or stories about their lives to the web-based sociality sourced from the campaign. A consistent message across the campaigns was that men could drive their own participation. They were in control, they weren't being told what to drink.

One aspect of global movement theory is the capacity of the movement to be active across national boundaries. New technologies allow for rapid delivery of content to an incredibly wide distribution net. Use of viral techniques in all three campaigns, VB, Cougar and Movember, ensured dissemination of content without the expense of advertisements broadcast on free-to-air or pay TV. In fact, the amount of free airtime for moustaches generated by the Movember campaign was astounding. The television coverage extended to a 9-minute segment on a high-rating television entertainment show (*Rove Live*) that was broadcast nationally and subsequently podcast.

Jim BBQ, a central fictional character in the Movember campaign, was featured in a series of fake home videos (see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=THYUTARIgjg). One video shows him putting on a barbecue outside London's Big Ben and drinking a can of Fosters in a classical re-enactment of the iconic Australian 1970s film *The Adventures of Barry McKenzie*, thus creating links between nationalism, masculinity and beer (Kirkby, 2003). Certainly the integration of the campaign enabled multiple branding and multiple links of Fosters products to the moustache. This also opened up the international potential for linking the moustache to Fosters' products.

Fielke, in his podcast interview (2006) noted that the lessons learned from the Boony campaign were scalable and transferable to other parts of the Fosters group. It will come as no surprise to see links between other products in the Fosters group through a central cultural icon (maybe not the moustache) mediated through an integrated pull campaign designed to engage with drinkers as a global movement. This is why we should consider moving away from norms and values

approaches and adopting newer analytical strategies based on things like global movement theory.

Connecting consuming with communitas

There are some key lessons to be learned from the 2006 Fosters campaigns. First, alcohol marketing recognized drinkers as media consumers as much as they considered them beer consumers. Second, at that time many of the communication technologies being deployed by these alcohol marketing campaigns were primarily being used by younger people. In the United Kingdom, 49 per cent of all personal communication was via email, 29 per cent via SMS text and 10 per cent via internet instant messaging. For young adults (15–24 years) 48 per cent of communication was by SMS text, 28 per cent by email and 20 per cent by internet instant messaging (IPA, 2006). Third, for all the effort to construct an affectual community and a sense of communitas linked through the moustache, the initiative was over by 2007. In 2008, the 'Boonanza' campaign was over, Barry Dawson was no longer being promoted as the face of Cougar Bourbon and Fosters was no longer listed as a major sponsor of Movember. According to Movember annual reports, Movember moved from having both Cougar and VB as major sponsors in 2006 to having no alcohol sponsors in 2008 and 2009. In 2010, Movember listed two minor spirit brands as sponsors (Finlandia vodka and Canadian Club whisky). In 2011, Rickard's (a North American Molson Coors 'craft' beer brand) was a listed sponsor in Canada, but Australia again had no major alcohol sponsor.

Global movement theory emphasizes the transient nature of social assemblages and that the grammars of action for members are often quite specific to each time and context. The 'Summer of the Tash' won awards and was lauded as a modern integrated campaign working across media, products, sectors and cognitive and affective registers. In 2011 other alcohol producers began following the trend. Other alcohol brands started to introduce mechanisms to link their products with the Movember tash, even in the absence of sponsorship. Brown-Forman (makers of Jim Beam and Canadian Club) created an iPad drawing app for men to draw moustaches on the face of Jim Beam in exchange for a shot of liquor (Marketing, 2011) and Rickard's designed a series of cans with stylized moustaches related to each of its flavours (Rickard's, 2011).

In 2011, Rickard's also produced commercials for Canadian television featuring Movember (see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fWxb3D1ITAI) and a Facebook app called 'mo duels' (see http://justanh.com/mo-duels/) where users could join moustache teams and duel with

each other. The logic behind the campaign has a strangely familiar focus on a 'cause':

> 'Rickard's has aligned with a cause that's just as passionate as we are,' says Aaron Bilyea, senior brand manager, Rickard's. 'It enables Rickard's to connect on a deeper level to one of our core consumer groups while spreading the word for a cause that affects one out of six men.'
>
> (Strategy, 2011)

In the 2011 Movember campaign, Rickard's used a masculine iconography based on the style of *Gangs of New York* (Martin Scorsese's 2002 film set in mid-nineteenth-century Manhattan); the promotional material contrasted significantly with the contemporary masculine iconography of the Australian 2006 Movember campaign. Diageo have previously publicly discussed how they structured their rebranding of Johnnie Walker scotch whisky in relation to the shifting constructions of masculinity (Chattopadhyay and Paalova, 2006) in a globalizing context. There seems to be no attempt to create a deeper brand loyalty with consumers who might be bolted-on to the product for life. The 2011 campaign shows clearly that the connection of the brand with the idea of a masculine 'cause' is a transient expectation. This seems to be new direction for advertising to men. The objective is to get the target male segment to connect to a transient masculine sentiment.

Reviving the mo-vement

In late 2011 the alcohol landscape changed dramatically when SABMiller staged a takeover of Fosters. SABMiller, owner of beer brands such as Peroni, Miller, Coors and Grolsch, operates across North, Central and South America, Africa, Europe and the Asia Pacific. In 2012 it controlled 29 per cent of the beer market in North America. Rather than Fosters being an Australian beer producer reaching out to the rest of the world, Fosters was now part of a global beer producer who was seeking new promotions and places for its new beer product.

In 2011 SABMiller and Molson Coors were joint venture partners in Canada, so it is not surprising that in 2012 Fosters (under the new ownership of SABMiller) and Movember would team up again. This time the partnership was between Movember USA and Fosters USA. The links between Fosters and Movember were now more explicit and it was a different style of campaign.

Foster's 2012 Movember advertising and promotional campaign won several advertising awards (Chief Marketer, 2012; Leo Burnett, 2012). The text from one of the award sites reads:

> During the two-month campaign, the number of Foster's Facebook fans soared from 5,000 to nearly 52,000. More than 4.3 million unique users saw the page, nearly 643,000 of them via friends' shares. Almost half of the men who saw the Foster's Movember TV ad said it made them more likely to drink Foster's – a percentage above the norm for TV spots – and during the campaign, sales of Foster's Oil Cans rose four per cent from the same period of the previous year.
>
> (Chief Marketer, 2012)

The campaign trailer produced by Arc Worldwide/Leo Burnett (see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eRPaW_WdU0E) reveals the focus of the Movember campaign was on the charitable intentions of younger drinkers. It was noted that seven out of ten young men donate to charitable causes and 'they tend to give money to whatever inspires then at the moment'.

According to the trailer the campaign was structured around the key question of finding a 'cause': 'Can we actually find a cause that young socially active guys would not only be inspired by, but would also complement the Fosters brand.'

In a Fosters USA advertising campaign focused on Australian masculine identity, the hook 'Fosters teaches us how to speak Australian' (Movember, 2012) connected national identity with beer drinking. In a fairly orthodox messaging strategy, six television commercials titled 'philanthropist', 'thirteen', 'shark attack', 'bipartisan' and 'sixpack' focus on what seem to be key Australian masculine attributes and map them onto the product, a large 'oil can' of Fosters beer. The 'How to speak Australian' campaign continued into 2014 with a wider selection of Australian terms (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lw8J0rkAVs4). Industry reports suggest that the campaign increased the consumption of Fosters oil cans by 4 per cent and increased brand awareness and engagement through the Movember website.

Cause-related marketing with alcohol

At the centre of the 2006 'Summer of the Tash', the 2011 Rickard's 'mo-duel' and the 2012 USA Fosters Movember 'Oilcan' campaigns is 'cause-related marketing' (Kim et al., 2013). In this style of marketing

campaign, a for-profit organization donates a proportion of its earnings to a not-for-profit organization to gain access to new customers and market segments through shared branding (Smith and Alcorn, 1991). This kind of marketing offers consumers the opportunity to make purchase decisions for other-than-personal benefit (Ross et al., 1992). It has been reported in the academic literature that 79 per cent of adults are more inclined to purchase from 'good corporate citizens' and 70 per cent prefer to buy from a company associated with a cause (Kropp et al., 1999).

There is a substantial commercial history to 'cause-related marketing' (Smith and Alcorn, 1991; Ross et al., 1992; Cornelius et al., 2008). Many large retail companies engage in it. In 2006 this type of marketing had a global reach through the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Nike, American Express, Converse, Head, Gap, Apple, Motorola, Emporio Armani, Beats and a number of other large companies contributed to the 'Product Red' campaign where the profit generated by the licensed brand ('Product Red') was donated to HIV/AIDS work in Africa through the Global Fund. The explicit normalization of the link between consumption and 'corporate helping' through establishing a licensed brand rather than an episodic campaign or single product was an extension of cause-related marketing (Ponte et al., 2009).

Cause-related marketing has, however, been criticized for lack of transparency (Dadush, 2010) for inefficiencies, for using diseases as marketing vehicles, for 'cause branding' rather than engaging in corporate social responsibility and for substituting social activism with consumerism (Rosenman, 2007).

At the heart of cause marketing is an abstraction. The abstraction is that the target population has a social 'cause' that they either wish to donate to, change brands for, or support in some way (Lafferty et al., 2004). A cause is something they are committed to, or believe in, in some way. Not all 'causes' are equally valued. Some causes are incompatible with some products, and alcohol may be one product that should not be aligned with a health cause (Jones, 2012).

Cause-related marketing for alcohol has been promoted by the alcohol industry (Grant and O'Conner, 2005). Alcohol, however, increases the risk for certain kinds of cancer, which creates tensions for cancer charities who often partner with for-profits through cause marketing. Interestingly, the American Cancer Society (ACS) guidelines on 'cause marketing' excludes partnering with some specific organizations: 'The American Cancer Society does not work with any organization affiliated

with tobacco and will not be affiliated with alcohol, baby skin-care products or hair dye products' (ACS).

Similarly, the Breast Cancer Fund (BCF) places restrictions on alcohol cause marketing:

- The Breast Cancer Fund does not allow for its logo to be placed on an alcoholic product (even if it is organic).
- The Breast Cancer Fund can accept direct donations from wineries or from a wine-related event as long as it is not directly associated with a cause-marketing promotion, which implies the organization's endorsement and helps to further sales of that product in the market place.

(BCF)

In 2010, 'Mikes Hard Lemonade' ran a cause-related marketing campaign focused on breast cancer. The company donated money to the American Breast Cancer Research Fund, who subsequently publicly denounced the campaign (*USA Today*, 2010). KaBOOM!, a North American children's active play advocacy organization, developed an even wider set of exclusions on cause marketers.

KaBOOM! will not partner with the following types of organizations:

- Alcohol brands/entities funded by the alcohol industry
- Firearms or other weapon brands/entities funded by weapon industry
- Pornography brands/entities funded by pornography industry
- Gambling brands/entities funded by gambling industry
- Tobacco brands/entities funded by tobacco industry
- Any computer gaming product with a Mature rating

(KaBOOM!, 2014)

The American National Stroke Association (NSA) will not partner with tobacco, firearms or 'hard alcohol' organizations either, and has substantive limits on wine industry cause marketers.

National Stroke Association will partner with wineries within the following parameters:

- National Stroke Association can accept direct donations from wineries or from a wine-related event as long as it is not directly associated with a cause marketing promotion, which implies the organization's endorsement and helps to further sales of that product in the market place.

- Wineries may engage in National Stroke Association's Proud Partner program, which will allow for the use of National Stroke Association's logo and additional benefits on select distribution channels.

(NSA, 2014)

When the link between a cause and a brand seems reasonable, consumers attribute authenticity to both parties. Lafferty et al. (2004) reported that the degree of fit between a cause and a brand can result in a transfer of attitudes to both the cause and the brand. But the alignment of alcohol (itself, as a brand) with a cause is not so simple.

As evident from the above variety of positions from charities, the complicated segmentation of alcohol as a brand (hard spirits are differentiated from wine by some charities) mirrors the ambivalent cultural location it occupies (Room and Makela, 2000). On the one hand alcohol increases cancer risk, but on the other it is also a valued and valuable commodity intimately linked to sociability and recreation. Alcohol is not a good fit with the breast cancer cause (Harvey and Strahilevitz, 2009) and it is not a simple thing to create an alliance between alcohol and prostate cancer or alcohol and mental health promotion. There are only a few examples of alcohol being used in cause-related marketing.

The other substantive cause-related Fosters marketing campaign called 'Raise a Glass', linked beer to a wartime remembrance day (Anzac Day) and with an Australian defence force veteran's association. In this 2009–2014 campaign, retired and much-decorated Australian army veterans featured in television commercials asking Australians to 'raise a glass' for their veterans (it could mean to either have a drink or make a toast or simply to engage in a form of respectful reflection).

It should be noted that Fosters rejected criticism in the Australian popular tabloid press that they were using veteran's health as a vehicle to encourage alcohol consumption (O'Brien, 2013). Their response to criticism focused on the line in the television commercial script, 'whatever you are drinking, raise a glass'. This is somewhat disingenuous as the success of the campaign was linked to the purchase of alcohol. In 2009, through donation of AUD 1 from each case of beer sold in the promotion, as well as the funds from 1,500 beer kegs donated to pubs and clubs (Sinclair, 2013), Fosters proudly raised AUD 1.2 million on Anzac Day. According to Fosters, a social return on investment study of the 2009 campaign produced AUD 3.75 for every AUD 1 invested (Fosters, 2011).

A 2011 Australian Defence Force alcohol policy review noted the cultural ambivalence of alcohol in relation to masculinity and defence

personnel (Hamilton, 2011). It also noted that the 'perceived association of Defence personnel and Defence work with heavy alcohol consumption is reflected powerfully in the community in the form of alcohol marketing and promotions'. The review critically mentioned the 'Raise a Glass' campaign as an example of the association of defence with heavy alcohol consumption (Hamilton, 2011, p. 55).

The link between Fosters and Movember now seems to be much more exceptional than it first appeared. With such strong and specific opposition to the use of alcohol in cause-related marketing, it seems unusual that Movember was able to partner with Fosters in 2006 and then again in 2012. In the next section I explore what might be going on in the Movember–Fosters assemblage. There may be some logical reasons, as opposed to just financial reasons, why this partnership is able to continue. Rather than alcohol being allied with a specific health cause, it may be that alcohol is being partnered with more abstract 'causes', which is what I suspect is going on with Movember.

Making a 'mo'vement and the transference of capability

A North American marketing company Not Just Shopping (NJS) is perhaps a limit case of the 'cause-related marketing' business model. Between 2001 and 2010 in Charlotte, North Carolina, NJS offered pop-up spaces for 'cause-related marketing' events, where for-profit vendors could rent space, and a proportion of the proceeds were directed to a range of social causes. Rather than focus on linking a for-profit company with a specific 'cause', the NJS business model was built on selling the idea of cause-related marketing itself (Peters et al., 2007).

Movember offers a similar business model, except it offers masculinity as a space instead of offering a physical space. Masculinity is the cause, rather than a specific disease. This is perhaps an even better model than NJS. By making masculinity itself the 'cause' the demands of creating tight coherence in the link between the brand and the cause are alleviated. Masculinity in all its permutations and combinations is almost infinitely exploitable.

Masculinity is a familiar space for Fosters who, after the successful experiment with Movember in 2006, tightened its focus on masculine drinking as a movement in a 2009 campaign ('The Regulars'). They explicitly celebrated the diversity of masculinity through their parade-ground commercial where each masculine identity was granted

a banner (see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZIdDLWNtfHA&list=RDZIdDLWNtfHA). The masculine identities celebrated included:

> Blokes punching above their weight
> The historical re-enactors
> Men who've had their arm in a cow
> The meat tray winners
> Men who won't eat quiche

As the voiceover proclaimed: 'It doesn't matter what banner you march under, it doesn't matter who you are. VB the drinking beer. That's what it's for, Australia.'

One of the advertising agency producers of 'The Regulars' video commented about the production:

> What was clear to us from the start is that VB is the great leveller – that's what makes it such a quintessential Aussie brand. It doesn't matter who you are, what you do or wear, when you pick up VB you become a part of something authentic.
>
> (Mumbrella)

Becoming 'part of something authentic' is a common thread in a subsequent 2010 television campaign for VB called 'Real' (see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MsZ8mTkY6BY). The campaign video parodied a series of inauthentic masculinities. Against a soundtrack of Neil Diamond's 'Hello Again', the screen moves between a number of scenes: a man meeting someone dressed as a hipster, a man drinking cocktails, a man getting pectoral muscle implants, a man putting on hand cream at a barbecue and a man in high-performance exercise lycra at a gym. The inauthentic man in each scene is then confronted with an authentic friend. Each scene resolves when the inauthentic man renounces his inauthentic ways in preference for a beer, a 'real beer': VB. The product being sold is not the beer but the experience of renouncing inauthentic masculinity. The beer is almost inconsequential. The promise of belonging to something bigger and more authentic than oneself is what is being created. As Fosters say in their press release:

> The new campaign was developed from insights pointing to an increasingly superficial society, and asks men to take an honest look at themselves and pose the question, have I gone too far? From photo-shopping Facebook profile photos to skinny jeans and plastic

> surgery, the campaign showcases that, while superficiality will always exist, men have a real desire to be authentic.
>
> (Fosters, 2010)

In a 2004 update on the ready-to-drink product category by Fosters marketing manager Kiril Simonovski (Fosters, 2004), Fosters was explicit in its belief that the 'total beverage approach' was central to connecting to younger segments. Fosters asserted that they 'service entire consumption requirements'. Back in 2004 Fosters and other producers were specifically trying to move beyond product categories and hook into broader consumption repertoires.

The original Lion Nathan concept of 'transference of capability' needs to be considered in a wider context. In 2006, Fosters was not only using 'the tash' campaign to engage the capability of drinkers to move across alcohol product categories, they were also seeking to engage in the transference of capability across different commodity forms, media and beverages. The transference of capability needs to be understood in perhaps an even more abstract manner.

By focusing on the affect rather than the product, Fosters seeks to transfer capability across the ways that male consumers use affect-oriented sociality in their consumption. It is acknowledged now that an individual's level of emotional attachment to a brand can increase without them ever consuming or touching a product (Dunn and Hoegg, 2014). In 2006, the affect of belonging to a community associated with the moustache linked three separate campaigns: Boonanza, Cougar Bourbon and Movember. This was belonging *writ large*. It does not necessarily matter whether you drink beer or bourbon, or are concerned about prostate cancer, you can feel part of something, a communitas, a social body that is larger than yourself.

In 2009 the Regulars campaign was about feeling like you are a man who belongs with other men, whatever kind of man you are, and however that might feel. In some respects the Regulars campaign could be read as a celebration of masculine difference. This appeal to the generic everyman has its roots in a series of VB advertisements dating back to 1968 (see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nszIJDswTBM). The iconic VB brand has been appealing to the 'everyman' – and flattening out masculine difference into a generic desire for beer – since 1968. Creating the global drinking movement is a long-term commitment for Fosters.

In 2012, the capability has become both more targeted and less specific. Fosters reignited its Movember relationship, but this time the focus

was narrower. It was clearly back on one product, the Fosters 'Oilcan', in one market, North America. It was also more diffuse, because it was not linked to a specific national male icon, such as David Boon or Barry Dawson, but on the idea of Australian masculinity. The difference between 2006 and 2012 is that while the feelings may be similar, the recognitions mobilized by each campaign are different. In the case of the 2006 campaign, it was feeling like an Australian man, in all its variations (Boony a heavy-drinking sporting hero, Barry Dawson a hopeless 'manchild'), whereas in the 2012 television offerings the focus was on the idea of Australian masculinity embodied in the broad masculine characteristics of being tough, sexist, having a 'cause' and being fearless. Fosters have tapped into what I believe is one of the most productive and perhaps dangerously limitless sources of capital in their partnerships with Movember in 2006 and 2012. I will now step through the argument.

In 1988, Negri explored the concept of intensive expansion. Massumi (1992), following from Negri, proposed that subjectivity is the stuff of late capitalism and that the real contests of capitalism are in trafficking the affects we use to become-other. It is hard to imagine a more untapped source of masculine capital than the masculine capital that can be attached to a 'cause'. A cause is an abstract belief, a connection with a value, of what is right, what affirms meaning, identity and defines a self against the social. A cause is a machinic assemblage. A cause can be a disease state (prostate cancer), a problem (mental illness) or a symbolic resource such as an icon (a pink ribbon). Or, the cause can be masculinity itself.

Movember is a perfect vehicle not just because of the hegemony of heterosexual masculinity and the diversity of masculine identities, but because masculinity is a resource that will constantly incorporate its own limits and expand. Masculinity is a machine through which Movember mobilizes the boundaries of masculine capital (de Visser, 2009). Richard de Visser conducted focus groups with young men to explore how they valued four masculine dimensions: physical prowess, vanity/physical appearance, sexuality and alcohol use. At the time he carried out this research, his axes were bounded by specific sporting identities. The cleverness of his work was in acknowledging that the scales of those axes were relative and metaphorical. The specific male sporting icon or social identity valued at any point in time could change. A male sporting icon considered sexy in 1968 can be easily replaced with another in 1996. The axes could support an infinite number of combinations of value across four dimensions. This is a highly

abstracted masculinity, almost as abstracted as the list of banners from 'The Regulars' advertisement.

As a broker, Movember constructs an assemblage of different forces: the force of capital through Fosters, the force of the machine of masculinity and the social force of a million men across the world who want to believe in a cause. Movember has mobilized the force of desire as it flows through the assemblage each November. Desire is not the individual psychic force of psychoanalysis. In this analysis, desire is matter-energy moving between forms in the assemblage.

All however is not completely sensible. There are aspects of the Fosters 2010 'Real' campaign, which seem to contradict their work in Movember and which eludes my understanding. The central problem can be seen in the opening sequence of the 2010 'Real' television commercial.

In this scene, a man at a bar meets a friend, dressed like an inner-city 'hipster', who offers a multi-gestural handshake that seems to go on and on. After some jump cuts to the other scenes, the man at the bar shakes his head, leans across and simply holds the hipster's hands steady, to stop the hipster from going over the top and being inauthentic in his expression of friendship. He holds the man's hand in a single handshake and the hipster looks up, and then down in shame. The thing that makes no sense to me in the scene is that the hipster's inauthenticity is expressed clearly in his moustache, an icon of masculine capital central to Foster's previous partnership with Movember.

There are quite a few possible explanations. It may be that this is an Australian advertisement, and after five years of Movember in Australia, the moustache is now an icon of inauthenticity. Another reading is that after Movember dropped Fosters as a partner in 2006, this is one way for Fosters to remind Movember of the power of Fosters to undermine the moustache as an icon of authentic masculinity. A third possible reading is that the moustache is a powerful cultural icon of inauthenticity, and *that* is the point of both Movember and Fosters. The skill of Movember was its capacity to position this icon of inauthenticity in a kind of masculinity game, whereby Movember gives men the licence to authentically join together to be something more than themselves (be part of something), by playing at being inauthentic. In the same way that end-of-school celebrations, muck-up days, end-of-sporting-season celebrations and the carnival encourage people to play with their cultural opposites (men dress up in women's clothes and so on) Movember provides a way for men to play with a symbol of inauthenticity, in an authentic way (by having a cause).

What better and seemingly limitless resource for Fosters to tap? They promote a cause that allows them to be inauthentic and then they provide the solution to that inauthenticity. As the boundaries of what constitutes authentic masculinity change, so too can the focus of the 'cause'.

The Movember assemblage, then, can partner with any range of health issues. Men's health was originally codified through cancer and mental health. There is no reason it could not include a wide range of other issues. In fact, in 2013 Movember extended their 'cause' to include mobility and exercise under the banner 'Move':

> As a society we have stopped moving, sitting is the new smoking! The more you sit, the poorer your health and the earlier you may die, no matter how fit you are. To address this we are introducing MOVE, where Movember and our community will organize and host events during Movember that inspire you to move whether it be a walk, run, spin, yoga, surf or skate
>
> (Movember, 2013, p. 9)

The global drinking movement that Carlton United Breweries/Fosters has been building since its 1968 VB television commercial has a stablemate in Movember.

Naming and shaming

This chapter has explored what cause marketing can achieve and how it operates, by reconceptualizing how cause-related marketing works. There is, however, a risk of misrecognition when trying to understand the activities of Fosters and other alcohol producers in partnering with Movember. Because there are so few source materials about the advertising campaigns from which to draw (the source materials tend to be industry press releases from the creative agencies involved in the production of the campaign materials), it is hard to make solid inferences about the intentions of Fosters. The above cultural analysis fails to focus on why Fosters is using cause-related marketing. It is in the main speculative and at best descriptive.

But in a perverse way, although these materials do not reveal the intentions of Fosters, they do offer a picture of the outcomes from their endeavours. If the 2009 'Regulars' television commercial is a call to action for different types of men and the 'Philanthro-pissed' television commercial from Fosters in 2012 is a destination (that is, a

touchpoint for men to connect to Fosters Lager through Movember) the outcome is pretty clear. This is all about mobilizing capital through masculinity.

There is a tendency to simply criticize Fosters and other alcohol producers for exploiting a 'cause' and by extension to blame the 'cause' for the exploitative activities of the alcohol marketers. Movember is an organization that is exceptional. It has mobilized capital by linking alcohol to a cause – the health of Australian masculinity. It is exceptional for another reason. Many reputable charities exclude alcohol from cause-related marketing activities. Even though Movember was criticized for their links with Fosters in 2006, they entered into a new arrangement with Fosters in 2012. But to see Movember as an exception to the usual conduct of charities is misconceived. Movember is not a normal charity with an ethical cause. Movember is really a cause-related marketing organization, and the cause is masculinity.

Criticizing Movember for their actions is warranted if we are to think of them as a charity. But Movember is a communications marketing machine. Criticizing Movember for doing their job is like criticizing dentists for drilling holes in teeth. If there has been deception on the part of Movember, this should be corrected. I do not think this is the case. Perhaps the criticism should be directed at public health and alcohol policy advocates who have not applied sharp-enough tools to reveal Movember for what it is. Movember is the equivalent of NJS. They are simply selling space and brokering a cause to enable a flow of affect that can mobilize capital.

When Fosters first connected beer to Movember in 2006 through the 'Summer of the Tash' (Boony, Barry Dawson and Movember, across beer, bourbon and a cause), they did more than get men to donate to a charity and drink more alcohol. This kind of 'cause marketing', especially when it relates to a product like alcohol and a cause like men's health, exposes some essential elements in how social assemblages intersect with flows of capital and affect. In this final section I focus on this intersection to see what this kind of marketing achieves.

Movember raised AUD 141.5 million in 2012/2013 and engaged with more than one million 'Mo Bros and Mo Sistas' across 21 countries (Movember, 2013). For all the criticism of this programme it is worth noting the extent of their efforts. I would welcome evidence of a government that engaged as many men and expended this quantum of money annually on addressing men's health. Movember offers so much, and men are willing to pay – as is Fosters – for the opportunity to be part of something bigger than themselves. If only Movember was

as committed to the violence, misogyny and discriminatory outcomes from masculinity as it was to masculinity itself.

I opened this chapter with the notion that Fosters was building a global drinking movement. This is no surprise; they have been doing so since halfway through last century. Through the course of examining both Fosters and Movember, it has become apparent that both organizations are stablemates in their interests in intensive expansion, and in finding elements of male subjectivity that are amenable for exploitation.

Movember in Australia has resisted alcohol industry cause-related marketing since 2006, which signals that they may be aware of the links between alcohol and cancer, and recognize that regardless of the apparent ambivalence of alcohol, it may not be a good marketing fit. What remains unanswered is the basis of the 2012 partnership between Fosters USA and Movember USA since the global takeover of Fosters by SABMiller. One can only assume the benefits of the partnership in the United States outweighed the risks.

Although this is the end to the chapter, there is no end to this story. This is the condition of intensive expansion. The global drinking movement, rooted as it is in the machine of masculinity, will continue to grow, morph, transform and converge. The assemblage created by Movember may combine elements in new ways to slough off value from the flow of collective desire. Fosters may or may not attempt to link up with Movember again in Australia and cause-related alcohol marketing may gather resistance in the United States as the various cancer societies come to see Movember for what it is and block their activities with the alcohol industry. However the future plays out, organizations like Movember will continue to seek out new spaces and causes, and assemble them in new and different configurations. The global alcohol industry will continue to search for new masculine assemblages to exploit and governments will continue to struggle to regulate the industry's behaviour.

9
Drugs and the Abject

In this chapter I look in detail at the spatial practices of a street drug market. Open street drug markets throughout the world provide the most abhorrent visual evidence of the damage of drug use. Here, drawing on the work of Massumi and others, my detailed study of the communication of fear and horror in one open street drug market provides a case study for how we frame drug use as an abject consumption behaviour. In this case, the abject takes on a thoroughly productive form through the use of contemporary theory about the links between capital and affect.

Introduction

> Two prominent retailers are preparing to quit Melbourne's Bourke Street and others are considering leaving amid concern that the worsening heroin trade has made the area unsafe.
>
> Traders say customers are being driven away by shoplifting, stock damage, people overdosing and vomiting, disputes between drug dealers, and large groups blocking the footpaths.
>
> They have dubbed the area around Bourke and Russell streets as the Golden Elbow, a reference to the notorious Asian drug-growing region known as the Golden Triangle.
>
> (Finlay, 2000)

In early 2000, a Melbourne business retailer from either Darrell Lea's chocolate shop or Minotaur's popular culture bookshop decided to work the city into a body when they renamed the corner of Bourke and Russell streets 'the Golden Elbow'. The city entered into full body status,

corporeal and transformed into a racist target. Residues of Burma and Thailand could be sensed in the track marks that trailed around the traffic lights and into the amusement arcades. What an exemplar of a city-becoming-body. The Golden Elbow is a sign of fear; it is, as Massumi would describe it, real-material-but-incorporeal. This is ontological mixity at its most everyday and most disturbing. This chapter proposes some alternative ways to make sense of city spaces where signs of injecting drug use bring us into contact with different dimensions of the city.

There is a deep concern with safety in modern cities, most usually concern for safety from strangers who use drugs. A number of social and cultural theorists including Zigmunt Bauman (2001, p. 145) and Beck have addressed this focus on safety through a critique of the ubiquitous risk of our risk society. Bauman in particular recognizes that the anxiety of modern city life has an ontological dimension:

> The sources of insecurity are hidden from view and do not appear on the maps the newsagents stock, so you can neither locate them precisely nor try and plug them. However, the causes of the unsafety, those strange substances you put in your mouth, or the strange humans who enter, uninvited, the familiar streets you walk, are all too visible. They are all, so to speak, within your reach, and you may think that it is in your power to push them back to 'detoxicate'.
>
> (2001, p. 145)

Bauman creates a social wound, the dissolution of a structured, civil society. Modern society is a wound characterized by ontological insecurity. His redemptive project of reimagining a caring society and an inclusive city needs originary, perhaps even ontological, wounds. Citing Bourdieu, the wound for Bauman is a deregulated post-industrial society of precariousness, where insecurity extends from economic concerns to the incapacity to make plans for the future (Bauman, 2001, p. 41).

Bauman's current quest to write a romantic past founded on a caring social democracy is a resolute gesture of defiance to pervasive neoliberal disciplinary forces. Maybe Bauman is also rearticulating a long *durée* story. The precariousness that is at the heart of Bauman's contemporary anxiety really may just be the tail end of a modernity built on vain attempts to capture the present. His anxiety about the modern city community is a recapitulation of an older suspicion of signs. As he expands on the nature of the modern city subject, his project is a fear of a life of sign reading, or perhaps, by extension, the insufficiency of a semiotic self.

> [T]he cities in which most of us live nowadays are 'large, dense and permanent clusters of heterogeneous human beings in circulation', places in which one is bound to mill in an 'everchanging large crowd of varied strangers moving among one another' we tend to 'become surfaces to each other – for the simple reason that this is the only thing a person can notice in the urban space of lots of strangers'. What we see 'on the surface' is the sole available measure by which to evaluate a stranger.
>
> (Bauman, 2001, p. 147)

The over-dependence on surface and the risks inherent in sign reading are key elements of Bauman's totalizing account of fear in the modern city. This encounter with signs contrasts with the encounter between Virginia Woolf and a male scholar on an Oxbridge riverside as discussed by Theresa de Lauretis in her reflections on poststructuralist semiotics (de Lauretis, 1984). The encounter is used by de Lauretis to examine the interstices of Marxism, psychoanalysis and semiotics. In this detailed tracing through Eco and Peirce, de Lauretis finds a space between the orthodox workings of rationalist semiotics for a story of how the effects of signs can modify a person's tendency towards action, their disposition, their habit. This less-than-conscious tendency shows the subject as an instance of textuality, somewhere between semiosis and practical action, both cognitive and non-cognitive. The effects of sign encounters – Peirce's emotional, energetic and logical interpretants – create habit change through these encounters with the world. The three different types of interpretant respectively reflect (1) the quality of an impression from a sign; (2) the direct effect of a sign encounter; and (3) the outcome achieved through a specific sign encounter in light of the ground or habit in which the sign is read. For de Lauretis, this is not simply an individual semiosis: 'Their significate effects must pass through each of us, each body and each consciousness before they may produce an effect or an action upon the world.' Micropolitical practices using unwritten texts are the most potent (de Lauretis, 1984, p. 178).

Using the story of Woolf's encounter with a male scholar, de Lauretis seeks to illustrate how a brief social encounter can, through less than conscious mechanisms, produce profound effects. By linking the 'encounter' to Pierce's interpretants, subsequent habit change is not just an individual effect, resulting from individual semiosis, rather it is a collective endeavour. The de Lauretis account of the complexity of brief encounters contrasts with Bauman's wholly negative account of such encounters in modern cities. Moreover, the account illustrates

how a brief encounter can be powerful both in individual and collective terms. Rather than brief encounters being a source of superficiality and insecurity (as Bauman posits) brief encounters can draw on deeper, less-than-conscious habits or tendencies that direct action. The less-than-conscious tendency towards action, posited through the Woolf story, is a starting point for thinking about affect and a proposition explored later in this chapter that we orient ourselves in relation to the movement of affect through encounters in city space.

Bauman has a pessimistic vision of encounters in the modern city. This pessimism is derived from, first, an insensitivity of the capacity of bodies to interact through less-than-conscious responses and, second, the belief there may be an ontological dimension to fear that is not necessarily based on insecurity, but rather that fear may be part of the city experience.

Social reality is as much constituted by subjects' habits, as habits are constituted through semiosis. de Lauretis suggests that there is a mutuality between the subject and the social landscape (1984, p. 182). As we know, walking in the city can make the city, as much as the walker.

This account of the city, with its origins in the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Brian Massumi, focuses on the real-material-but-incorporeal, where the incorporeal is to the body as energy is to matter (Massumi, 2002, p. 5), and where energy and matter are mutually convertible modes of the same reality. In this formulation the anxieties about sign reading so prevalent in accounts that eschew the dissolved semiotic self are subordinated to other, more productive dimensions of the city-becoming-other.

This chapter explores some encounters with the signs of the street drug market, in order to bring to light how such encounters can produce fear of drug users and fear of the city. In the past, encounters with signs of the abject have been taken as metaphors for the order–disorder binaries. This account proposes an alternative abject and understanding of how it relates to modern consumptive city spaces.

The drug-using body in the city

The most familiar way to understand injecting drug use is through the mythical story of will-less subjects on a journey of suffering and redemption. Drug use is pathological pleasure seeking arising from a loss of will. An alternative account of drug use can be found in the work of Gilles Deleuze, alone and with Felix Guattari. Deleuze suggests that drug use per se is not necessarily pathological. Drugs, like meditation, are one

way to encounter the world. It is the continued quest for drugs as a mechanism to become-other that is problematic.

A key to understanding Deleuze's contribution to thinking about drug use is to appreciate the ontological position he proposes. For Deleuze, the world is made up of matter-energy. All objects (organic and non-organic) are composed of the same material. We are formed through processes or 'machines' that 'individualize' us into our familiar forms. As discussed in Chapter 2, individual bodies connect with each other to form 'assemblages' of desire (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). These assemblages can be between humans, organic and non-organic objects. There are no sovereign individuals with a discrete consciousness or subjectivity. For Deleuze, we are collective. Desire is not an attribute of the individual, rather it is a flow of energy through an assemblage. Drug use, for Deleuze, is a means through which individuals alter their speed of perception, not unlike meditation, so they can see the world in its de-individualized state. When intoxicated, the boundaries of the world collapse and meld into each other. The familiar world disappears and the world becomes 'other'. When we 'become-other' we plug into the matter-energy of the world and see it for what it is. This experience is beautiful, dangerous and horrific (Deleuze, 1994, p. 237).

Drug-using city spaces may not be pathological sites, but rather phase shifts in the city as it becomes-other. These are not shifts in time, but in dimension. Deleuze, alone and with Guattari (and later Massumi), posits that 'becoming-other' is a 'desire to escape bodily limitation' (Massumi, 1992, p. 94), a liminal state and a movement between forms. This change in conformation between states is at the heart of their philosophy of difference: 'A becoming is neither one nor two nor the relation of the two; it is the in-between, the border or line of flight or descent running perpendicular to both' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 293).

Becoming is presented generically in *A Thousand Plateaus* through the term 'becoming-other', or more specifically as 'becoming-woman', 'becoming-Jewish' 'becoming-animal', 'becoming-child', 'becoming-whale', 'becoming-tortoise', 'becoming-the-same', and 'becoming-consumer'. At other times, two actualized or 'molar beings' are linked such as man-dog.

The city-becoming-other unfolds through drug use and is witnessed through the bodies of this liminal transformation. It is the heart of the city. It is also, by virtue of the force applied by the machines, mobilized to eradicate these phase-shifting windows to the becoming-city, a source of violence, fear and abjection.

From this standpoint encountering drug use is a little like watching people change the coordinates of the city. In Deleuzian terms, we begin to see the city become-other and encounter the limits of the sensible world. These limits are made visible through an encounter with the street drug user's body. The limits of the sensible world are exposed when the body of the drug user becomes part of the furniture of the city, and when the city becomes bits of the drug user's body. It is the strangeness that arrives in the encounter of the city-becoming-other that is the most frightening. This is an encounter with the limits of sensibility in what Deleuze would call sense. Sense is an incorporeal, complex irreducible entity at the surface of things (Deleuze, 1990, p. 19). As Colebrook suggests, sense expresses not what something actually is, but its power to become (2002, p. 60). Sense is an event that facilitates the actualization of possible worlds from the incorporeal.

When discussing sense, Deleuze and Guattari often make recourse to Merleau-Ponty's famous example of the touching of hands (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994, p. 178). Sense comes about through the touching of surfaces and membranes. A fear of sense arises when the dissolution of surfaces in the world (be they physical, social, virtual or ideational) illuminates the limits of surface, not simply as a physical experience but also as a profound moment of change or, as Deleuze would call it, 'becoming'. The limits of sensibility are recognized through the contact of bodies with the world. These limits are made clear to us in the city when there is a crack or rupture in the spatio-temporal ordering of city space, through the dissolution of boundaries between built form and organic membrane. Sense emerges from becoming-other.

In the next section we encounter some signs of street drug use and explore how they can mark the limits of sensibility.

Street furniture

When the body is becoming-other, a zone of indiscernibility ensues. As Deleuze and Guattari suggest:

> Animal, plant, and molecular becomings correspond to cosmic or cosmogenetic forces: to the point that the body disappears into the plain colour or becomes part of the wall or, conversely, the plain colour buckles and whirls around in the body's zone of indiscernibility.
>
> (1994, p. 183)

The body-becoming is fear instilling. A fear of sense arises when the dissolution of surfaces illuminates the limits of surface and as a consequence the limits of sensibility. Heroin users create a crack or rupture in the spatio-temporal ordering of city space, through the dissolution of boundaries between built form and organic membrane. Heroin users make sense, through forging new connections between human and non-human bodies. In this type of becoming, the body of the heroin user melds with the walls and surfaces of the city. Bodies meld and the distinctions between body and city are blurred.

What creates fear for many is the possibility that the body of the heroin dealer becomes like street furniture, part of the life of the city, one of its permanent features. A 1999 image from a Melbourne newspaper, the *Sunday Age*, showed a Southeast Asian heroin dealer squatting on the sidewalk, plying his trade. The image accompanied a feature piece on how street heroin dealing had become a part of inner-city life. It was perhaps a most shocking insight. When heroin dealers plant themselves in different parts of the city and stay, they grow into the walls. Local business often responds to these unwelcome visitors by requesting police action. Southeast Asian street heroin dealers in Melbourne make easy targets for police action. The Asian face becomes synonymous with the face of a drug dealer, and racist overtones in the fear of the heroin body-becoming-city get actualized through police zero-tolerance operations. Violent law-enforcement machines punish and scarify drug-using bodies in their efforts to displace these bodies from the city. In an immune reaction, the city turns against these bodies to rid itself of its foreign objects.

Andrew Masterson, *The Age* journalist and now novelist, provided the copy for the story accompanying this image (Masterson, 1999). A year previously, he had famously renamed an inner-city place 'smack street' in a descriptive feature piece titled 'Dealing with Death on Smack St, Collingwood' (Masterson, 1998). His 1998 piece caused great displeasure for local retailers. Subsequent letters to the editor from locals refuted his claims that heroin ruled the street and that the locals had had to change the very way they walked down the street – their bodily hexis – to avoid being challenged by eager heroin dealers.

At the time of writing of his 1998 piece, Masterson was completing his own hard-boiled crime novel. His 'walk' down Smith Street, Collingwood, in this piece had all the hallmarks of his fictive work; gritty, emotional and in some senses realer than real. Most importantly his article, by re-naming Smith Street 'smack street', mobilized a community campaign against, well, mostly everything.

In response to the *The Age* articles the Smith Street Traders Association began a campaign to redress the street's tarnished image. On 3 May 1998 a letter to the editor from the Smith Street Traders Association was published as an opinion piece in *The Age*. About a month later, on 11 June, the same letter was published again (with some minor changes) as an opinion piece in *The Age*, this time attributed to a different author. The opinion pieces were accompanied by a number of other letters to the editor ranging from 'part of the life of the street' narratives to plain outrage at the 'street furniture'. Interestingly, even the most outraged of commentators included an acknowledgement that injecting drug use is a 'health issue' rather than a crime issue (Smith Street Traders Association, 1998). A characteristic heteroglossia emerges when in the same letter the traders association calls for more police action. In increasing degrees of complexity, different theorists would describe this varyingly: the narrative analysts would examine the dialogism; Foucauldians such as Mariana Valverde (Valverde, 1998) would call this a piling up of rationalities; Deleuze would call this a heterogeneous series. All up it is a mess. It would be simplistic to say that the traders, in an attempt to understand the issue, are simply making no sense of the street furniture; they want to talk about the street furniture, but at the same time they want people not to talk about it. What also might be going on is that the traders are comfortable talking about the street furniture in abstract terms – as a problem and a plague – but they simply cannot entertain talk about the street mapped in affectual terms, as Masterson has done.

I must take some responsibility for a role in this mess. I was part of the Yarra Drug and Health Forum, a community group that added to the Smith Street Traders Association woes by constantly beating them over the head with the 'drugs are health issue not a crime issue' mantra. In attempting to reduce the ferocity of the traders' voice we may have simply frustrated them further by adding baggage to their already complex and increasingly meaningless heterogloss as the message incorporated tabloid media, lay and drug policy voices. If only we had seen that the problem was affect mapping rather than the codification of the 'issue'.

Obituaries

The city cradles the bodies of its dead and we can often encounter the dead in ruptures of ordered space–time. In the isolated alcoves in the centre of Melbourne's central business district (CBD) are collections

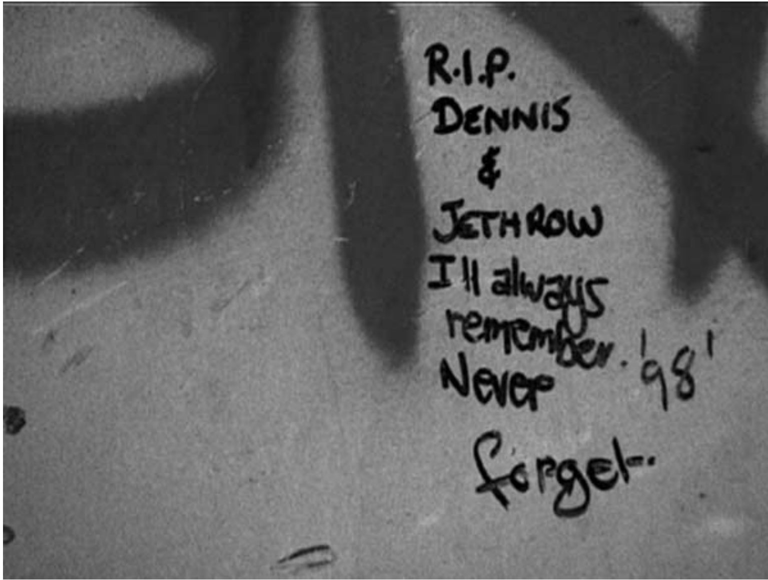

Figure 9.1 Street obituary, Melbourne, 2000
Photograph: author.

of scribbled obituaries to those who have died from heroin overdose (Figure 9.1). These alcoves are shrines and memorials to loved ones that have died in the midst of the city's pleasures. Their bodies are gone, but the dead bodies become inscribed in walls and make sense in the dirty little nooks. The dead bring the surfaces of the city to life.

During fieldwork in Melbourne's street heroin market, I came into contact with one of these obituary walls and followed the loving lines of devoted partners. I had an encounter with an imaginary Dennis and Jethrow (Figure 9.1). I encountered the lovers who wrote messages explaining they were not around for the funeral because friends had not contacted them in time. One obituary, scribbled on a sheet of cardboard, was left at an overdose site in the loading bay for a Chinese restaurant. Splattered with mud, the cursive blue biro message said: 'Wish I could have been there when you died. Your baby son misses you. He's too young to know, I'll make sure he never forgets you. Love ... '. This message puts us in touch with the absent lover. An encounter. An alcove measuring 4 metres by 2 metres by 3 metres, filled with used syringes, spoons, used swabs and stinking urine and faeces is no place to die and certainly no place to remember the dead. But now it is a place not just to

remember the dead, but also a place where the dead become very much alive. The body of the dearly departed has become a part of the city; well, for as long as the obituary remains.

A knot can form in your stomach when you see these images. Knots, boiling points, moments such as these are moments when events inhere in surfaces to produce sense. This rupture in the surfaces between wall, body and time is an encounter. It tells us not just that someone died here. It also tells us that for someone who loved the departed, this place lives on. Somehow when we experience this we also become part of a body of the city. We connect with a dead body and the dead person's loved ones through a scrawl on a wall.

This space is memorable as it moves us, it connects us with the dead. We orient ourselves in relation to the movement of affect through encounters in city space. In his discussion of city space, Massumi notes the relations between space, landmarks and non-cognitive perception (2002, p. 180). He uses the device of non-conscious tendencies or tropism (tendency plus habit) to talk about a supplement to cognitive maps, or how we orient ourselves in city streets in a less-than-conscious way. This self-referential orientation relies on landmarks that provide minimal visual cues, but act like magnetic attractors in space – these he calls patches of motion. They 'polarize movements' relation to itself in a way that allows us habitually to flow with preferential heading' (Massumi, 2002, p. 181). Massumi uses motion in its fullest meaning, referring to a mobility across states. The 'landmarks and their associated patches of qualitative relations can be pasted together to form a map' (Massumi, 2002, p. 181). It is to one such affect map that we again turn.

On the corner of Bourke and Russell streets, opposite the Golden Elbow and adjacent to the lolly shop, is a landmark. It is a bus stop where hundreds of my steps have accumulated over the years. As a 14-year-old, I used to wait, guitar in hand, at this bus stop after wandering about the city for an hour or so following my six o'clock music lesson. At around eight o'clock each Friday night, while waiting for the bus to carry me back to the suburbs, I used to check the rising pulse of the city, then sadly take the 45-minute bus ride home to my mum's salmon casserole.

I remember another set of footprints I left in this exact same spot during ethnographic fieldwork in the winter of 2000. I remember squatting on the ground next to the body of a semi-comatose man. It was about eight in the morning, he had scored some heroin with his girlfriend and then collapsed not long after injecting it in the nearby laneway. In clinical terms, I attended to his overdose. I maintained clear airways

and kept his breathing stable until the ambulance turned up, which, thankfully, it did. For me, the pavement still carries the smell of his vomit, the temperature of his body, the ever so long time between his breaths, his blue lips and the sound of his girlfriend bashing against the shop windows in frustration. I cannot walk past these steps without feeling the synaesthesia of the encounter that makes this spot memorable. Overdose encounters, whether they produce death or trauma, mobilize affects for everyone. These affects can last for years, they can become sedimented in asphalt, glass and spray paint. They do more than mark the city, they are landmarks in Massumi's sense. They make possible the composition of affect maps and the re-orientation of pedestrian encounters through functioning as attractors in city space. They are indeed powerful, not as signs or metaphors of disorder, but as encounters with the limits of the sensible.

The abject and capital

Massumi notes the problems with locating the production of the subject form in a discourse of psychoanalytic abjection (1993, pp. 30–34). Traditional abjection rests on the notion of the projection of individual fantasies and desires onto collective processes, where the boundaries between self and other, although porous, are structurally intact. The self is substantively a bounded space and boundaries, conceived of as founding, make the limitative constitutive. For Massumi, the constitutive function of the boundary is at odds with contemporary renderings of late capitalism. The promise of a cultural boundary transcendent through time is incommensurate with a late capitalism that incorporates boundary in its process.

Negri proposes that global capitalism underwent substantial changes in the 1970s and 1980s (1988). These changes centred on, first, the *fluidification* of labour force and capital; second, the rapid *displacement* of capital and third, an *intensification* of life through the subsumption of many social functions to productive capital. Following from Negri, Massumi posits how these changes link to the function of becoming-other in modern global capitalism.

Massumi (1993) suggests that implicit in the changes to modern global capitalism is an indeterminacy in relations between identity and the production of the subject-form in capitalist production to the extent that identities themselves become isomorphic with capital. As capital transforms so too does subjectivity. The modern subject form must possess the capacity to become-generic. As Massumi suggests,

'the generic itself mutates, from an empty container of being to a teeming site of transformation'. The subject-form that fails to transform, or fails to be amenable to capitalization through transformation, becomes unproductive and fails. Massumi denotes becoming-generic as fabulation and becoming-specific as simulation. Both are mutually supplementing aspects of becoming. One establishes form and boundary while the other consumes boundary. For Massumi, fabulation is abjection:

> To fabulate is throw off the very form of identity in the process of singularizing one's specificity. It is to gather up one's ground. It is to become the free-fall one formerly bought into being. It is pure fear, fear as such, uncontained by identity, unintersected by the axes of the capitalist equation.
>
> (Massumi, 1993, p. 34)

Connecting to the matter of the world by becoming a model of the world is abjection. There is no anxiety in this movement, only total fear as the individual becomes *of* the world. Fear itself is the engine room for the productive and incorporative force of capitalism as it produces new subject forms.

The derelict zones of drug use are the engines of late capitalism, not because they are abject, but because they are moments of difference where desire seeks to escape bodily limitation. Fear is the affect that announces the becoming-body. The movement of matter-energy into affect fuels the excitement of city space. No wonder stories about city no-go zones are newsworthy. The force of capital is such that derelict spaces are both incorporated, annihilated and proliferated. Derelict zones are not fixed to spatio-temporal coordinates because they will appear somewhere else in the city grid by virtue of the activities of the apparatuses of capture. So long as late capitalism produces boundaries and captures space there will always by derelict zones and a city-becoming-other.

Massumi suggests that we should cherish these derelict spaces as part of a resistance to the molar machines that capture life (1993, p. 104). The strategy is to neither attempt to stop people from injecting drugs nor encourage injecting drug use. Drug use is perhaps not the basis of fear. The task is not to try and stop the immune responses of the city, as they are a central feature of modern capitalism. Rather, the key objective is to minimize the force of violence applied to bodies involved in the encounter.

What an encounter can do

How easily people engage with the pleasures of the city, knowing they too are plugging into the city's lifeblood in an effort to draw out some energy, to become-other. This highlights the arbitrariness of the assemblage in which people participate. How clearly the chaos of the city, of capitalism, of the mix of productive and non-productive bodies can overcome the city walker. The chaos gets captured by machines and formed into bodies and affects. Media machines don't just mediate this capture. The capture brings together any number of self-reproducing systems of business, governmental and para-governmental bodies that thrive on the threat of death (Massumi, 1998).

Through maps of no-go zones media machines mobilize fear as affect, and thus value, from the mix. It should be noted that fear is not synonymous with emotion, and is not simply an interpretant. As an affect, fear inheres in bodies to establish a potential for acting in the world (Thrift, 2004). Fear is a potential, a vitality, it tells us our bodies are in the world and in particular relations to other bodies in the world. The actualization of affect involves machines that, through locating fear in media narratives (either pictorial or textual), can derive surplus value from the transformation of affect into a commodity form. Once in a commodity form a surplus value of flow or ghost surplus value can be extracted from the commodity exchange (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 451).

Mass media circulation of violence-legitimating affect heightens drug-war paranoia. Death, AIDS and military-like interventions by police become necessary to ward off the threat of death (Massumi, 1993, p. 45). This capture and transformation is tantamount to the subsumption of society to capital, when circulation and production become blurred, and when becomings and deterritorializations create surplus value (Massumi, 1993, p. 57). Crime, especially crime against the community such as street drug crime, stands as a limit case for the threshold between command and normative control systems. Encounters are recaptured and capitalism sucks value from these encounters through the production of fear as affect. State function through command and control relies on the encounter for its legitimation and for the alignment of boundaries between these two deployments of power. An encounter can do many things, and all encounters involve and produce bodies in assemblages. While capitalism thrives on derelict zones and those moments of becoming in assemblages, there is no guarantee of what will emerge from an assemblage.

Encounters without stories

This chapter started with two city stories: the story of the Golden Elbow at the corner of Bourke and Russell Streets and the story of Zigmunt Bauman's social wound, his anxiety about a world dominated by signs. This last section brings together these accounts of drug use, abjection and encounters with signs to posit an alternative to Bauman's sociological account.

The Golden Elbow elegantly brings into proximity different cities and different bodies. Through bringing so many elements of the story of drugs in Melbourne into a single sign, the Golden Elbow creates a rupture in the usual drug narrative of suffering and redemption. The reference to the orthodox cinematic narrative from the *Man with the Golden Arm* is clear. But the city of 2000 is not a movie with part of the same name. This retail corner of Melbourne is not one thing (a romantic retail precinct) or another (part of the golden triangle). As a sign, the Golden Elbow overcodes this precinct through incorporating several stories and several cities into a body part. The media tries to tell a hard news story, but the lowbrow mockery inherent in the mimesis of the cinema story facilitates the emergence of a nonsense narrative (Gibson, 1996). As much as the news item tries to portray a realist social reality, the Golden Elbow creates a new story where the Man with the Golden Arm meets Armageddon. At the same time that the Golden Elbow story allows media to extract value from fear mobilized by racist machines, it also produces an encounter. The nonsensical story about the city is productive in its violence and in its capacity to produce an Other city.

The Other city is navigable though the affect maps we produce (Bruno, 2002: p67). Media no-go zones and the Golden Elbow story create landmarks through which we can start to assemble our own affect maps. On 20 April 2000, in a follow-up article to the Golden Elbow news item, feature writer Gary Tippet stretches the Golden Elbow even further in his *The Age* piece titled 'Working the Golden Elbow'. There is now a scabby section to Russell Street and he navigates the terrain for us in the opening paragraph:

> If this is the Golden Elbow, we must be a little way down the inside of the forearm, about where you need to start slipping in the needle when the veins up higher have scarred over. In other words that scabby section of Russell Street, maybe 50 metres from the corner of Bourke.
>
> (Tippet, 2000)

The nonsense story grows through the production of new landmarks and the production of a more complete map. Tippet takes the original story and starts composing the map for us, filling out the rest of the city-as-body-becoming. The risk for the city planners is that the non-cognitive maps produced by the likes of Tippet evade conscious intervention and can produce dramatic effects. It is all too clear to Tippet and another *The Age* staff writer, Peter Ellingsen, how drug users navigate the city without spatio-temporal coordinates:

> But for its part in the shifting heroin subculture of Melbourne's CBD, Whitehart Lane would be just another of hundreds of alleys and ways that fracture Robert Hoddle's predictable geometric grid. Maybe 40 metres short of Elizabeth, off Little Bourke, it is a narrow, truncated Y going nowhere, a little intersection unnoticed on your way to somewhere else or to be avoided for the faint, bitter stink of urine from its hidden doorways. To these two young blokes though, it seems to be a treasure. They take in its peculiar assets and grin like winning bidders at an auction.
>
> (Ellingsen and Tippet, 1999)

Landmarks such as Whitehart Lane are memorable for the prizes they deliver. In this case a sheltered loading bay becomes prime real estate for the drug users observed by *The Age* writers. Ellingsen and Tippet work hard to create a map for us that exists outside cognition.

Not all sign encounters can mobilize fear in the same way. The success of the encounter with the Golden Elbow is that it both evades capture from overarching, symmetrical and residual narratives and connects up with the everyday ontological mixity of bodily habits. This is where Bauman only gets half the story right. It may well be that anxiety and fear are best thought of as interpretants and affects that circulate with desire through the bodies assembled in city spaces. Whether they produce outcomes, inhere in bodies and get actualized is not ontologically guaranteed. Sign encounters require a ground of social experience for them to produce effects. Drug signs are just lightning rods for the affect mobilized through dissolving and asymmetrical narratives about the city. It is not the superficial surfaces that need concern Bauman, it is the ground, the residual habits that shape the effects of signs. Signs that reproduce narratives can reassure and can make you feel at home. Alternatively, signs that escape narrative structuring can produce fear through making visible the limits of the sensible world.

The ontological mixity brought about through these encounters with the street drug market is what mobilizes machines that then try to capture and inevitably overcode city space. Bauman's anxiety is really a concern with capturing the subject as an instance of textuality, a dissolved semiotic subject who is of the world. Bauman suggests the suture for the world's wound is care. It is doubtful whether a humanist remedy is sufficient for the ontological task he has exposed. It is not that care is insufficient, it is that care needs to be mobilized at an ontological level and this is a tough ask using Bauman's ontology.

As a response to resident and trader demands local government in 2003 and 2004 put extra resources into the rejuvenation of the Golden Elbow. Amusement parlours previously 'tolerant' to the activities of young Asian drug users were moved on and the local government adopted a redevelopment plan for the precinct. This part of the city will be shiny and new in the not-too-distant future, and a new drug hotspot will emerge.

10
Drugs and Transitional Economies

In Chapter 7, the drug market was discussed in terms of the spatial economies and micropractices in drug dealers' houses. In this chapter, discussion of the relationship between drug dealing and economic development is extended to an international context.

The rise of illegal drug markets in transitional economies is usually conceptualized as an effect of economic transition. With the emergence of new understandings of transitional economies and contemporary thinking about global capitalism, drug markets can be understood to have a different function. Under global capitalism, the illegal drug market is an apparatus of capture that choreographs a quest for pleasure, liberation, freedom and the hope for consumption promised by global media. Capitalism thrives on its own incorporative processes such that the limitative becomes constitutive. Global capitalism is defined by the dissolution of limitative boundaries such as sovereign borders, sovereign bodies, sovereign ethnic groups and the subsequent deformation and reformation of the very boundaries to commodity markets. Illegal drug markets mediate this function through capturing bodies, markets, dreams of freedom and the social order and subsuming them to productive capital. In transitional economies the illegal drug market is both an effect of transition and a cause. Illegal drug markets create possibilities for a market economy based on the capture and mobilization of affects, the introduction of new forms of consumption, and the redirection of flows of capital in an environment where capital flows are malleable and labour markets are easily redefined. Rather than being parasitic, the modern illegal drug market is constitutive of modern liberal democracies emerging from transitional economies. The roles for harm reduction and crime prevention organizations are discussed in light of this theory.

Introduction

Since the early 1990s HIV has spread rapidly among injecting drug users in a number of countries with transitional economies, including Thailand (Bangkok, Chiang Mai), India (Manipur) and Vietnam (Ho Chi Minh City, Hai Phong, Quang Ninh), Nepal (Katmandu), China (Xinjiang and Yunnan Provinces), the Newly Independent States (Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova), Russia (Moscow) and Brazil (CDC, 2014).

Links between HIV, injecting drug use and economic transition have been well described in the literature (UNODC, 1994; Keh, 1996; Ball et al., 1998; Rhodes et al., 1999; Aceijas et al., 2004; Rhodes et al., 2005). Global changes in the economic systems in both developing and newly independent states following the fall of communism in Eastern Europe have led to dramatic increases in the rates of mortality and morbidity related to injecting drug use and HIV infection (European Centre for the Epidemiological Monitoring of AIDS (EuroHIV), 2004). Freidman and Reid (2002) and Wodak et al. (2004) describe a global epidemic of injecting drug use, prompting researchers to review how economic transition is related to the rise of drug markets and, more importantly, how, as a global community, we should be responding to these epidemics beyond individually targeted strategies.

Injecting drug use is often thought to be a problem of developed economies. Although there are limitations to the estimates, in 2006 epidemiologists suggested that 10 million of the 13.2 million injecting drug users worldwide, lived in developing and transitional countries (Aceijas et al., 2006).

Over the past ten years institutional responses to the relationship between economic transition and illegal drug markets have matured. Through stewardship by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), the 2005 United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) came into force. Indeed US courts in 2010 imposed fines on a Wells Fargo subsidiary, Wachovia, (the fourth largest US commercial bank at the time) for laundering US$110 million of proceeds from Mexican drug markets (http://www.justice.gov/usao/fls/PressReleases/Attachments/100317-02.Agreement.pdf). There was however an ominous message in how the US courts attempted to prosecute Wachovia. Instead of prosecuting those involved with money laundering with criminal charges, the courts imposed a deferred prosecution agreement. The deferred prosecution agreement stated that the United States would dismiss the criminal charges at the end of the 12 months if Wachovia complied with the conditions of the agreement. This approach paved

the way for further prosecutions, and should have sent a warning to regulators as to the limits to prosecution.

By 2014, 140 countries had become signatories and 173 countries had ratified UNCAC. The focus of the convention is on crime prevention, criminalization, asset recovery and international cooperation (see https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/treaties/CAC/index.html).

There has also been increasing awareness of the complex relationships between drug markets and development in conflict zones such as Afghanistan and Libya (Shaw and Mangan, 2014). It has been observed that an increasing disparity between the developed and underdeveloped economies has brought about both conflict and increased movement of capital and illicit commodities through transitional economies (Thachuk, 2007). This disparity is sometimes accompanied by efforts by rival states to undermine each other through the facilitation of informal economies, such as the influence of the United States in fostering arms markets in Afghanistan, Angola and Latin America under the Reagan administration (Balaam and Dillman, 2011).

It has been observed in post-revolution Libya for example that in the absence of stable governance, the criminal economy has bound the different regions of Libya together (Shaw and Mangan, 2014). A key challenge is to understand more deeply the emerging political economy of conflict during periods of political instability. Central to this is understanding the relationship between drugs and economic transition.

The International Harm Reduction Development Program (IHRD) for the Open Society Institute (OSI) (IHRD, 2001) targeted those liberal market economies that emerged from state command/control systems (commonly called transitional economies) in Eastern and Central Europe. The IHRD was focused specifically on those countries that have exploding HIV/AIDS epidemics caused by injecting drug use in transitional economies where illegal drug markets flourish:

> Many more people became consumers of drugs, seeking escape from hardship, disillusionment, and social dislocation. Millions of refugees, uprooted by numerous wars, also contributed to the tidal wave of drug use.
>
> (IHRD, 2001, p. 12)

The above statement articulates a commonly held view as to why illegal drug markets flourish in transitional economies (Rhodes et al., 1999; Friedman and Reid, 2002; Donoghoe et al., 2005). The orthodox view is that the combination of economic hardship, personal disillusionment

and social dislocation causes people to participate in the illegal market, and they start injecting drugs as a means to escape from oppression. Escalations in injecting drug use and illegal drug markets are an effect of economic transition. Drug markets and other informal markets emerge from the loss of order and subsequent social lesions that have been brought about through political and economic transition (Rhodes, et al., 1999; Friedman and Reid, 2002; Donoghoe et al., 2005). Drug markets are temporary and secondary in the sense that they only predominate because the conditions are not right for sustainable and legitimate markets to develop. Drug markets emerge from a social, economic and political pathology.

This version of the drug market in a transitional economy is somewhat at odds with the accounts we deploy to explain the ravenous drug markets in post-industrial economies of Western developed countries. In these settings, the rise of illegal drug markets is not necessarily related to national economic hardship, collective social disillusionment or social dislocation. We have a number of diverse theories to describe the rise and fall of different drug markets. The rise of cocaine use and production in North and South America (respectively) in the 1980s was not necessarily due to social pathology. Rather, according Michael Agar (2003), market forces and new forms of distribution and consumption mediated the cocaine epidemic in North America. The rise of amphetamine and ecstasy use over the past ten years in the United Kingdom is described in cultural terms as normalization (Parker et al., 1998). The apparent heroin glut in Australia from 1995 to 2000 was more associated with cultural change in the consumption of heroin than with economic hardship, social dislocation or a reduction in law enforcement (Dietze and Fitzgerald, 2002).

It is evident there are a number of cultural explanations for drug market trends in the developed world. These explanations are complex and take into account pleasure-seeking behaviour, social identity and cultural life. There is a conspicuous absence of coterminous explanations for drug market trends in transitional economies. One challenge is to seek more nuanced accounts of how economic transition gets played out at the level of culture, identity and the body to expand our understanding of injecting drug use beyond that of one-dimensional social suffering. See, for example Bourgois' (2003) attempt to make sense of the rise in cocaine injecting in Canada.

There are a number of explanations for disparities in how we differentially account for changes in drug market trends between post-industrial and transitional economies. This is not a specific focus of this chapter,

which rather seeks to understand the specific role given to informal markets for pleasurable commodities in transitional economies. I believe the orthodox account of the illegal drug market as an effect of economic transition is a partial story based on classical supply and demand economics. Transitional economies, like drug markets, are complex, and new theories may shed new insights into their function. Depending on one's theoretical orientation, transitional economies provide either a context for 'risk environments' (Rhodes et al., 1999, 2005) or they structurally determine risk (Farmer, 1999). Regardless of the specific theoretical orientation, there is little dispute from Keh (1996), Friedman and Reid (2002) and Pappas et al. (2003) who all suggest the neoliberalism inherent in the move to modern market economies may be actively contributing to the spread of HIV/AIDS in transitional environments.

Here, I review the current thinking on the place of drug markets in transitional economies. I explore the possibility that illegal drug markets, rather than being an effect of transition, may have a much more definitive role in creating 'open societies' within the context of global capitalism. Illegal drug markets may not just be an effect of disorder. Drug markets may function in a vastly different manner, serving to create opportunity for legitimate market economies.

Health outcomes and injecting drug use in transitional economies

UNAIDS global AIDS reports note that Eastern Europe and Central Asia continue to have expanding epidemics, fuelled by injecting drug use. About 1.3 million people are living with HIV, compared with about 160,000 in 1995 (UNAIDS, 2004). No longer do we speak of producing nations and consuming nations (UNODC, 1994; Keh, 1996), as injecting drug use is taking hold in regions traditionally known for illegal drug crop production.

Some time ago Rhodes et al. (1999) made a most significant contribution to understanding the HIV 'risk environment' as it relates to injecting drug use for the new independent states in Eastern Europe. In a review of the evidence, Rhodes et al. (2005) identified a series of social and economic conditions that framed HIV spread: trade and population movement, neighbourhood disadvantage and transition, public injecting environments, prisons and the criminal justice system, risky social norms and networks, insufficient social capital processes, social suffering, punitive law enforcement and policing and armed conflict.

Similarly, Paul Farmer has made convincing arguments about the propagation of health inequalities linked to global capitalism, poverty and infectious disease (Farmer, 1999). Opening up barriers to the flows of economic capital and human traffic has had a demonstrable impact on the spread of HIV in Eastern Europe (Smith and Thomas, 2001). Rhodes et al. (2005) articulate clearly that as the structural conditions for HIV spread in transitional economies are essentially formed through politico-economic mechanisms the solutions must also be political in nature.

Friedman and Reid (2002) used case studies from South Africa, Indonesia and Eastern Europe to illustrate the central role of economic transition in the development of HIV epidemics. Like others, these authors suggest that the expansion of the illegal drug market was seen as an effect of poverty in both Eastern Europe and Indonesia. Importantly, they draw on Marxian theory to make the connection between disorder and the rise of informal economies for sex and drugs and the spread of HIV. Although Marxian economics are rarely used in drug market research, there are some beneficial aspects to the Marxian account. These will be picked up in the later section on a redefined use of surplus value to link poor health outcomes to identity and commodity relations in global capitalism.

Key elements of transitional economies

Economic reform agendas in developing and former communist-controlled states are characterized by macroeconomic stabilization, liberalization of financial markets (Buiter and Taci, 2003), structural adjustment processes, dismantling of trade barriers, privatization of state-owned industries and the lifting of restrictions on foreign ownership (Shelley, 1992), rectification of budget imbalances and shifting to full currency convertibility (Keh, 1996; Ffrench-Davis, 2001; Griffith-Jones et al., 2002; Ffrench-Davis and Griffith-Jones, 2003).

Pappas (2003) drawing on Giddens (1990) notes the different dimensions to globalization and modernity and their impact on health. The institutional dimensions to globalization (nation-state system, world economy, international division of labour and world military order) need to be considered in concert with the institutional dimensions to modernity (social control, economy, industrialism and military power). The contribution of different forms of institutional activity needs to be accounted for when considering the flows of capital. Acknowledging the contribution of military investment to domestic capital in

transitional economies can be profound, as has been seen in Georgia and in Afghanistan since US military occupation.

Transitional economies act as both substrate and catalyst to the global capital market. There is evidence, however, that this dual role of transitional economies may not be new and that opioid markets historically have been instrumental in the mobilization of capital for the development of transitional marketplaces.

Opium markets and market capitalism

Trocki (1999) and Brook and Wakabayash (2000) provide an excellent account of the role of opium in the development of global market capitalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For Trocki (1999), the opium market prepared the ground for capitalism in Asia by creating mass consumer markets, generating enormous cash flows, rearranging class lines in producer countries, establishing viable trade routes and creating new political-economic structures (p. 53). Opium functioned as a 'keystone' commodity as it was the one element in a larger economic system 'upon which the entire complex of relationships came to depend' (Trocki, 1999, p. 58). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the opium market did not rise out of disorder; rather, it redefined social and political relations around the commodity relations fundamental to market capitalism.

Hevia (2003), in reviewing the histories of opium markets in Asia, makes the observation that 'key to the politicization of opium was its frequent shape shifting between official monopoly and contraband commodity' (p. 314). In addition to opium being able to generate a demand for itself, the movement between states enabled value to be ascribed to its politicization.

Precisely how this shape shifting facilitated market dynamics is hard to gauge. However, it is notable that as the commodity form moves and changes, it creates new market openings. The market can itself move and change shape. According to these historical accounts, opium has the characteristic of an excellent commodity. It creates movement in markets through modulations. These modulations have profound social and political effects. As Trocki notes:

> We need to see drugs as among the most powerful of social or cultural substances. It is true that some people are drug addicts, but others are equally addicted: some to the profits of drug trade, still others to the moral superiority gained from condemning drug use by others, and

> finally some cannot live without the political and social power gained over society through the mechanisms of controlling drug use.
>
> (1999, p. 12)

Market modulations both produce and destroy social and political relations. The roots of modern capitalism were nourished by the modulations in opium markets. Kwass (2014) makes a similar observation about tobacco smuggling in eighteenth-century France. It is this modulatory function that is now thought to be central to modern global capitalism and will be examined in more detail later in this chapter.

Current thinking on drug markets

There are a number of models through which to understand international drug markets. Dorn et al. (1992) note that it would be easy to see drug markets as a triangular market structure dominated by career criminal 'Mr Bigs' who evade law enforcement. In contrast, they point out that most drug trafficking research finds that drug markets are 'messy' with a variety of participants, including career criminals, opportunists and venture capitalists. Because drug markets occupy liminal economic and social spaces that bridge the legal and illegal, and are often related to strategic, economic and geopolitical concerns, illegal drug markets are difficult to both conceptualize and empirically define. In the following section I outline some dominant accounts of illicit drug markets and how they relate to licit commodity markets.

Drug markets a consequence of rational regulation

According to rational market theorists, illicit drug consumption is a rational choice and a normal, but heavily regulated, element to any market economy (MacCoun and Reuter, 2001). Control of the illicit drug market is really about regulating rational decision-making through a combination of punishment, deterrence and liberal market forces (such as alternative licit pleasurable commodities incurring fewer costs). In this sense, the illicit drug market operates according to similar principles as licit markets. There is some support for this perspective as Ruggerio and South (1995) have noted similarities between the structure of licit and illicit labour markets according to modes of production (Fordist and post-Fordist), hierarchies and changes in these markets in response to shifting technologies. Certainly, the expansion of mobile phone technologies has had a profound impact on the openness of drug markets in the United Kingdom (Lupton et al., 2002).

Drug markets as effects of economic transition

A second model, noted in the introduction, is that illicit drug markets emerge as an outcome of economic transition. Keh (1996) provides the most detailed and convincing technical analysis of the role of drug markets in transitional economies through their interaction with the key attributes of structural adjustment processes. There is a strong suggestion that as economic regulatory mechanisms become unstable, social regulatory mechanisms also lose their force in structuring local behaviour. In short, drug markets through corruption, coercion and violence deplete the normative and command control mechanisms.

Drug market as drivers of market economy

A third model is that the illicit drug market is a driver of liberal market economies. What follows from Keh (1996) and Trocki (1999) is the suggestion that drug markets can function as drivers for a legitimate market economy (if perhaps for only restricted periods). In the same way that international banks establish subsidiaries in transitional economies because of attractive credit rate differentials, criminal lenders access the untapped markets of transitional environments with the prospects of high profit margins (Keh, 1996, p. 8). The injection (so to speak) of drug-related capital and credit; the capacity to suppress wage rises through violence and intimidation; the taking up of privatization opportunities and the opening up of trade routes can all prop up ailing market economies in transition.

The liberalization of financial markets in Poland, Hungary, Mexico, China and Russia in the early 1990s resulted in sluggish domestic banking sectors requiring external support. With the promise of high profits and an easy exit through capital account convertibility, firms in these transitional economies were all sustained to differing extents by drug-related capital. In some sense the drug market can create market conditions, albeit with the trademark violence, corruption and the social upheaval that goes with dominant informal economies. Indeed, it has been suggested that in 1992 half the Peruvian labour force was employed in the informal sector sustained by drug-related capital. In Cali, Colombia, during the same period the construction industry grew by 37 per cent building luxury accommodation for the drug industry (UNODC, 1994).

Drug markets as more than anomie

Ruggerio and South (1995, p. 200) note there is a vast drug market literature derived from theories of drug users as ‘retreatists’ or deviants

who cannot achieve socially shared goals (voluntarily or involuntarily) and fuel the demand for illegal drugs in drug markets. These societal dropouts form the basis of criminal subcultures, conflict subcultures and retreatist subcultures. Ruggerio and South (1995) point out that there is also a vast literature documenting the importance of status, career, activity and power for both drug users and dealers. They cite the early work of Preble and Casey (1969) who suggest that heroin users do not attempt to retreat or escape from psychological and social problems through their drug use. Rather, drug use:

> provides a motivation and rationale for the pursuit of a meaningful life . . . If they can be said to be addicted, it is not so much to heroin as to the entire career of a heroin user. The heroin user is, in a way, like the compulsively hardworking business executive whose ostensible goal is the acquisition of money, but whose real satisfaction is in meeting the inordinate challenge he creates for himself.
>
> (Preble and Casey, 1969, p. 21 cited in Ruggerio and South, 1995, p. 202)

Critics of anomie and retreatism theories suggest these theories may be inadequate because they do not account for the complexity of modern life. Not all cultures aspire to North American social values and global culture is far more diverse than posited by Merton (1968). The behaviour of drug users, dealers and traffickers does not always constitute forms of adaptation to dissonant social realities. As Bourgois (1995) suggests, the participants of illegal drug markets may have legitimate goals and aspirations.

Alternative accounts to seeing the drug market as emerging from social pathology have been around for some time. These accounts tend to focus on the cultural dimensions of illegal drug use and how these relate to consumption cultures. Importantly, drug markets need to be understood in terms of the meaning they have for the participants, and the cultural terms through which participants act. We need to examine these theories in a little more depth to develop a framework for thinking through the complexity of a cultural account of drug markets in transitional settings.

The body and subjectivity under global capitalism

Cultural accounts of drug markets draw on different analytic traditions to those used in behaviourist models of drug markets. Here, I outline some cultural theory that draws on neo-Marxist and poststructuralist

theory and which requires some translation into more conventional social science. Negri (1988) proposes that global capitalism underwent substantial changes in the 1970s and 1980s. These changes centred on, first, the *fluidification* of labour force and capital, second, the rapid *displacement* of capital and third, an *intensification* of life through the subsumption of many social functions to productive capital.

New drug market theories are concerned with how subjectivity is linked to the processes of modern capitalism. This concern involves two important deviations from orthodox social science theories. The first is that subjectivity can change in relation to market activity, the second is that modern capitalism is defined by capital having an internal logic of adaptation, mutation and self-organization. Capital is commonly referred to as immanent.

Following from Deleuze and Guattari, Olkowski sees capital as a field of immanence, a process that captures flows of desire and the production of changes in the form and shape of bodies (1999, p. 112). Capital relies on the transformation of the world through different states and forms, and generates itself through these transformations and modulations (referred to as 'becoming-other'). Drug use facilitates becoming-other, and as such is a risky, but highly sought after enterprise (Fitzgerald, 1998; Fitzgerald and Threadgold, 2004). The becoming-body is the force of social change and a force for capital. The body-becoming-other is both the site for ruptures in the apparatus of capture and the site of re-capitalization. The body-becoming is a most valuable site as it is at once both marginal and central to the production of capital (Massumi, 1992).

Rose and others following from Deleuze (1995) note that immanent systems have arisen in late capitalism to attempt to actualize identity and to control the marginal (Massumi, 1992; Haggerty and Ericson, 2000; Rose, 2000). These apparatuses of capture attempt to control crime, drug use, sexuality and other aspects of life through self-organizing systems. A feature of these apparatuses is the lack of an over-arching logic to their concerns, epistemology or form of capture. Crime prevention, pharmaceutical control and health promotion are in their attempts to control the becoming-body, also fuelled by it. The becoming-body is at once both the site of irruption and the site of great productivity in late capitalism.

Massumi makes the distinction between two forms of expansion under global capitalism, *extensive* and *intensive*. Extensive expansion reflects other commentator's observations that capitalism pushes its geographical boundaries across previously undercapitalized domains. The

expansion of European and North American financial interests into Central Asia and following the fall of communism in Eastern Europe is a classic example of extensive expansion. The creation of foreign debt through international loans and structural adjustment processes are primary points for managing national economies (Massumi, 1992). Intensive expansion reflects the capacity of capitalism to dominate the 'last oases of domestic space', or, as Negri would describe, the subsumption of undercapitalized aspects of everyday life to capital. It is to the relationship between subjectivity and capitalism that I now turn to examine how subjectivity itself has become a 'ghost surplus value' in global capitalism (Deleuze and Guattari, 1984, p. 451).

Subjectivity in global capitalism becomes isomorphic with capital. Subjectivity is disengaged with the 'human' and becomes mobilized as a commodity, as a site for investment in and of itself. Massumi links the disengagement of subjectivity from the subject to the disengagement of the commodity from its Marxian labour relation:

> The commodity has become a form of capital with its own motor of exchange (fashion, style, 'self-improvement') and cycle of realization (image accumulation/image shedding; Kruger's 'buying in order to be'). Its value is now defined more by the desire it arouses than by the amount of labour that goes into it.
>
> (Massumi, 1992, p. 200)

Surplus value is created in the process of circulation itself. The value of commodity-images is attached more to their exchange than to their material production. This Deleuze and Guattari call the 'surplus value of flow'. Whenever surplus value is extracted in an act of purchase an 'evanescent double of what accrues to the capitalist is deposited in the hands of the consumer'. This ghost surplus value is an 'aura, style, cool, the glow of self-worth, personality'; it is an affect trafficked in order to become-other (Massumi, 1992, p. 135).

According to Massumi, modern subjectivity has not simply been subordinated to the commodity relation, it has become the product of consumer exchange (1992, p. 201). This does not mean that everybody can – through the consumption of affects to become-other – transform their living conditions. Although a body's transformational potential is indexed to its buying power (p. 137), not all bodies are able to buy the affects necessary to become-other. A body's relative social position is defined more by *how* money flows through it, not *how much* money flows through it.

More importantly, the poor are those who are in a position to *only* receive surplus value predominately in the form of prestige value. Massumi notes the importance of style in the ghetto to illustrate the cultural significance of how the surplus value of flow gets accumulated in bodies.

> People no longer define themselves primarily by what they do for a living, but by what they love, what they eat or wear and where they go. Even though not every body is a capitalist every body consumes and therefore every body accumulates surplus value, at least in its ghost form of subjective 'prestige'. The poor are neither those who do not receive surplus value, nor necessarily those who have less money to spend – in one month more money passes through the hands of a small-time drug dealer of the inner city underclass than many a bourgeois makes in a year.
>
> (Massumi, 1992, p. 203)

Having more money is no guarantee of social capacity. Consumption of the affects to become-other is a key mechanism for the production of subjectivity, through the accumulation of prestige. This is most significant for those in transitional economies where the consumption of Western commodities carries additional value as a sign of engaging with the trappings of modernity. Comaroff and Comaroff (1999) note the cultural significance of making sense of the magic of modernity in African transitional settings. The rise of occult economies or the deployment of magical means for material ends is pronounced in 'postrevolutionary' societies. Similarly, the internalization of Western consumerist imagery by dispossessed young people in Almaty, Kazakhastan is central to the involvement of young people in drug dealing (Rigi, 2003). Taussig's complex account of the magic of cocaine and its impact on a coastal Columbian town should also be noted as an illustration that postcolonial subjectivity is intimately linked to the magic of consumption of illicit commodities (2004). When drug users inject in these environments, they are not just injecting the drug, they are also accumulating surplus value from the prestige of injecting drug use as a Western technology to become-other.

This is a crucial link in understanding the cultural significance of the expansion of injecting drug use in transitional economies and is an alternative to the social pathology posited in the orthodox account of escalating injecting drug use. It should also come as no surprise that this account may have some significance in understanding cultural

trends in injecting drug use in post-industrial environments. If consuming a drug is a site for the production of subjectivity through an accumulation of prestige, drug consumers are implicated regardless of the macroeconomic environment. Not all drug users are capitalists, but they are all consumers.

With subjectivity intimately linked to dangerous consumption, illegal drug markets do more than provide flows of capital. Illegal drug markets are formative in developing new consumers. Illegal drug markets mobilize a range of affects as they enable the formation of identity through the prestige, vertigo and frisson of modern consumption. Modern consumption mobilizes many affects, the most important of which is the promise of hope. The power of hope – for change, for a better life and to be a Western consumer – should not be underestimated as an end in itself. Making new consumers is not simply a behavioural achievement (that is, instilling new forms of shopping) it involves the propagation of dreams for a good life through goods, tastes and novel corporeal experiences. Illegal drugs can be thought of in the same terms as simple commodities such as sugar, tea and coffee (UNODC, 2004, p. 61), but they do so much more in providing pleasure and hope for change on so many levels. Drug markets are central to intensive expansion as they effectively mobilize affects to become-other in many ways.

New thinking on illicit drug markets

Illegal drug markets incorporate boundaries through capturing bodies and dissolving their sovereign status; capturing markets and dissolving trade barriers; capturing dreams of freedom and dissolving the political imaginary to attain a sustainable political economy; capturing normative control systems and dissolving the social into pure market relations; capturing a social order and subsuming the function of the social into productive capital for the drug market.

Modulation

Established financial markets rely on slight market modulations for the extraction of capital. If the stock market did not modulate in a non-probabilistic manner no value could be extracted, although the modulations cannot be too volatile. Global capitalism is structured by modulations, not simply in value but in the boundaries to markets. The dissolution of boundary redefines market parameters through global modulatory market pulsations. This modulation is central to

the function of global capitalism. Illegal drug markets are part of this modulatory function. Unlike an orthodox Marxian account, there is no sequential logic to the function of drug markets in relation to the development of legitimate commodity markets in liberal democracies. There is, however, a modulatory logic to global capitalism (Deleuze, 1990). An orthodox Marxian account focuses on the transcendent force of historical change to sequence changes in market economies.

Illegal drug markets create modulations in global capitalism. These modulations occur at a number of different resolutions. Most obviously, the movement of drug markets across different regions can be seen in the temporal and geographic changes in heroin supply as indicated through heroin signature programmes (DEA, 2004). The degree of profit making from the illicit market modulates according to geopolitical and economic conditions around the globe over time.

Macroeconomic modulations can also be understood at the level of the production of subjectivity, not just at the level of individuals, but also at the level of society. As an economy moves from an agrarian base to a post-industrial base, so too will the subjectivity of its consumers. Microeconomic modulations can be understood most easily through the activities of international harm reduction advocacy organizations and harm reduction industries. The introduction of new drug-use technologies such as syringes (and now retractable syringes) to previously under-developed regions has had enormous microeconomic impacts. Syringes enter into the economy of drug use, as do institutions that provide injecting equipment. Nowhere is this more evident than in Central and South East Asia where HIV spread has been linked most directly to increased injecting drug use. Rapid capitalization of the syringe manufacturing industry in the last two years has been on the back of speculation of an untapped demand for syringes in China and Central and South East Asia (Hills, 2004).

The modulatory logic of modern capitalism ensures that where expansion can occur, be it intensive or extensive, it will occur. Conceptualizing the force for market change as modulatory rather than through supply–demand dynamics may offer new opportunities for interventions. Rather than attempt to locate the demand for drug use in a social, political or economic pathology, the modulatory approach to markets directs planners to look for sites where markets could expand, rather than sites where pathology may be greatest. Rather than search for why the demand for psychoactive drugs changes in consumer countries (a vexed task in any context) better solutions may be found by looking for sites of intensive and extensive market expansion.

The consequences of new thinking on illicit drug markets

This review of material about drug markets in transitional economies and the subsequent synthesis of contemporary accounts of global capital and subjectivity is an heuristic activity rather than an attempt to establish a thesis. It should open up questions of how to re-think the role and function of illicit drug markets. In particular, it should raise questions about why we think about illegal drug markets in the way we do and, more importantly, open up new ways of thinking. In this last section I focus on three issues: the use of force in illicit drug markets, the implications for harm reduction institutions and the implications for crime prevention.

Force, determinant and effect

Transitional economies may not just provide a context for drug markets. Transitional economies are points of modulation, where the velocity of the push and pull of global capitalism is felt as a pulsating force in the movement of capital. To this extent the force for change is not external to the drug market. Market change is immanent to the system. The force to dissolve and reform boundaries, be they sovereign borders, bodies or subjectivities, is massive. Attempts to halt the illicit drug market, as can be seen in UNODC world drug reports (UNODC, 2004) and data from the US Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) heroin signature programme, simply work to redirect the force of market change across different economic arenas. The reductions in purity of North American heroin sourced from South East and South West Asia from 1995 to 2001 were matched by increases in heroin production in South America and Mexico over the same period (DEA, 2004). For too long, market forces have been conceptualized as derived from the number of addicts (see UNODC, 2004). Instead, illicit drug market forces can be reconceptualized as derived from specific local and regional immanent configurations that direct global flows of capital.

Donoghoe et al. (2005) recognize ‘the lessons from the transitional countries of Europe are that neither democracy nor financial resources alone are protective against the spread of HIV’. Instead, they suggest that HIV spread in Eastern Europe is related more directly to systemic obstacles in the delivery of health services. Donoghoe et al. (2005) suggest vertical programming and old-fashioned health sector governance are behind the rising HIV rates in transitional economies. In Eastern Europe and Central Asia, the number of drug injectors increased rapidly during transition to an estimated 3.1 million injectors by the end of 2003.

It is clear that the consequence of market expansion is an increase in HIV spread that may well eclipse any potential productivity increases for this region. I have no doubt that out-of-date health systems are failing to manage the rise in HIV in these regions, but assigning blame for the rise in HIV on the failure of health system reform is missing the real target for analysis, the expanding health marketplace.

An alternative way to view this phenomenon is to consider what may be the actual target of capitalist expansion in transitional regions. A primary target for extensive expansion is the creation of naïve market economies, while the target for intensive expansion is the creation of a region of consumers hungry for Western commodities in the form of Western health care, education, government, prison and security services. Opiate production has been endemic in the Central Asian region for centuries, so it is hard to argue that these populations had never been exposed to opium before the 1990s. The alternative explanation is that aggressive and rapid cultural change in the form of Western consumerism has introduced new forms of consumption and new commodity markets to an underdeveloped region. Services (such as health services) which were once a responsibility of the state or local community are now devolved to the private sector. Donoghoe et al. (2005) are correct in situating the problems as systemic related to health care. The problems may not be the resilient silos of the state-based health care, but rather the speed of transition in the creation of a private health care marketplace. The resistance to change may not be just related to ignorance or 'old-fashioned' bureaucrats, it may also be a resilient gesture of defiance to the introduction of private health care entrepreneurs (see Fitzgerald, 2005a as an illustration of health sector intransigence in response to rapid changes in drug policymaking structures).

Correct choice of the target of analysis is crucial. If we focus on the demand for injectable drugs as the determinant of market change then we may fail to see the broader importance of the forces that drive transition, and, as a consequence, fail to recognise the forces behind the spread of HIV. The very notion of a sovereign subject has changed, such that the new citizen is defined, as they are in many Western democracies, by their capacity to consume. Amex International (a consulting firm funded by USAID) trains Armenian and Georgian business leaders in the mechanisms of Western governance. Amex International has a specific focus on developing private sector initiatives:

> Amex's corporate philosophy stresses private-sector initiatives, good governance, sustainability, and capacity building. The application of

> these principles ensures the development of enduring institutions and structures that become integral parts of the host country's system and culture.
>
> (Amex, nd)

Importantly, Amex International is conscious that political change is insufficient: change needs to occur at a cultural level. Harm reductionists need to recognize that when we are dealing with transitional economies we are working with subjectivities that are also in transition. Amex International is working hard to convince young entrepreneurs of this. Harm reductionists may need to focus on safe techniques of consumption rather than solely on safe sex and safe injecting techniques.

In our analysis of the HIV epidemic among injecting drug users we need to look beyond behaviour change in drug users and the apparent demand for drugs. We need to recognize that the forces of transition, the incorporative immanent force of global capitalism, are behind the cultural change being mobilized by organizations such as Amex International.

Implications for harm reduction institutions

George Soros' Open Society Institute is a powerful ally of harm reduction. It has resourced and protected numerous harm reduction initiatives and has a core interest in using harm reduction as a tool to promote open economies in transitional states. Soros is all too aware of the modulatory logic of capital flows, and can see value in the capacity of harm reduction itself to open up doorways to new markets. What comes with opening up doors and breaking down barriers (political, social and economic) are reductions in state control of capital flows. Institutions committed to harm reduction need to ensure that in their efforts to break down repressive national approaches to drug policy they do not undermine the capacity of sovereign states to manage their own transitions. The comparison between Malaysia and Korea is perhaps helpful in illustrating how different nations can manage the difficulties of transition quite differently, yet come to similar outcomes. Following the Asian downturn, Malaysia and Korea were both faced with massive capital-control problems. Korea opted to follow the directions of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), whereas Malaysia chose to manage the capital crisis on its own terms. The outcomes for both states have been quite similar regardless of their commitment to the IMF and structural adjustment imperatives (Park and Song, 2003). The lesson here is that the nation state, regardless of the hoopla about the power of the

IMF and other international monetary institutions, still has a role to play in regulating market modulations.

Further, harm reduction institutions should be aware that the illicit drug market is not simply a model for global capital markets, it is also a transnational core to modern global capitalism. With that in mind, harm reduction institutions need to ensure their strategies include both sovereign states and transnational alliances. A third implication for harm reduction is to fully utilize the notion of intensive expansion. Illegal drug markets in transitional economies are a potent force in the creation of consumer subjectivity at a mass level. Analysts in developed countries can tend to see injecting drug users in transitional drug markets as struggling victims. While this perspective in some respects is worthy, it also erases the ghost surplus value sloughed off from commodity exchange – the hope for a better life interminably linked to the consumer market place.

This opens up several possibilities for harm reduction. At one extreme, harm reductionists could resist the force for change to market-driven economies at a local level. At the other extreme is to fully embrace consumer subjectivity and deploy the mechanisms for ensuring some capacity to direct the flow of capital in the consumer marketplace.

Implications for crime prevention

Some time ago, most scholars of organized crime recognised the limitations of hierarchical 'Mr Big' models of transnational and organized crime. Alternative models focussed on dispersed power, loose affiliations of non-state actors and porous borders are now widely accepted (Morrisson, 2002; Hollis 2007; Thachuk, 2007). As Thachuk suggests:

> By exporting capitalism and democracy to the world, the West did not envision that free trade would be twisted by rogues who understand that the new world order is less orderly and more anarchical than before.
>
> (2007, p. 4)

New models of organized crime are being explored and new techniques are being deployed by law enforcement agencies to combat drug markets in a variety of contexts. International efforts under the Auspice of the UNODC and the World Bank such as the Stolen Asset Recovery Initiative (StAR) provide support for more sophisticated attempts to heighten financial surveillance and to add complexity to anti-money laundering activities. Data Fusion platforms in Australia have been developed to

facilitate the tracing of economic relationships between drug markets and capital markets (http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/computer-profiling-exposes-organised-crime-figures/story-fn59niix-1226093436561). Law enforcement has embraced the complexity of transnational economics and drug markets by incorporating a greater abstraction of what a drug market can involve.

However, law enforcement still hasn't fully embraced the wider abstracted role of drug markets in global capital flows. For example, in North Africa the links between drug markets, weapons trade, human trafficking and armed conflict in North and West Africa are complex (Shaw and Mangan, 2007; UNODC, 2013; Global Initiative against Transnational Crime, 2014; Shaw et al., 2014).

Further, it has been noted in British government briefing papers (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2013) that strangely, Islam is at the centre of a historical and social context that structures the relationship between terrorism and drugs in the Sahara. This social and political context builds reciprocity and facilitates trade, creates unfamiliar forms of governance over territory and compromises the capacity to prevent criminality and violence. These elements have facilitated the growth of the cocaine and marijuana markets in northern Mali which have then been used by terrorist groups. Capital needs to be understood in much more abstract terms in order to grasp the sometimes local and sometimes global character of capital flows.

Implications for the regulation of international banking

The 2012 prosecution of HSBC for failure to comply with American anti-drug laundering laws provides perhaps the most illuminating example of both the links between drug markets and economic transition and the incapacity of law enforcement to be abstract enough when understanding the role of drug markets in transitional economies.

In 2012 HSBC was accused of failing to monitor more than US$670 billion in money transfers and more than US$9.4 billion in purchases of US currency from HSBC Mexico, allowing for substantial money laundering. It was also asserted that the bank violated US economic sanctions against Iran, Libya, Sudan, Burma and Cuba.

The US$1.92 billion sanctions (for violations that occurred between 2001 and 2010) imposed by the court were not for laundering, but for failing to maintain effective monitoring systems. No criminal prosecution was progressed. Some commentators suggested that HSBC was too big to indict. It was suggested in the *New York Times* that criminal prosecution could topple the bank and, in the process, endanger the financial

system (http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/12/opinion/hsbc-too-big-to-indict.html?_r=0). HSBC is one of the largest financial institutions in the world, with over US$2.5 trillion in assets, 89 million customers, 300,000 employees and 2011 profits of nearly US$22 billion (Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, US Senate, 2012). It was revealed by prosecutors that HBMX (a Mexican affiliate of HSBC), in addition to offering high-risk financial products such as US dollar accounts in the Cayman Islands, also allowed drug traffickers to deposit large amounts of cash (over US$7 billion) from illegal drug markets into the US financial system (Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, US Senate, 2012, p. 4).

Up until 2010 HSBC also provided US dollar financial services to other banks with known links to laundering and terrorist activity, Saudi Arabia's Al Rajhi Bank, Islami Bank Bangladesh Ltd and Social Islami Bank. Evidence was also tabled at the US Senate Committee showing the processing of US$290 million of US dollar travellers cheques through a Japanese Regional Bank (Hokuriku Bank) by Russian clients supposedly connected to used car businesses (Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, US Senate, 2012, p. 7).

One case in the HSBC inquiry reveals the complex mechanisms through which capital can flow between businesses in transitional settings and US financial institutions. It should be stressed here that this example does not imply that the particular individuals involved in these HSBC transactions were involved in money laundering for drug markets, rather, the example should illustrate that the mechanisms for anonymous financial transfers used in the past to link Peruvian finances with North American banks, need to be understood within a context of changing politico-economic relations in these transitional settings.

A series of practices were revealed in the US Senate (Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, US Senate, 2012, p. 279) to involve HSBC with 'bearer share accounts' for a prominent Peruvian business family. The Panamanian-registered businesses, Urigeler International SA – Holding Company and Birmingham Merchant SA – Holding Company were named in testimony. These businesses were associated with the Romero Group companies in Peru. The Romero Group was also heavily involved in Banco de Crédito, a bank also allegedly associated heavily with 'narco dollars' in the 1980s and 1990s (Shimizu, 2004; Quiroz, 2007).

Quiroz suggests that corruption in Peru follows cycles and that the capacity for local family business interests to ride these cycles is determined by their capacity to adapt to changing technological

and financial conditions (Quiroz, 2007, p. 432). Similarly, Shimizu (2004) suggests the Romero Group adaptations to (1) military government industrialization through import substitution in the 1970s; (2) nationalization of Banco de Crédito in the 1980s; and (3) changes in foreign-ownership market-liberalization laws under President Fujimoto in the 1990s resulted in them being one of the most powerful family business groups in Peru.

Some sources suggest that the Romero Group was directly involved in the laundering of money from the cocaine market in both the 1980s (Marcy, 2010) and in the 'infamous decade' of 1990–2000 (Quiroz, 2007). Marcy asserts that in 1988 with the introduction of a foreign exchange amnesty by President Garcia, narco dollars acted as a stabilizer of the economy and Banco de Crédito was a key player in these activities. Marcy (2010, p. 56) suggests that without narco dollars, the exchange rate would have doubled during this period putting pressure on local consumption.

The prosecutorial approach of anti-corruption initiatives masks the bigger picture in the case of Peru. It is a mistake to isolate a single bank, family business group or even sovereign state's financial control mechanisms. The illustration from HSBC and Peru should, in a small way, open a window into a wider vision of the relations between drug market capital flows and economic transition.

First, the movement of capital from Peru to the US financial system formed a number of economic modulations. In the case of Peru, some of these modulations undermined economic governance and some stabilized economic governance. There is no overarching determinism to drug market capital flows. It would be easier and simpler to be able to make moral distinctions between capital flowing from different sectors, however global financial markets rarely make these kinds of distinctions.

Second, a key outcome from the HSBC case is that the matter was settled without any criminal prosecutions. Although it was the largest sanction of its kind in US history, the US$1.92 billion deferred prosecution agreement (including a US$1.25 billion forfeiture and US$665 million in civil penalties) failed to deliver punishment in the form of a criminal conviction to any individual at HSBC. HSBC was simply too big to prosecute. The scale of integration of drug markets into world financial systems needs to be considered. If HSBC cannot be criminally prosecuted by one of the world's largest sovereign economies, the prospect of policing and regulating capital flows from drug markets by smaller nations seems highly improbable.

The logical progression would then perhaps point towards supranational agency prosecutions through UNCAC. Although UNCAC

endeavours to facilitate international cooperation, it is unfortunately structured around enabling sovereign states to proceed against money laundering and corruption. This is a crucial limitation to the design of UNCAC regulatory apparatus. Global capital exceeds sovereign borders.

Ungovernable people and spaces

A number of spaces and groups have grown in prominence on the international stage for counterterrorism and global drug law enforcement. Border tribal areas between Pakistan and Afghanistan, the tri-border region of the northern Andes, the golden triangle and the Saharan Sahel region are all of intense interest. These regions are also characterized by the presence of marginalized populations that Felbab-Brown (2010) calls 'belligerents'.

Although it is well understood that the nature of the illicit commodity matters little (it could be arms, drugs, people, goods, money or natural resources that form the financial basis for a transnational organized crime and terrorist group) the motivation for participation in drug markets is not clear in transitional settings. Understanding the motivation is key as it directs the kind of interventions undertaken by counter narco-terrorist agencies. If the motivation for participation in narco-terrorism is economic independence, then a remedy or intervention will focus on replacement crop subsidies for those involved in drug production. Alternatively if the motivation for participation is a quest for violence and power, then criminalization will be a dominant response.

According to Felbab-Brown (2010) counter-narcoterrorism initiatives such as crop eradication and interdiction are at best ineffective, and at worst they create the conditions for enhancing the legitimacy of belligerents in the eyes of the constituencies. Felbab-Brown suggests that counter-narcoterrorism agencies misunderstand narcoterrorists (that is, those who are at the intersection between political violence and drug trafficking). Rather than being motivated by crime, Felbab-Brown suggests that narcoterrorists are instead motivated by the accumulation of political capital indexed through 'legitimacy' and 'popular support' (2010, p. 17).

With a focus on the value accrued (that is, political capital) from the exchange of commodities, rather than the commodities themselves, Felbab-Brown points in the right direction; however, she is not abstract enough. Her analysis of 'belligerents' and narcotraffickers reduces the complexity of political capital to public legitimacy and levels of popular support. This motivation may well apply to on-the-ground participants in armed conflict, however it falls short of explaining the wider set

of relationships and partnerships that form the loose assemblages and networks that structure illicit markets. In some respects by reducing motivation to 'political capital', Felbab-Brown brings back the highly structured and organized figure of 'Mr Bigs' that characterized earlier understandings of the illicit drug market.

An alternative interpretation of the rich case studies provided by Felbab-Brown is that political capital is more akin to the ghost surplus value accrued through commodity exchange. This could explain why most commodity-forms can be the basis for the accumulation of ghost surplus value. It is also possible that by focusing on ghost surplus value we can identify the different, varied and multiple values accrued by those in different parts of the value chain across drug producers, narcoterrorists, money launderers and consumers. It is hard to imagine a coherence in motivation between those providing protective services to coca growers in Peru and those involved in bearer account transactions at Banco de Crédito and HSBC.

The consequence of this analysis is that by placing a focus on the trafficking of affects, new categories of interventions can be explored. If ghost surplus value is an affect to be trafficked, the focus shifts easily to interventions based on hearts and minds rather than guns and bombs. What is also apparent is that this provides a point of entry into understanding what might have previously thought to be ungovernable populations.

A perverse consequence of the heightened technical and empirical techniques used to police illicit drug markets and anti-money laundering is the growing significance of ungovernable spaces (Felbab-Brown, 2010). Each of these border regions is impenetrable both physically and socially.

Although it is commonly thought that borders constrain the operations of capital, by limiting the operations of sovereign national power, borders also provide opportunities for capital. The Thai-Burmese border, the Durand line and the Upper Huallaga Valley and the Sahel are all contested spaces through which illicit drugs and other commodity markets have thrived. As noted earlier, the modulation of boundaries forms the basis of global capital markets. Although boundary modulation is mostly used in an abstract sense, in the case of these spaces, the border modulations provide ungovernable physical spaces through which global capital extracts value. There is no doubt that the terrain plays a central role in making these spaces ungovernable. It is however the inscription of these spaces with the quality of fluctuating deployments of power that define these spaces for capital.

The use of ungovernable spaces for drug trafficking not a new story. In his history of eighteenth-century French smuggling, Kwass (2014) traced the activities of traffickers in the mountainous region of Savoy who delivered exotic American and Asian goods to French consumers. In particular, Kwass examined the activities of Louis Mandrin, who engaged in the armed trading of tobacco.

Amongst the recent proliferation of reports documenting drug trafficking in North and West Africa, a Foreign Office briefing paper provides one of the most detailed and nuanced accounts of 'ungoverned' space in Mali and the wider Sahel, a band of land stretching across the Sahara from the Atlantic to the Sudan (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2013). In this account, the Sahel is referred to not as an ungoverned space, but as space that is governed 'not in a conventional sense'. Different tribes and groups are responsible for different parts of the drug trafficking route. Relationships between different groups are contingent on trade, religious, political and economic and marital relations. Differential engagement in the drug market by different tribes has also produced changes in political representation in the region.

It is assumed that drug markets emerge out of gaps in governance in both social terms and physical terms through ungovernable people and spaces. An alternative reading of the literature suggests that there may be misrecognition of how capital produces certain types of bodies, spaces, subjectivities and reasons for why people participate in illegal drug markets. In addition, the attribution of some spaces as ungovernable may be due to blindness as to how power can inscribe border spaces.

There are alternatives to the commonly held view that escalations in injecting drug use and illegal drug markets are an effect of economic transition. The orthodox view that the combination of economic hardship, personal disillusionment and social dislocation causes people to participate in the illegal drug market may be true for some, but equally there may be empirical and theoretical reasons to consider alternative explanations. Rather than drug markets being temporary parasitic aberrations, they may well have a far more concrete, central role in the expansive logic of global capitalism. It is incumbent upon us to seek new ways of thinking about illicit drug markets if we are to adequately meet the challenges ahead.

11
Neuroenablement and Hope

This chapter brings together the connections between the experience of drug use, the contextualizing social environment and the operations of capital to analyse the power of hope in driving the demand for what have been called 'neuroenabling' drugs. Stimulant amphetamine use, prescription use of anti-ADHD drugs and the use of antidepressants are growing at alarming rates in developing countries. Here, rather than depicting such drug use as either a form of Foucauldian social control or disease mongering, hope is constructed as its central driver. Through analysis from the vitalist tradition and insights borrowed from diverse authors such as Avital Ronell and Alberto Melucci, drugs are no longer seen as prostheses to selfhood. Hope, when mobilized, radically drives drug consumption through engaging with a need to modulate with the world, to create the body as a test site.

Introduction

Sarah used speed similarly to how she used her antidepressant Zoloft. When I asked her what she liked about speed, she began talking about energy and expanded on this theme:

> Energy is very big for me, and I hate not having energy and I just don't have it naturally, and that's why I get into these sort of things. That's why I won't try smack, cause, what's the point, its not gonna give me any energy, its just gonna, like maybe it'll make me feel good, but, I want to be energy.
>
> (Sarah, pp. 15, 42)

Sarah wants to be energy, not just to have energy. To become a buzz, a piece of fast matter-energy, spinning through the world. The drugged

body is not dumbed down here, it is intense and Sarah is not being metaphoric: she wants to be energy.

This may be what Zack Lynch (2014a) and others are calling neuroenablement. There may well be connections between Sarah's interest in speed and the interests of those who are using the new SSRI antidepressants and Ritalin to enhance their lives.

Nikolas Rose (2004) suggested in his work 'Becoming Neurochemical Selves' that these drugs offer the '*promise* of the calculated modification of specific aspects of self-hood'. It is the 'promise' that is the focus of my attention here. The promise of being able to refashion the self is powerful and invokes the power of hope to both create and destroy. Although hope has been explored in positivist psychological research involving antidepressants, a cultural account has not been forwarded to examine the mass attractiveness of stimulant neuroenablement drugs.

As a structuring element to this discussion I link the drive for neuroenablement to what Avitall Ronell calls the 'test drive'. In a close reading of Neitzsche, Ronell (2007) develops the thesis that testing occupies a central role in intraspsychic and cultural constructions of the subject. For Ronell, the logic of testing has numerous dimensions. I will focus on three. First, drawing on Freud's 'reality testing', Ronell posits that testing structures the very way we establish the 'what is' of our world. Second, she suggests that testing is, in many respects, performative. Through testing, the world becomes knowable. Third, testing is modulatory as it both creates and negates the self. This modulatory dimension to testing – which establishes the ground on which testing occurs – is the source for place and the self becomes a test site. Regardless of the outcomes of our tests, an openness to testing is a precondition to selfhood.

Bauman (2000) has also been interested in the cultural significance of monitoring the self's capacity to respond to the world. He suggests that the over-determining need for 'fitness' (our capacity to deal with the chaos of the world) creates anxiety and places pressure on us to seek prosthetics to enhance our readiness.

Bringing together Bauman and Ronell provides a mechanism to think through the cultural significance of psychostimulants, or neuroenablers, as prosthetics. What I propose is a way of thinking about neuroenablement drugs. They provide hope through enabling the self to modulate, to test the world, to create the body, albeit briefly and in a controlled manner, as a test site. I explore the possibility that hope drives the demand for neuroenabling psychostimulants. Hope is derived from a sense of time achieved through the modulation of the body as it

tests the world. As we sense the limits of the world, testing the always-already porous and contingent boundaries of the body/world, the world modulates through the body. Modulation establishes corporeal time and this corporeal time is the basis for hope.

The chapter offers an exploration, rather than a structured exegesis. In several places I skip over complexities to create an argument from some disparate fragments from sociology, social science and what might be called cultural phenomenology. In the first section I outline some of the social science data that connects the consumption of each of the substances. This is a nod to policymakers that the changes we are seeing in the consumption of these substances are of a magnitude that demands some regulation. Farah et al. (2004) note that because adoption of neuroenhancement technologies is well advanced, the issue is not whether we need policies but rather what kind of policies are needed.

The second section is a bowerbird's sociology of neuroenablement. No doubt the cherry picking of isolated tools from varied social theorists has its downsides but I bring together Bauman's notion of 'fitness' and Melucci's version of 'the gap' to provide a sociological account for the rapid changes in the consumption of these substances. I also outline the main description of neuroenablement (or neuroenhancement as some call it) as it relates to these substances.

In the third section I explore the centrality of *hope* in the demand for psychostimulants and link this to Ronell's work on testing. I explore three key points. First, central to a discussion of hope is a refiguring of future-time, where I suggest that hope may not reside in a temporal future but in a sensing of the capacity of the body to modulate. Second, I examine how hope is commodified and actualized through ghost surplus value from the mobilization of hope-as-affect. Finally, I connect up with the thinking of Rose in his proposition that becoming-neurochemical is about a modulation of the body. I also take Rose a step further and suggest that a key modulatory function is the notion of the test. Testing the limits of hope through the body is central to the neurochemical modulation characteristic of the modern body.

Consumption

There is some scepticism over whether the increase in the consumption of neuroenablement drugs is a response to the uncovering of clinically needy populations or whether the change is a product of over-medicalization and disease mongering (Williams and Calnan, 1996; Moynihan et al., 2002). More specifically, there is a suspicion that

the over-prescription of substances such as the ADHD drug Ritalin (methylphenidate) and the SSRI antidepressant Zoloft (sertaline) signal a new demand for these substances as neuroenablers or neuroenhancers (Elliott, 2003). Over a similar time frame, the increasingly high levels of illegal amphetamine use suggest that these substances together have a broader appeal than just the alleviation of clinical symptoms. I start with a discussion of some consumption trends for these substances, not to establish a positivist point in argument but to demonstrate the scope of consumption.

Antidepressants

In the mid-1990s there was a revolution in antidepressant pharmacotherapy. A new generation of drugs emerged called SSRIs. It was claimed that they were as efficacious as tricyclic antidepressants and had fewer side effects. They had enormous industry backing. Large advertising campaigns, some of which had to be legally restrained because of the claims being made, suggested that the SSRI antidepressants could help you fit in better, they could help you be better than well (Elliott, 2003).

The market for these drugs was insatiable. Five million prescriptions in Australia in 1990 increased to eight million in 1998, with an equivalent increase from 12 defined daily doses per 1,000 head of population in 1990 to 36 defined daily doses per 1,000 head of population in 1998. This is a near trebling in the rate of consumption over an eight-year period. McManus et al. (2000) suggested that there was a range of factors that could explain the rapid rise. In an Australian national review of prescribing patterns, Mant et al. (2004) reported that the 1992 defined daily dose of 10/1,000 increased to around 50/1,000/day in 2002. This fivefold increase in antidepressant prescription peaked before mental health advocacy organizations such as Beyond Blue emerged, suggesting the increase in consumption could not be attributed to increased publicity around depression advocacy alone.

Internationally, the massive increase in consumption of SSRIs occurred in the mid-1990s. The rise in the consumption of SSRI antidepressants over the last decade and a half cannot be explained by the uncovering of a hidden population of depressives. More people are enjoying the experience of feeling better about themselves and the world around them while drug affected. There are a lot of people who are, as coined by Prozac advocate and author of *Listening to Prozac* Peter D. Kramer, ‘better than well’.

A key question was whether people were using the SSRI antidepressants as ‘cosmetic psychopharmacology’, and whether

consumers were simply pawns in a process of disease mongering by Big Pharma (Moynihan et al., 2002). There were few alternative explanations. Either people were more depressed or there were more people working the system for inauthentic self-improvement or there were more people being hoodwinked by pharmaceutical companies into taking these drugs.

Amphetamines

A special parliamentary inquiry was launched in 2004 in Western Australia (WA) to investigate high levels of prescription of the ADHD drugs Ritalin (methylphenidate) and dexamphetamine (Education and Health Standing Committee, 2004). The inquiry also revealed that Australia-wide there was a trend towards increased prescription beyond that thought adequate to supply the needs of adolescents with ADHD.

The changes in consumption are extraordinary. Daily defined dose (DDD) levels (around eight DDD/1,000/day) in WA were second only to Canada and the United States. As with antidepressants, these changes occurred during the 1990s (Berbatis et al., 2002). It is unlikely, as the WA inquiry reported, that the prevalence of autism, Asperger syndrome or ADHD have increased 'naturally' over this time. Equally, it is unlikely that a hidden population of ADHD sufferers was identified or that the increase was purely the fault of evil drug companies. There was something else going on. The magnitude of consumption should not be underestimated. In the United States, it has been estimated that up to 16 per cent of college students use Ritalin, eclipsing likely population estimates of college-age ADHD patients (Babcock and Byrne, 2000).

The WA inquiry (Education and Health Standing Committee, 2004) and an associated federal parliamentary report (Commonwealth Department of the Parliamentary Library, 2004) suggest a socio-cultural basis for the trend, but the analysis conducted was by no means conclusive. My interpretation of the data was that the bulk of the prescribing was occurring in aspirational families, in outer suburban areas of relatively high unemployment. It is difficult to figure out what is going on here. There is a spectrum of health problems affecting this stratum of our community, but there are no clear reasons why ADHD should be one of those. More probable is a cultural explanation of how medication fits into the handling of illness for this segment of the community.

The demand for this substance might be rooted not in a specific cognitive or communicative pathology, but rather in a cultural expectation of how to get your child ahead, how to deliver a future for your child. In an aspirational environment, where there is restricted access to public

transport, health services, employment and a meaningful future, perhaps this simple legal, prescribed and safe substance might give children a leg up. Making children more focused and quieter helps the parents, and helps the children. Importantly, this help may not only be in terms of mental health, it may also provide some hope for the future. International evidence of socioeconomic gradients for the use of prescribed stimulants is equivocal, with poorer families being more likely to use prescribed stimulants in Canada, whereas stimulant use is more likely in wealthy counties in the United States (Miller et al., 2001; Bokhari et al., 2005).

There is some evidence that Ritalin and dexamphetamine may actually enhance executive function for adolescents who are performing poorly in a range of cognitive tasks. There is no evidence, however, that these drugs enhance cognitive capacity in highly functioning individuals (Farah, 2004). So, it is unclear whether there is a clear functional aspect to the use of these drugs.

Increased use of prescribed stimulants during the 1990s has been reported in a number of other countries. Internationally, there have been substantial increases in psychostimulant consumption, primarily among younger populations. The epidemiology is surprisingly unsophisticated for what is a heavily regulated group of substances. The international narcotics control board (INCB) reports regularly on broad psychostimulant production and consumption trends. The proportion of drugs manufactured for export remained relatively stable at 40 per cent over the period from 2000 to 2004 (INCB, 2005). Most production occurs in the United States and the United Kingdom. The United States only exports 2 per cent of locally produced methylphenidate, whereas a high proportion of stimulants produced in the United Kingdom is exported. There is insufficient data to suggest that the production of methylphenidate is a driver of consumption.

Illegal amphetamines

Australian population survey data show increasing use of illegal amphetamines and ecstasy since 1993, peaking well before the so-called heroin drought of 2001. It should be noted that these levels are second only to cannabis consumption. In the annual Australian population survey of drug use, the proportion of people ever using amphetamines peaked at 9 per cent in 1998 (AIHW, 2005). In Australia, illegal amphetamines are disproportionately used by poorer people with the highest use occurring in the second most-disadvantaged quintile (Victorian Department of Human Services, 2006).

This is an important consideration as the peak of amphetamine use occurred in Australia before what is commonly known as the 'heroin drought' when injecting drug users switched from heroin to amphetamines because of poor availability of heroin. What goes with the increased use is an increased application of drug laws. Data from the Victorian Magistrates Court illustrates a rapid increase in the intensity of law enforcement on amphetamine users between 1998 and 2003. This will no doubt have a lingering and residual effect on our criminal justice system for some years to come.

To finish this section, it may be worth reflecting on what is a fairly traditional social science account of stimulant use. I have assembled the evidence of stimulant use using population survey data and analysis of routine monitoring data. The intention in this type of endeavour is to provide a sense of overview. By focusing on national trends, the traditional account erases problems with the data, contestations over the evidence and the very nature of the lens through which the 'problem' is defined. It is not my intention here to engage with the nature of the evidence. It is my intention to provide an empirical basis for an argument about how the population engages with the idea of stimulants, knowing full well that the empirical base is problematic and contested. In subsequent sections I provide a sociological and then a cultural account of neuroenablement.

A sociological account

Zygmunt Bauman suggests that in the Western post-industrial world there is a cultural expectation that we:

> have a flexible, absorptive and adjustable body, ready to live through sensations not yet tried and impossible to specify in advance.... Fitness means being ready to take in the unusual, the non-routine... fitness is about the capacity to break all norms and leave every already achieved standard behind.
>
> (2000, p. 78)

Fitness is highly valued, providing as it does our capacity to respond immediately to threats, to stimulation or to challenges. Our mainstream media industries popularize this cultural expectation and turn it into a more concrete element of our subjectivity. *Survivor*, *Australian Idol*, *The Apprentice*, *Big Brother* and other reality TV shows commodify fitness for life. The whole person is there to be assessed for how they can manage

the twists and turns of life. Great rewards are promised for those who are fit for life. The media sets high expectations on what it means to be ready for the unexpected. But not everyone has the resources to be fit for life. Sometimes we need something, a bit extra to get us through, to keep us up and alert.

Accompanying this trend is the observation from Melucci (1996) that there is a widening gap between the world of constant stimulation and the banal world of the everyday. Our highly mediatized society projects a world of constant stimulation requiring ever more vigilance and stamina to keep abreast of all the latest events. Being 24/7 is not just about being awake. The culture and media industries promote the identities that are 24/7, they are assertive, responsive, articulate and enlivened. According to Bauman, however, it is a debilitating feature of modern life to be constantly turned on.

Neuroenabling stimulant use can be understood not as an individual escape from reality, but rather as a more purposeful attempt to be *in* reality, to be 24/7, to bridge the gap between the banality of day-to-day life and the hope for a switched-on future. The modern citizen needs to be always at the ready, anticipating the unexpected.

The need to provide some sociological account for stimulant use was recognized among illegal drug researchers who were dissatisfied with subcultural explanations for widespread use of stimulants across varied cultural assemblages. Normalization theory, popularized by Parker et al. (1998) in the United Kingdom and Duff (2003) later in Australia, asserts that psychostimulants are widely used and accepted as part of life among modern young people. The focus on 'drugs' in the debates about normalized drug use may be a red herring. What has become normalized is not drug use per se, but the quest for some prostheses to fill the gap.

The markets for coffee, No-Doz, guarana, high-energy drinks and a range of stimulant supplements are substantial. No doubt these markets have been fuelled by a population wanting to become better than well. In the past we sought individualist explanations for the demand for drugs: escape, self-medication, anomie, self-destruction or risk taking. The sociology of neuroenablement I am describing is somewhat different. We are looking at a mass movement of people who seek hope to be in the world and use supplements to do this because the world that is promised seems so far away.

In this sociological account, I have shifted register and proposed a collective intentionality dislocated from any discussion of sociality, grammars of action or specificity of social formation. This is as much because the sociological register I have used, similar to that used by

Bauman and Melucci, attempts to provide abstract analytic tools that have an ontic character. This is clearly a register at odds with that used in the previous section. The assertion of transcendent sociological constructs (that is, anxiety, normalization or fitness) are all features of the sociological enterprise. I will not be critiquing them here.

Neuroenablement

In this section I outline what could be called a cultural phenomenology of neruroenablement. Based loosely on the approach of Csordas (1994) and others (Connor, 2000), I explore the insinuation of discursive, cultural and ideational elements into the experience of neuroenablement. It is entirely heuristic and not meant to link closely to arguments proffered in previous sections of the chapter.

According to the orthodox medical account, antidepressant prescription in Australia is at an all-time high because more of us are recognizing we are depressed. As the media, advertising and culture industries become more adept at getting us to seek better lives through being fit for life, we become more hooked on the expectation that the good life is one that requires fitness. The new drugs that consumers are purchasing offer not just the pharmacological effect of the drug, but a hope: a belief that the drug will make them fit for life and thus able to bridge the gap. This is not to ignore the pharmacology. These drugs do have effects: they change neuronal functioning, they alter a person's sense of self in space, they stimulate. But it is not just neurons they are simulating – they also stimulate the hope of advantage.

It is not an altogether new story that chemical supplements can deliver us an advantage. Neuroenablement entrepreneur Zack Lynch explains: 'Neuroenablement empowers people: it provides a way for people to leverage better tools for mental health to achieve desired results' (2014b). His vision for neuroenablement is a combination of anti-medicalization sentiment, laissez-faire capitalism and North American liberalism. His are not the usual rantings from the liberal drug law reform lobby. He posits a vision of enhanced subjectivity without the trappings of stigma or repression:

> Without neuroenablement we run the risk of medicalizing most of human behavior and increasing the stigmatization associated with improving one's capabilities within one's right to pursue their individual definition of life, liberty and happiness.
>
> (Lynch, 2014b)

At different times, advocates for neuroenablement have hitched liberation to any number of psychoactive drugs: Timothy Leary with LSD, Carlos Castenada with peyote, Cheech and Chong with cannabis and Happy Mondays with ecstasy have all advocated the insights promised from drug use.

Peter Kramer, one of the original advocates for Prozac prescription, popularized the notion that we can learn about how to live better lives from Prozac. He was also keenly aware that cosmetic psychopharmacology could be just another tool in the modern pharmacopeia:

> And I coined the phrase cosmetic psychopharmacology . . . could we use – would we be tempted to use medicines the way surgeons use plastic surgery; that is, not just to repair gross defects, but actually to make people feel in a way that it's more desirable to feel, to give them traits that are more rewarded within the culture. (2001)

In his submission to a US bioethics inquiry into neuroenhancement (President's Council on Bioethics, 2003), Peter Kramer also suggested:

> taking the medication is not enjoyable, though the results of medication may allow a person better to enjoy ordinary pleasures in the manner that other normal people already enjoy them, and that the medication has no side effects or only such ones as a rational person would accept in exchange for the expected benefit . . . . the SSRIs lent them courage. They made patients less sensitive to rejection or loss. They occasionally lent them energy, allowed for greater optimism and social assertiveness. (2002)

Pharmacological neuroenablement is the new black. It is not speculation, it is producing happy, hope-filled people who are contributing to society, who are fit for life.

This is not an apocalyptic vision of the future. It is now. From all accounts people's lives do get better when they are neuroenabled. But being 24/7 has its drawbacks. Being fit for life is energy consuming, at times risky and posits some ethical dilemmas for the sovereign subject.

Drug use as prosthesis

Key ethical writings on drug use focus on the drug as supplement, as separate from the body. In these accounts, the self is a sovereign entity and the drug a polluting influence on a transcendental-imaginary drive

for meaning through an ascetic pleasure so aptly described by Derrida in *The Rhetoric of Drugs* (1995). Key scientific reviews (Chatterjee, 2004; Farah, 2004) struggle to deal with the contradiction that many of our daily interventions, supplements and pharmaceuticals are entirely prosthetic and confound the utopian vision of a drug-free self, struggling along on its Homeric life journey trying to avoid the lure of the lotus (see Horkheimer and Adorno, 1979, pp. 62–63 and the 1967 *Star Trek* episode 'This Side of Paradise' for parallels for this argument). Neuroenablement will continue to be seen as inauthentic (see Elliott, 2003) so long as drug use is constructed as prosthetic. In an attempt to move out of this constraining framework, I draw on the work of Bergson, Deleuze and Massumi to find another way of thinking about how these substances and bodies interact to enable.

In her discussion of addiction, Helen Keane (2005) uses Deleuze to develop an ethics of drug use where drugs are not 'radically other or inherently damaging'. Rather, the body–drug encounter could be seen either as a positive or negative depending on the effects produced by the joining of these two bodies – drug and human – together. The critical distinction to be made is whether the body–drug encounter decomposes our body's relation to the world and to circulating desire. According to this account, an ethics of drug use should also be considered not as an individual moral question but as a collective act involving the broader assemblage of machines and bodies that come to constitute the body–drug assemblage.

This flattening out of distinctions between the human and non-human world is a feature of the Deleuzian account. For Deleuze, the world is made up of matter-energy. All objects (organic and non-organic) are composed of the same material. We are formed through processes or 'machines' that 'individualize' us into our familiar forms. Individual bodies connect with each other to form 'assemblages' of desire. These assemblages can be between humans, organic and non-organic objects. There are no sovereign individuals with a discrete consciousness or subjectivity. For Deleuze, we are collective. Desire is not an attribute of the individual, rather it is a flow of energy through an assemblage. Deleuze suggests that drug use per se is not necessarily pathological. Drugs, like meditation, are one way to encounter the world. It is the continued quest for drugs as a mechanism to become-other that is problematic.

Bergson (1991) suggests that as the body partially absorbs the action exerted onto it from the external world, the absorption becomes the source of affections. Watson (2003) summarizes Bergson to suggest that affect is the collapse of perception and action into a general economy

of movement between bodies. Affect is both intensive and extensive, reaching out into the world, and it is at the core of experience.

Transformations of experience cannot be separated out from the social and material world. Objects of the world, socially meaningful and agentic, insert, insinuate and co-conspire to produce experiential and corporeal outcomes. Neuroenablement is conceptualized in orthodox medicine as prosthesis because of the rigid distinctions between body, affect and world. In the cultural phenomenology tradition, however, drugs, specific as they may be in terms of their political and social identity, are objects of the world and co-constitute the body and its affections. Drug use does not need to be seen as a supplement to the body, rather drug use is a phasing of the body.

Phase shifting is also part of Kleinman's (1997) account of the body in the world. Kleinman (1997) recognizes the porosity of the body and the intimacy of the body-in-the-world through its emotional life. Kleinman suggests the spread of experience:

> like the shifting biphasic states of wave-particle from social metaphor to corporeal sensibility and vice versa can convey a notion of lived connection or vital disconnection among otherwise seemingly distinctive phenomenological domains.
>
> (1997, p. 326)

Kleinman's focus on the connections between social states and corporeal states is an extension of the vitalist tradition emerging from Bergson. He uses social suffering as an exemplar of the corporeal cohabitation of affective and social states (Kleinman, 1997). Importantly, social suffering for Kleinman (he uses depression as an example) is both a moral–religious experience and a biochemical one. Kleinman bemoans the facile expectations that psychopharmacology can transform social suffering, as suffering for him is a way of life. In this formulation affect is entwined into the biochemical, moral and experiential ground on which a life is sustained. Likewise a remedy for suffering should not be conceived as a supplement. Whatever form the remedy may originally take, to be a true remedy it must be conceived of in biochemical, moral, social and experiential terms.

The centrality of hope

In this section I explore the centrality of hope to the affective function of neuroenablers. There is still some discussion in the social psychology

literature over the extent to which we should think of hope as a cognitive or affectual construct (Bruininks and Malle, 2005). I depart from the orthodox psychological meaning of affect. Affect has a number of dimensions, from it being the energy underpinning embodied practices or a quasi-Freudian drive at both the individual and intersubjective level through to a flow of non-specific matter-energy that inheres in the substance of the world (Thrift, 2004). In the last of these different dimensions, Massumi (1993, 2002), Gibbs (2001) and Fitzgerald and Threadgold (2004) explore the non-Euclidian body specifically in terms of the mobilization of affect and how affect moves in and out of visibility through bodies.

Affect, through a variety of factors can avoid identification. Most important of these are that there is a lability of relationship between objects and the affects which they activate; there is a variability in the site of the affective response (for example, the whole body has a tantrum); the duration and intensity of affects are independent of one another in the affect system; and affects are dynamically transformed through habituation, miniaturization, accretion, defensive accretion, delay and avoidance (Tomkins, 1962, pp. 176–183). Hope, conceived as an affect in this framework, is mobile, it moves through bodies, becomes sedimented and corporealized, and then dissipates.

One of the affects extracted from antidepressant use is hope. Whether or not the substances actually produce hope by virtue of their pharmacology, hope is a central part of their market identity. Antidepressants provide hope through the possibility of a brighter day. As it says on the Zoloft website, 'You *can* feel better' (Zoloft, 2014). Prescribed stimulants bring the promise of better learning, more focused attention and reductions in substance abuse. Illegal amphetamines carry the promise of more energy, a rush and greater productivity.

Hope doesn't just arise from the substance, it arises in the act of consumption. But not all consumables carry the promise of hope. In the following section I describe how hope, consumption and value can be related through neuroenablement.

The mobilization of hope-as-affect

Consumers of neuroenablers derive value from the act of consuming. A surplus value of flow or ghost surplus value can be extracted from the commodity exchange, and the ghost surplus flow emerges as affect. Hope emerges from commodity exchange, and drugs are simple commodities.

Following from the work of Negri (1988), Massumi makes the distinction between *extensive* and *intensive* expansion under global capitalism. It is to the relationship between subjectivity and capitalism that I now turn, to examine how hope itself has become a ghost surplus value (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 451).

Whenever surplus value is extracted in an act of purchase, an 'evanescent double of what accrues to the capitalist is deposited in the hands of the consumer'. Surplus value is created in the process of circulation itself, and the value of commodity-images is attached more to their exchange than to their material production. This Deleuze and Guattari call the surplus value of flow. It is an 'aura, style, cool, the glow of self-worth, personality'; it is an affect trafficked in order to become-other (Massumi, 1993, p. 135). What is experienced, felt and expressed through the body is sensation, the actualization of affect.

As these drugs are cheap to both produce and procure, the marginal benefits of neuroenablement drugs far outstrip their original capitalization. The real productivity of these substances lies in two areas. The first is in the production of a subjectivity that can be amenable to enablement. The desire to be better than well is capitalized, and is the main outcome from this productivity. The second area is the mobilization of affect, in this case hope, through consumption. Hope is central to the capitalization of these substances as it plays a role in both the production of subjectivity and in the production of ghost surplus value.

It is worth looking in more detail at hope as the vector for ghost surplus value for SSRI antidepressants. Kirsch, with others (Kirsch and Sapirstein, 1998; Kirsch et al., 2002), has raised some significant questions about the intrinsic activity of SSRI antidepressants. When drug users use neuroenhancers, they do not just experience the intrinsic activity of the drug, they extrude value from the experience independent of the pharmacology of the drug. Massumi would describe this as an accumulation of surplus value attached to the 'sense of self worth' (1993) derived from this pharmacotechnology to become-other. While it has been asserted that the consumption of the affects to become-other is a mechanism for the production of subjectivity, it is unclear how important ghost surplus value is in explaining the mass popularity of these substances.

Kirsch et al. (2002), in a systematic review of the US Food and Drug Administration's clinical evidence for SSRI drug approvals, produced an astounding finding. Kirsch et al. (2002) claim that up to 80 per cent of the antidepressant effect of SSRIs can be attributed to a placebo effect. It has recently been reported that antidepressant activity is

indistinguishable from placebo with regard to bipolar depression (Sachs et al., 2007).

Kirsch and Sapirstein (1998), in an earlier attempt to articulate the strength of the placebo effect of SSRI antidepressants, noted:

> there are two aspects of the data that have not been examined in other meta-analyses of antidepressant medication. These are (a) the exceptionally high correlation between the placebo response and the drug response and (b) the effect on depression of active drugs that are not antidepressants. Taken together, these two findings suggest the possibility that antidepressants might function as active placebos, in which the side-effects amplify the placebo effect by convincing patients that they are receiving a potent drug.

According to the orthodox scientific understanding of placebo, the ever-expanding population of regular SSRI users must be being hoodwinked, although it seems incongruous that so many people are blind to the 'real' intrinsic activity of the drug. Kirsch believes that the efficacy of SSRIs lies in the capacity of the drug to create non-specific effects on the body that may signal efficacy to the patient and open the way for placebo.

The active placebo effect tells the SSRI user that something is going on in the body. It may or may not be antidepressant activity, but the perturbation of the body confirms that the body is responding to the world. The hope accrued in the act of consumption sensitizes the body to know something (nonspecific though it may be) is happening to the body. Hope is real. It is an affect that is central to both the effect of the drug and the subjectivity that sustains the desire for the commodity. The 'placebo effect' needs to be understood in much broader terms than it usually is. It is a category of action that lumps together the accumulated energy that can be flowing through a body and its environment. Using the ghost surplus value framework, the outcome effect of an SSRI is the discernment of a capacity in the body. That the body can react to an external substance is a source for hope. Ghost surplus value – in this case the hope for self-worth – is felt through the body's capacity to modulate in response to the world. When we look for ghost surplus value, we should look to the placebo effect as the site for this accumulated value.

Hope and future-time

Whether you come at it from sociology, or affective or cognitive psychology (Bruininks and Malle, 2005), hope is thought to be conditional

on the possibility of future-time (Snyder, 1994, 2000; Snyder and Feldman, 2000). There is of course an extensive philosophical discourse on time (particularly in relation to Bergson and Deleuze) but I confine myself here to the work of Melucci and Ronell. Melucci is of interest because he relates time to stimulant use and Ronell is useful through her recent explorations of the test drive and the relation between openness to the world and futurity. These two writers suggest that hope is not solely related to future-time. It is our openness to connections between different times that seems to be important for hope.

Melucci (1996) refers to two types of time, inner time and social time. Inner time is discontinuous and multiple, while social time is continuous and linear. Culture mediates the non-congruence between inner time and social time. Melucci posits that culture has created excessive complexity through a range of processes. The complexity in managing non-congruence is debilitating. People use a number of strategies, including the use of stimulants to reconcile the complexity of non-congruence between inner and outer times (Melucci, 1996, p. 15). Melucci suggests that there are four main time-management strategies enacted for dealing with complexity: disowning the future, disowning the past, disowning the present and being unable to live with the alternations in time (1996, p. 20).

Disowning the future involves allowing the past to overflow our present. Depression takes hold in this state, as the past, usually our anchor, overcomes us and becomes our prison. Disowning the past is usually evident in our attempts to pursue everything, to consume everything, as fast as we can. Disowning the present is characterized by filling the present with future. Concrete present-time actions are paralysed by our preoccupation with not reducing our future options.

The fourth response to complexity is to be unable to recognize the rhythmic pulse of time, not being able to live the alternations between slow and fast, inner complex and outer linear times. Never being able to find the rhythmic pulse that connects movement and stasis results in us being locked into one state or the other.

Inner time for Melucci seems to be synonymous with psychic time as the dimensions of time (future, present and past) are primarily cognitive constructs. Melucci is not, however, solely cognitive in his formulation, so I focus on the corporeal dimension of inner time. In this sense, corporeal inner time accounts for the discontinuities of the body, its porosity and its intimacy with the structures and matter of the world. Inner time is constituted by the movement of our organs as they bump into each other, our skin as it signals our proximity in the world and the passage of food and memories through our varied canals and tuberosities. In this

formulation, inner time is as much a psychic as a corporeal construct. Dislocations from inner time also involve dislocations from time as felt through the body.

The four strategies that Melucci proposes for how we deal with non-congruence in time have profound effects on hope. In the case of disowning the future, by allowing the past to engulf us we run the risk of depression and a profound loss of hope. In the case of disowning the past, we can precipitate a breakdown of the self through the stress created by consuming everything as fast as we can. In this condition hope is both total and annihilated. We are pure hope. As the past becomes barely recognizable we have no goalposts through which to construct affect-hope. Pure hope debilitates as much as does pure desire. In the case of disowning the present, by keeping all our future options open at once we become ineffective in the present world. Hope is intangible as we never reach the present. Finally, by being unable to recognize the rhythmic pulse that creates the connection between movement and time, hope is locked away in either the past or in the intangible future

Hope therefore is not just about future-time. Hope is dependent on two primary relations. First, hope relies on the capacity to recognize the coherent rhythmic pulse that enables the connection between past, present and time. Second, hope requires a coherence between inner corporeal time and outer social time. It is to this last relationship, dimension to time, hope and rhythm that I focus my energies.

Hope and the modulation of the body

Affect as matter-energy can be combined across human and nonhuman forms and as such can enter into combinatorial relations or assemblages (Massumi, 1993, 2002; Thrift, 2004). Gomart (2004) in her description of the agency of a drug assemblage to produce a subject stops short of accounting for the flow of affect. In an analysis of a French methadone clinic Gomart notes the capacity of the psychoactive substance to produce the subject through its production of constraints: ‘Substances were not fixed, deterministic, they were described as a subtle array of constraints that might be used in modulating a relation between a drug, a user and a practitioner’ (Gomart, 2004, p. 98). The substance is the technology that enables the inter-subjective relations in the clinic, and subsequently the constraints through which the subject emerges. The drug ‘performs the user as active and, in turn, is performed through the activity of the user’ (Gomart, 2004).

In an extension to Gomart, the neuroenablement drug combines with bodies and selves to allow affect to diffuse through the assemblage. For Sarah, the speed and Zoloft user cited at the beginning of this chapter, amphetamines enabled her to employ her energy script, which in turn facilitated the flow of energy through her body. This of course is not just a conscious switching function. This is all happening through the body–drug assemblage in a less-than-conscious manner. Hope is corporeal, it is felt through the body as a change in the capacity of the body. Feeling the body in the world tells us we are in the world. Hope is energy, pulsating in a rhythm and felt through the body.

Nikolas Rose in his commentary on becoming-neurochemical suggests that the body is not just a site for disciplinary force, it is also constantly in modulation. Drawing on Deleuze, Rose notes that a key feature of this modulation is the enhancement of our capacities to 'adjust and readjust our somatic existence according to the exigencies of the life to which we aspire' (2004, p. 28). Rose suggests that the modern citizen must engage:

> in a constant monitoring of health, a constant work of modulation, adjustment, improvement in response to the changing requirements of the practices of his or her mode of everyday life....The new neurochemical self is flexible and can be reconfigured in a way that blurs the boundaries between cure, normalization, and the enhancement of capacities. And these pharmaceuticals offer the promise of the calculated modification and augmentation of specific aspects of self-hood through acts of choice.
>
> (2005, p. 28)

More than the 'continuous work of modulation of our capacities' being the life's work of the contemporary citizen (Rose, 2005), modulation is also a technology of capital. Massumi suggests that implicit in the changes to modern global capitalism is indeterminacy in relations between identity and the production of the subject-form in capitalist production to the extent that identities themselves become isomorphic with capital. As capital transforms so too does subjectivity. The modern subject-form must possess the capacity to become-other. The subject-form that fails to transform, or fails to be amenable to capitalization through transformation, becomes unproductive and fails. Becoming-other itself is the engine room for the productive and incorporative force of capital as it produces new subject-forms. Drug use is one mechanism for becoming-other. Drug use creates. The modulation of

the subject-form through neuroenablement, an illustration of intensive expansion, is a key source for capital. Perturbations in the modulation of bodies fuel the modulatory impulse in the self-organization of bodies in social assemblages (Watson, 2003). It is the impact of neuroenablers on the organizing processes of bodies and assemblages to which I now turn.

The test drive

As noted earlier, Ronell (2005) proposes that testing occupies a central role in the construction of the modern subject. Testing structures the very way we establish the 'what is' of our world. Testing is performative in the sense that the world becomes knowable through testing. Finally, testing is modulatory as it both creates and negates the self. This modulatory dimension to testing is what I am interested in as it connects up with the modulatory impulse intuited by Rose and with the modulatory processes of self-organization suggested through the cultural phenomenology of hope. In this section I connect materials across at least three discourses. I am conscious that the Freudian self implicit in the Ronell account of the test drive is in part incommensurate with the vitalist bodies I have been examining in previous sections. Where possible I will translate and account for some important problems and complexities in bringing these disparate analytic tools together.

According to Ronell (2005), our openness to testing is a precondition for selfhood regardless of the outcomes of our tests. It is the foundation for hope. Hope is intimately structured around our sense of capacity to be in the world, to be able to test reality and say that this is what is. For Ronell, the test drive is both a cultural and intrapsychic drive that reciprocally structures bodies and worlds. Testing both establishes the ground for the self and undermines the self:

> The test results for which the ego calls should, in the best of worlds, confirm and countersign the satisfaction of our wishes but in fact puts the self at risk. Testing marks a limit constructing the differences between hallucination and external reality, which does not always back up the idea put forth by the self.... Without the apparatus of reality testing the self exists in the manner of a tenuous hypothesis, unconfirmed, at sea... test results often imply loss of ground even as the ego gains grounding.
>
> (Ronell, 2005, p. 69)

Testing is not just an individual enterprise. The test imposes the uncertainty of the world into the constitution of the past, present and future of the self. This is not unlike Merleau-Ponty's rejection of autonomous subjectivity for a becoming-in-the-world-with-others. In the course of the test, 'the world of each opens upon that of the other' (Merleau-Ponty, 1968, p. 141). Testing is central not just for selfhood but also for the thresholds of social organization.

Neuroenablers interact with the test drive in three ways. First, neuroenablement drugs create perturbations in the body (whether through direct pharmacological effects or through surplus effects such as through ghost surplus value). The mobilization of affect either as a result of direct receptor stimulation or from the accumulation of self-worth through consumption changes the time of the body. This non-specific modification of the body allows the body to modulate and to test reality. The what-is of the world becomes an object for scrutiny. In modulating, the body becomes open to movement and the mobilization of hope. If the body is stuck in one time, past, present or future, modulation enables the opportunity to recognize the rhythmic connection between times. It is in this way that hope can emerge from testing.

The second interaction of neuroenablement drugs with the test drive is to constrain action. Through a similar mechanism to that which Gomart (2004) has proposed with methadone, these substances create a subtle array of constraints which modulate the relation between the neuroenabler, the user and the prescriber or practitioner. The daily dosage routine and the institutionalized production of the semi-medicalized user (as ill enough to require prescription medication) are important boundaries that together enable the production of a subject. The user is only partially medicalized. As the neuroenablement user still has the choice of whether or not to take the drugs, they are also constituted as a consumer and in this way create the opportunity for the production of ghost surplus value. This is a powerful factor in the construction of the neuroenablement subject.

The third interaction of neuroenablement drugs with the test drive is to actually produce confidence, not solely through the attributes of the drugs but rather primarily as a result of the nature of testing. Testing always involves a degree of uncertainty. If there was not uncertainty, then there would not be a test and a prospect of failing the test (that is, that the world is not as it should be, 'I really am mad, bad or sad') is anxiety producing. Ronell suggests that a feature of modern security is our openness to be tested, our testability. Similar to Bauman's fitness, we are expected to be open to be tested 24/7, to respond smoothly

and confidently to the uncertainties of the world. If we are not open to testing, Ronell suggests, we put the independence of the self at risk:

> In order to determine one's capacity for being independent and taking command, one must give oneself a test. The test comes as a kind of gift to oneself: At the same time, however, a duty has been signalled, for one must give oneself this gift, one is duty bound to offer oneself up the gift of the test.
>
> (2005, p. 146)

Hope flows from neuroenablers because they give us the capacity to test the world. We give ourselves the gift of the test by consuming the drug. In some respects it is easier to locate the gift of the test in the gift of the drug as we can locate the test in an external object. Hope and confidence in the world and the self go hand in hand for the clinical psychologists who measure the impact of SSRI drugs on depressed populations (Joiner et al., 2005).

There are, of course, downsides to testing that involve anxiety and the debilitation that comes with the prospect of a never-ending testing. I will not go into those here.

Opening up the body to the world

Scientific and social discourses about the body (such as neuroenablement) inform the way the body expresses existence (Diprose, 2005). These discourses can capture bodies to certain extents, but the unfinished expression of the body through its becoming-with-the-world precludes total capture. It is in this space that neuroenablers have attempted to insinuate themselves. Whether we like it or not, this space is one of the most productive sites as it capitalizes some cornerstone commodities in human capital markets, hope, time and bodies.

The world opens up when Sarah spins as energy, when she is better than well. What difference does it make that surplus value is accruing through her drug use? Importantly, how can we read Sarah differently through the lens of neuroenablement so that she is not simply a pawn of disease-mongering Big Pharma or a hoodwinked placebo consumer? In this final section I explore a different kind of ethic for neuroenablement, where we get over the fact that hope has become commodified and see what happens when we look further at the ethics of cosmetic psychopharmacology.

The orthodox ethical assessment of neuroenablement has centred on four items: safety, character, distributive justice and coercion (Farah,

2004). Are these drugs safe, will they damage the character of the individual (and by extension society), will everyone have access to these technologies and, finally, could they be used in a coercive manner (for example, in prisons)? There is also a sense of inevitability that these technologies are here and will develop in response to market needs. What neuroenablement illustrates is the incapacity of our current framing of the sovereign body to seriously account for the profound and intimate relations between drugs and bodies that structure our corporeal and incorporeal transformations and their relations to capital.

A refrain from the Spinozan perspective is to see bodies for what they can do rather than for what they are inscribed to be. Linking the potential of this perspective to a political economy allows us to see the body as a site for productivity and not simply see neuroenablement as another illustration of intensive expansion. It is what these bodies do when neuroenabled that interests me. Are they opening up to the world, are new relations being formed and is difference produced, or are these the same dreary botched bodies that Deleuze and Guattari use to exemplify their body without organs?

I am uncomfortable about portraying these bodies as exploited, dumbed down or hoodwinked. It is all right that people feel better about the world. However, by virtue of our regulatory regimes, those who use amphetamines are prosecuted by law while those who use prescribed stimulants or antidepressants are actually subsidized through the pharmaceutical benefits scheme to modulate with the world. As far as the issues of safety and coercion go, it could be argued that our current regulatory approaches simply cannot approach these questions using the sovereign body as a model. In the case of antidepressants, if placebo constitutes 80 per cent of the antidepressant action, it is hard to make the case that the drug could be dangerous to subjectivity.

The issue of coercion is similarly troubled by the problem of a sovereign body to be a speaking subject when neuroenabled. A key question asked is 'Is it the drug talking?' For me, it may well be, but what does it matter? What is being said is perhaps a more salient question.

An alternative framework for examining the ethics of neuroenablement is to begin the discussion from the starting point of a Bergsonian body rather than a Cartesian one. Watson (2003) suggests that the consciousness of the enfolded body and its assemblages should be defined by thresholds rather than boundaries. Consequently, the defining processes of self-organization under complex conditions – selection, simplification, feedback and contraction – can be used to construct these thresholds (p. 40). In our ethical reflections on what the body does when neuroenabled, we need to ask in what way does

neuroenablement assist in each of these processes. In what way, for example, does neuroenablement help bodies select and filter the matter of the world into sensible forms? In what way does neuroenablement facilitate the feedback mechanisms that sustain self-organizing structures? In what way does neuroenablement assist in contraction into resilient forms? These are difficult questions that require a good deal of examination.

So, after wandering through a wide selection of materials I finish the chapter with questions. I have proposed a way of thinking about neuroenablement drugs that responds to Nikolas Rose's suggestion that the *promise* of becoming neurochemical is at the heart of the attraction for these substances. Hope is central to the attractiveness of neuroenablement drugs because these drugs insinuate themselves into the very spaces that hope is mobilized. This is only a starting point in thinking about the potential of neuroenablement for the body.

I like it when Sarah says that she wants to be energy. I like it because sometimes I feel I am energy, spinning, bouncing and careering out of control through the side alleys in my world. I like the feeling that someone else feels the way I do, names the world in the way I name it, thinks through the body in the way I do, and occupies a similar, but different, assemblage to the one that I do. My hope is that when we see Sarah for what her body can do rather than for what we think she is, we see a body in extension that is hopeful and happy. Maybe that is enough.

12
Pharmacological Omnipotence and Sexual Violence

Introduction

Ethnographic research during the North American crack cocaine epidemic in the early 1990s produced numerous accounts of how sexual violence against women was associated with crack (Inciardi et al., 1993; Ratner, 1993; Bourgois, 1995). Although sexual violence and drug use has a much longer history, the crack epidemic made visible both a particular set of relationships between sexual violence and drug use and the capacity for ethnographic research to shine a light on this complex social problem (Campbell, 2000). In one of the earliest ethnographic accounts of a crack house in North America, Inciardi et al. (1993) observed:

> Crack houses are fundamentally different from anything previously known in the street drug scene. Crack is likely the most seductive street drug ever, and the crack house environment creates an interdependence among users, and between users and dealers, in which the bartering of sexual services is centre. Moreover . . . most are young, have little or no legitimate employment experience and are addicted to crack. As a result they have no control over what happens to them. (p. 86)

Emerging from these ethnographic accounts was a sense of 'pharmacological omnipotence' (Campbell, 2000) such that heightened levels of sexual violence were caused by crack, albeit through a confluence of forces. It was thought at that time that crack's short half-life and direct euphoric effects, combined with the economic desperation of the social actors, induced a hypersexual drive, a force that overwhelmed

individuals and coerced them into unusual and risky sexual practices. Inciardi et al.'s observation that women had 'no control over what happens to them' had particular significance for framing the nature of the sexual practices in this drug-use setting. The observed 'loss of control', was central to the framing of a wide range of sexual practices as occurring in the absence of consent and which could thus be construed as violent.

What this framing inadvertently opened up was a wider codification of what broader forces (rather than just individuals) could be responsible for sexual violence. The original framing was perhaps just attempting to account for this overwhelming pharmacological observation; however, the consequences of the framing are far more profound. With 'loss of control' now acknowledged (to some extent), sexual violence need not just be that committed by a wayward man. Sexual violence, as a broad category, could be caused by a drug, a market, economic circumstances and even cultural institutions such as masculinity.

Campbell (2000) notes that amid this proliferation of ethnographies emerged widely divergent findings. Some situated their subjects in a 'feminist nightmare world of degradation' while others emphasized women's empowerment and agency (p. 200). The ethnographic register often individualized these accounts and obscured the more systemic features of the violence done unto women.

Feminist ethnographers such as Dunlap et al. (1997), writing against masculinized accounts, presented women drug users who gained autonomy and mobility through their strategic engagement in the illicit drug market. Taylor (1998), in her study of female heroin users in Scotland, and Denton (2001), in her study of drug dealers in Australia, also ventured down the path of portraying agentive women capable of making pragmatic, rational decisions based on the contingencies of their life experiences.

Maher (1992) framed women crack users in terms of formal and informal economies, noting how the exposure of women of lower socioeconomic status to sexual violence had more to do with the way class worked through their bodies rather than on their bodies, thus adding a more complex structural account. In later work, Maher (1997) again proffers an alternative to overly deterministic accounts by showing that class, race and gender relations in urban drug markets are part of the drug experience. The social world is thus threaded into the experience of drug use, rather than the social world being a causal determinant of drug use.

Denton (2001) went further to assert that for the women in her study, sexual violence needed to be understood within a context of women drug dealers who made choices of strategy within the gendered roles available in the business setting. Women could be seen as players where sexuality was a 'relational' resource to be deployed in the face of instrumental male violence: 'It was easier just to fuck him and get it over with and not put up with the shit' according to one of Denton's informants (2001, p. 79).

Bourgois, in his ethnographies of drug use in North America, has produced accounts of highly structural violence (1995, 1996, 2008, 2010). Although Bourgois' accounts aimed to reveal the structural sources of sexual violence, his work is still positioned within a 'drug war discourse', which itself is structured to caricature masculine power, and where worst cases can sometimes be construed as typical cases (Campbell, 2000; Vitellone, 2011).

Regardless of the rhetorical context of this writing, Bourgois (2008) has contributed significantly to understanding sexual violence in drug-use settings. His accounts of Primo and Caesar's gang rapes and other sexual violence, positioned within masculine aspiration and structural and everyday violence, highlight a 'shift in the practice of violence among the lumpen towards intimate routinized violence . . . that generates more symbolic violence' (Bourgois, 2008, p. 9). This explicit Marxian account of sexual violence does more than retell an older structuralist story. Bourgois contextualizes his observations of drug-related sexual violence within the violence of masculinity in an inner-urban North American context. Although the ethnographic tales focus on Primo and Caesar, the real story is about the structural conditions that perpetuate masculine sexual violence through misogynist relations with women, manifest in both physical and discursive registers (2008, p. 8).

In a review of the drug ethnography during that period, Campbell (2000) asserts a need for more ethnographic accounts around the question of sexual violence and drug-use settings. Campbell's overriding concern with realist ethnographic accounts was tempered by her recapitulation of a deeper interest in a 'long-standing blindness' to gender subordination and sexual violence in the drug research literature (Fagan, 1994; Campbell, 2000, p. 200).

There are other blind spots that have a disciplinary origin. Howe (2008) and others have sought to correct criminology's tendency to ignore gender as an object of analysis. Over several decades a number of feminist criminologists have focused on 'naming', 'gendering' and 'sexing' crime. Naming gendered crime appropriately rather than

generically, and looking for the local and complex relations as well as the more abstract power relations, also goes some way to situate knowledge and avoid the perils of the 'God trick' (Haraway, 1988).

Although sexual violence is readily acknowledged internationally as an element of illicit drug use, there has been very little Australian research that has explored sexual violence and illicit drug use through a relational lens. At the heart of the relationship between sexual violence and illicit drug use is the appreciation of force. There are many forces – pharmacological, psychic, economic, gender and physical – to consider when examining the relationship between sexual violence and illicit drug use.

My central question is how blind spots may come about through insensitivity to the relational attributes of force when understanding sexual violence in a drug-use context.

My approach

Some time ago, two drug researchers noted a blindness to sexual violence in drug research discourse (Bourgois, 1996a, 1996b; Campbell, 2000). I have gone back over my fieldwork since 1993, looking for those instances when sexual violence was apparent, but not reported on in my research. All ethnography is partial, so I have undertaken this task not to correct the record (which will always be partial) but to explore these blind spots. This could be read as a mea culpa, but I prefer to think of it as a reflection to improve my future acuity.

I am looking for those moments where structural forces and individual experience intersect (Kleinman, 2000). Often violence from social suffering is held in the body in less than conscious forms, and the source is found in everyday violences. The manifestations of structural influences involve affect, the body, the physical environment and the agency of the individual (Fitzgerald, 2009). Importantly, Kleinman asserts there are a variety of 'violences' in daily life, where multiple deployments of force produce varied and unpredictable outcomes. It is to these everyday violences that I turn to in my own fieldwork. I focus on those moments when I have either ignored, obscured or been blinded to sexual violence in my fieldwork in illicit drug use.

This chapter focuses on three incidents in one piece of fieldwork that I conducted between 2002 and 2004 with drug users in regional Australia. My broader research experience stretches over 20 years of interview-based fieldwork with drug users across over a dozen studies of heroin, amphetamine and street-based injecting drug use. I have never

previously written on the issue of sexual violence, so I consider this to be a significant blind spot in my research. I have not reported specifically on any of these fieldwork encounters before. This work will depart from how Bourgois (2008) reflected on his previous ethnographic experiences and from how he framed violence in his work. I instead look at how sexual violence failed to be framed in my ethnographic work.

To contextualize the three incidents I will go back over 20 years to my first encounter with sexual violence in a drug-use setting, which occurred during my doctoral research fieldwork in 1991. My memories are clear of that first encounter. Brad was a gay, male sex worker. He had recently been diagnosed as HIV positive and was very angry because he had just found out his positive status through his participation in a research study (just like mine) and had not been offered post-test counselling and referral. Although my research was focused on the experience of ecstasy, I was, of course, also interested in the context of his ecstasy use.

Brad's experience of ecstasy was structured around his rape at the hands of an older gay man, the source of his drug. His story of transition from a young gay man to gay, male sex worker hinged on his use of a wide range of drugs to manage the sexual trauma from that night of his first use of ecstasy. The rape narrative was focused on a little blue light in the luxury bedroom where he was assaulted. All he could remember of the ecstasy experience was the flashing blue light and his violent escape response directed at the man who was raping him.

Although I was focused on ecstasy, Brad's narrative was that the man was 'all coked up'. At no point did I further examine the intersections between gay male polydrug use, sexual culture and sexual violence. At no point did the complexities of sexual coercion, drug use and sexual violence become part of my inquiry. My focus was on ecstasy. The violence, I thought, was associated with cocaine. At this early stage I had fallen into Campbell's (2000) thesis of 'pharmacological omnipotence' as a reason for not progressing my research inquiries into the complexity of drug-related sexual violence. Although at this early stage of ecstasy research, the drug was understood to have some sexual utility in some social worlds (Beck et al., 1984), there was very little evidence of a relationship between ecstasy and sexual violence. As a young doctoral student I was totally unprepared for both the continued intensity of this young man's reaction to sexual violence and to the lingering presence of the blue light in my own imaginings for many years after.

The 'pharmacological omnipotence' thesis coined by Campbell (2000) is now operationalized in the sexual violence literature as

drug-facilitated sexual assault (DFSA) (Du Mont et al., 2009). In some circumstances DFSA projects a complex account of sexual violence, but at times the pharmacological omnipotence is taken to an extreme, such as in the case of forensic date rape discourse where one source asserts 'the drug acts as the offender's weapon' (Shbair and Lhermitte, 2010).

Perhaps DFSA as a framing device would have made it possible for me to link this episode of sexual violence to drug use, but I suspect there may be a number of related issues when reducing the complexity of drug use and sexual violence into a single term. The most pressing concern for me now, when analysing these incidents, is to have openness to understanding the play of forces that intersect in the sexual violence/drug-use setting. Drug 'facilitation' makes generic the relationship between the varied forces that may play a role in the relationship. The broader sexual violence research literature paints a more complex picture of economic force, gender force, force of drug desire and the force of violence itself. For this reason I will not use DFSA as a structuring analytic term in this chapter, but will return to the term later to help make sense of the empirical materials.

I have recounted this first early story to situate the subsequent stories I tell about encounters with sexual violence in my ethnographic fieldwork in Bendigo, Australia (see Fitzgerald et al., 2004).

Focus areas

My main focus is on three forces that framed my incapacity to be sensitive to sexual violence in a drug-use fieldwork setting. There are a number of forces that can cause attention to specifically not focus on sexual violence: (1) the force of risk; (2) the force of sexual violence discourse; and (3) the force of sexual economy.

These three forces are drawn from three incidents in a single piece of fieldwork that extended over a two-year period in the regional centre of Bendigo (Fitzgerald et al., 2004). Briefly, the research team of two experienced researchers, an experienced fieldworker and one postgraduate student conducted 54 semi-structured, face-to-face interviews in the participants' homes or in agreed-upon public locations.

The force of risk

Whenever I start a piece of fieldwork I always identify and engage with local drug service practitioners who have a detailed understanding of the field site. My first reason for engagement with them is to improve the research question by trying to understand local phenomena, which

will assist in interpreting contextual information, and to identify the most appropriate data-collection methods.

My second reason for engaging with local drug service practitioners is to ask a risk management question: 'Are there are any things I shouldn't know about when we are here?' Although it seems oxymoronic, it was a crucial question for the purposes of this research. My local expert, Jake, a social worker supporting drug users in the justice system, replied thoughtfully: 'There are two things you shouldn't know about when you are here, car rebirthing and the trafficking of women through the town.' Avoiding car rebirthing (changing the identity of stolen cars and reselling them back into the retail market) was easy as it was not a key focus for our research, which was to understand the risk environment for HIV and HCV. Jake's warning about the practice of trafficking women was specifically a warning about the activities of outlaw motorcycle gangs. I understood the trafficking of women to be the buying, selling and exchange of women for the purposes of sex and labour. From the outset, it was clear to those in the research team that there were constraints on the scope of the project such that we would focus specifically on social networks of young illicit drug users and their risk environment. If we were to come into contact with organized crime we were to withdraw from the field site as soon as practicable and ensure our key informants and research participants were safe. Forewarned about the safe limits to knowledge making, we worked to establish relationships, collect data and spend time with our research participants over a two-year period.

During fieldwork I encountered a pregnant young woman (call her Candice) in her early twenties. The father of one of her earlier children had died not long after she found out she was pregnant. She was depressed, injecting speed and in a complex relationship between two older men. Currently, one man in her life was a kind of pimp and the other the father of her unborn child. Her subsequent pregnancy story was complicated:

> I've got two kids and I am pregnant now unfortunately. But I don't feel the same as I did with the other two. I don't know why. It's just not the same. I feel like a bitch because I never thought I would feel like that, because I love kids and that. And I always thought I would have three kids but I don't feel connected with this one for some reason. Probably because of all the problems I have been going through too.
>
> (Candice: 5472)

Candice was using speed and heroin while pregnant and was living a fairly hectic lifestyle. Her close network of friends supported her, but knew that her life course had been difficult. She made her money from low-level dealing, exchanging small quantities drugs among a small network of friends with low profit margins.

I remember, not long after my interview with Candice across her dealer's kitchen table, sitting with my research assistant and piecing together a network map of those on the edges of our direct network of young drug users. As we started to compile a picture from our field notes, a loose network of older, more established crime figures in Bendigo seemed to be involved in this young woman's pathway. What stood out was an enmeshed set of sexual relationships that had her involved sequentially with a series of men. We were joining a lot of speculative dots, but there was a risk that we may have been entering into the world of women trafficking.

After further discussions with my research assistant, we withdrew from the field site. Research relationships were tied up, and we signalled that we were starting on the writing phase of our research. We began policy and knowledge-transfer work with local health authorities.

At no point did we follow up the issue of the trafficking of women. My focus was on the safety of my research team and the safety of those who were participating in the research. As noted in our technical report on the study (Fitzgerald et al., 2004) we were conscious that using drugs in this regional town was like a living in a fishbowl, where, as in a fishbowl, everybody could see everybody else and all the action seemed larger than life.

I always assume that in an environment such as this the researcher is the last to find things out. Other people generally know more about things clandestine before I ever will. With this in mind, I was very conscious that if those involved in the trafficking of women became suspicious of the extent of our knowledge, it could actually put some of our informants and research participants at risk. My risk-management approach was to minimize this risk to all stakeholders as much as possible, hence my decision to withdraw from the field site.

The decision to withdraw before confirming or putting together a complete picture of sexual violence in this environment was consistent with the ethical guidelines under which the project was operating at the University of Melbourne. As a team of university researchers we did not have an extensive network of either security or clinical support structures that could provide the appropriate protection to enable us to explore questions of sexual violence and organized drug crime using an ethnographic approach. Our research project was not structured to

undertake such research. But there is a deeper ethical and political question as to whether this justification is enough.

The risk-management processes of our research staff were well defined; however these defined processes also constrained our capacity to explore those questions (such as those about sexual violence and illicit drug use) that might pose a risk and which emerged through the course of the project. By 'structuring-in' our own boundaries to legitimate knowledge in the project, our fieldwork risk-management practices effectively meant we exercised a wilful blindness to sexual violence.

The force of sexual violence discourse

One dimension to sexual violence in drug-use settings that is rarely reported is how it is communicated. Sexual violence has discursive properties, especially when it serves as a narrative to inform the conduct of young men. In my fieldwork in Bendigo I remember a mother of one of our younger speed users tell a story of how two of her friends dealt with two women who 'cried rape':

> I used to muck around with those guys. They were actually nice blokes believe it or not. They had got XXX-year sentences for raping one of these sheilas. She got pregnant to one of them. It's pure and simple. She cried fucking rape. We used to all knock around together and they used to sneak out their bedroom window mate. She had no more been fucking raped than bloody anybody. And she got pregnant so she cried rape. Well it went down as a fucking rape mate and they got nine fucking years. So they thought, 'Fuck it. Bail. If I'm going to get done for rape I fucking will rape.' One of them put a bottle up one of them and stood on her and the other put up a hand drill. They were fucking screaming like bitches. I suppose I would have too. Fuck that. What goes around comes around.
>
> (I31: 13296)

This story was shared with me in front of her sons. What was important was the telling of this cautionary tale in front of her children, about what constitutes good conduct, and what happens to women who lie about rape. There is a salience to a story such as this when it forms part of an intergenerational narrative about sexual violence.

Although this woman was younger than me, she described herself as 'old school'. Her father taught her how to look after herself:

> Yeah. I was brought up old school but women aren't supposed to be old school. So I was brought up old school until I looked like a

> girl. Well then I fucking demanded the respect and I have the equal respect of a bloke. And not too many women have that. And I fought damn hard to get it.
>
> (I31: 2571)

She recounts how she learnt about her own vulnerabilities from her father:

> I could run amuck when I was younger but once I had kids, when I had XXXX, everyone came and said, 'Congratulations.' My old man walked in, looked at me and looked at the baby, and said, 'Now you've got a weakness.' So XXXX was classed as a weakness to me. Because they don't hurt you, they hurt you through your kids. You know, they usually knock your dog first to start with and then they'll start with your kids.
>
> (I31: 2441)

Her drug-use narrative was centred on maintaining control:

> So I've always managed to keep enough control to make sure I don't go downhill. I've always managed to make money on drugs. I've always managed to not go without and keep my habit without having to rip people off. I've always had the morals of 'do unto others as you would have others do unto you.' I treat other people how I would like to be treated. So I don't fuck anybody over until they fuck me over.
>
> (I31: 2783)

Sexual violence fell within a broader set of values. The cautionary tale delivered to her sons reproduced the positioning of sexual violence as part of a moral 'old school' code. The application of sexual violence was justified when it came to issues of authority, identity, strength of character and vulnerability. Sexual violence, while not necessarily equated with other violences, was still within an economy of violence where the choice to deliver sexual violence was made in terms of equitable exchange: a rape for a rape, a beating for a beating, 'what goes around comes around'.

At the time, I found the horror story of violent retribution for 'crying rape' extremely distressing. The sexual violence was incomprehensible, and I had no frame through which to make it comprehensible. Trying to understand the violence as an outcome from a broader structural violence (such as through Bourgois' work) may have made it more

understandable, but I found the humanness of the violation difficult to abstract.

In a publication arising from this fieldwork, I chose to focus on violence more broadly, and on how it was reproduced in the symbolic place-making that occurred in the streets and houses (Fitzgerald, 2009). The bloodstains that remained on the walls of houses became markers of violent past events, which then entered into the storytelling of the present (Fitzgerald et al., 2004; Fitzgerald, 2009).

Perhaps as a consequence, the blind spot that emerged was one where the reproduction of the discursive dimension of sexual violence became hidden by the light of the incomprehensibility of the broader violence in this social network. My focus was on the physicality of the broader violence and how parent and child would fight together against would-be intruders to protect their segment of the drug market. Physical violence became the object for ethnographic scrutiny while the discursive dimension was erased.

There is, however, a materiality to words in sexual violence discourse (Ehrlich, 2001). More specifically, the performativity of consent is at the very core of sexual violence (Ehrlich, 1998). So when sexual violence is isolated as a physical act, and the discursive dimension to sexual violence is ignored, a serious blind spot emerges (Ehrlich, 2002).

In this case, the materiality of words is not about the performance of consent, it is about a language of institution (Bourdieu, 1991). It is the mother's performance of a narrative of sexually violent retribution that institutionalizes a material response to the contested performance of consent. In this formulation, to falsely 'cry rape' is as heinous a crime as rape itself.

My blind spot to the language of masculine institution could have its origins in any number of places. My own gender, language and history contribute to my insensitivity to the functions of language. I assume my own masculinity creates an insensitivity to the discursive reproduction of sexual violence. What is apparent from the above account, however, is the significance that the 'crying rape' narrative comes from the young drug user's mother.

A simplistic rendering of this story is a kind of flattening out of a gender violence; a kind of 'women can be masculine too' argument. This approach is grossly inadequate. A more nuanced interpretation is that the institution of gender is foregrounded through the mother's developmental narrative. Sexual violence has a gendered specificity, and even more so because it comes from the authoritative voice of the mother. Her story of learning 'old school' ways is landmarked by her own life

transitions as a woman. She was brought up 'old school' until she 'looked like a girl', and when she had her first child she brought a weakness upon herself.

Although Bourdieu initially coined the term 'language of institution' to refer to the action of an authorized voice that mobilized symbolic capital, I have extended the usage to be more abstract. The narrator was an authorized voice for the institutions of 'old school' and 'masculinity', albeit from a mother's speaking position. Her language of sexually violent retribution makes sexual violence possible for her drug-using sons.

The force of sexual economy

In 2009, I published an ethnographic account of a low-level drug dealer's house, which has formed Chapter 7 in this book. Here, I introduced Moira, and her house, to illustrate some spatial practices in drug use and dealing. That original fieldwork also discussed some of the power and gender relations in the house:

> Keeping the house clean is more than a chore. It involves a series of sexual and intimate relations. At different times Moira exchanges housework and intimate relationships for cheap access to drugs. The boyfriends clean, cook and look after the baby while she attends to business. The boyfriends recognize the value of her labour, she takes large risks, organizing runs to Melbourne to purchase shipments of drugs for around a dozen of her close friends. In the absence of a boyfriend.
>
> (Fitzgerald, 2009)

My focus at the time was on Moira. But now I am more interested in her partners. In the 2009 article her partner was Owen:

> Owen paces around the housing commission flat, tugging nervously at his White Ox cigarette. He pulls a chair back, sits down at the table, leans down with his elbows on his knees and hangs his head in an urban equivalent of the drover squatting on his hams. It's such a proud, country thing to do. He shields his face as it crumples a little under the pressure of the violence around him.
>
> (Fitzgerald, 2009)

I am interested in Owen, not because of any evidence of sexual violence, but because of the way violence interpenetrated his relationship with

Moira. Moira's choice of partner was intimately related to the instrumental use of force in the drug market relations that structured her and Owen's world. At the time I took it for granted that it was natural that Owen would be babysitting Moira's child when the two armed drug dealers arrived in their house threatening violence. But this is unusual. Owen chose not to involve himself in the violence around him. Threats were not responded to, taunts went unreciprocated and never did I hear Owen seek violent retribution. In Barb Denton's lexicon, both Owen and Moira mobilized their relational skills in the face of instrumental violence.

My focus at the time of the fieldwork was to look at how Moira managed her low-level dealing house. An alternative, perhaps, would have been to examine her male friends' mobilization of masculine resources in relation to both Moira and other women in their small drug-using network.

The signs were there in the fieldwork materials. Women drug dealers and their relational skills were valued by many, drug users, even male ones, in Bendigo at the time:

> You've got to know chicks. Women are the key. Women are the ones that can get it [drugs], they can get it cheap and they always get the goods. They know who, they know all the gossip too. In Bendigo it's hard to get on to a point. You've got to know the right people and you can't be red hot, you can't be a goose and go out and get on.
>
> (I17: 4333)

As the above quote from a young Bendigo man suggests, even at a very instrumental level men were aware of and subject to women's relational skill sets in the drug economy. I was blind to some important gender relations for this drug-using social network.

A very interesting set of class resources overlaid this dealing house. Moira was a single mum on welfare, but she nonetheless came from an aspirational middle-class family. The men in her closest drug-using network were all 'cut from the same cloth'. They were mild mannered, respectful of women and avoided overt violence.

I misrecognized and individualized Owen's place in the social network, and situated him within a set of relations structured around Moira's supermum status. His masculinity, and the cultural and institutional resources he drew on to structure his gender relations were never subject to my ethnographic scrutiny. In a way, backgrounding Owen obscured some important complexities in the sexual economy

of the field site. I attributed his subservient role to Moira being a dominant supermum, but there was clearly more going on in the sexual and gender-based relations in this drug-use setting.

By being insensitive to these gender-based relations, it is highly unlikely that I could progress further understanding of the sexual violence noted in other parts of the field site.

Force

At the heart of the relational characteristics of sexual violence in the drug-consumption setting is the intermingling and contest of forces. As I have asserted, DFSA involves a contest of forces both abstract and material. The above descriptions and reconfigurations of encounters in the research field site reveal my interest in the force of institutional risk, the force of discourse and the force of sexual economy. It may also be asserted that the force of the drugs, the force of economic need, the force of sexual desire, the force of resistance and the force of gender are all in contest. The challenge is to reconcile the relative contributions of these forceful elements without eclipsing or erasing the substantive differences in both the nature and the violence of the force.

A tendency in the past is to create a kind of hierarchy of forces, based either in abstracted or causal relations. The old trick of making distinctions between socially negotiated force and abstracted force could be one way to establish a ground upon which to dichotomize different forces. This distinction between social and structural is, as the practice theorists demonstrated, only partial. Another way is to separate out different forces in terms of their origin. According to this formulation, pharmacological force is hardwired, biochemical and individual, whereas gender force is social in origin. Again this is less than convincing. 'Hardwiring' lost currency when the field of epigenetics problematized it through claims of a radical structural and functional plasticity. Nature/nurture or soft social/hard physical origins are not stable taxonomies for explaining force.

The space from which forces emerge

An alternative approach is to open up the distinctions between forces and seek to understand how forces are configured by each other within specific contexts to produce the monstrous outcomes we see. Often missing in this discussion is an articulation of the space in which these forces contest. This line of thought lends itself well to relational thinking, but the relational approach needs to go beyond simply looking at

the ordering of pre-existing objects in space. It is the very space in which objects are formed and move that is central for establishing the parameters that allow forces to configure and be configured. Massumi (2002) talks about this space as a field of potential, the undifferentiated force from which forces emerge.

From a psychoanalytic perspective some may align this undifferentiated field from which force is directed as 'the real'. Rather than draw on a psychoanalytic taxonomy, however, I want to further develop an application of the relational thinking of Brian Masssumi.

Massumi's work, developed from the soccer field metaphor of Michael Serres, asserts that these forces emerge from a relational field, the 'field of potential' from which the rules of consumption, the social and the subject emerge:

> The field of potential is the *effect* of the contingent intermixing of elements, but is logically and ontologically distinct from them. In itself, it is composed not of parts or terms in relation, but of *modulations*, local modifications of potential that globally reconfigure (= affects). The field of potential is exterior to the elements or terms in play, but is not inside something other than the potential it is. It is immanent. It is the immanence *of* the substantial elements of the mix to their own continual modulation. The field of immanence is not the elements in mixture. It is their becoming.
>
> (Massumi, 2002, p. 76)

Subject-forms are drawn from the field of potential through local immanent modulations of potential. This energetic model of the source of force is at the root of the metaphor of the assemblage that has characterized the work of Deleuze and Guattari and their followers. The commonly misunderstood 'assemblage' becomes the unit or partial object that gives analytic form to the surfaces and bodies, 'machines' and forces at contest. Assemblages, the complex configurations through which energy flows, are sites for relational connections between objects and bodies. The directions, speeds and spaces of connections and what the assembled relations *do*, can be viewed through the lens of the assemblage.

Desire and force

The consequences of this form of analysis are substantive, especially when considering the contest of forces in the drug-use context. According to Deleuze and Guattari, desire flows through and across

assemblages. Desire is not the property of an individual. Desire moves through bodies and is the flux of becoming-other. The desire for violence is not located solely in an individual, it is assembled through the context, in the field of potential. Returning to the forces in the fieldwork accounts, the above framework enables an analysis of the forces that provide a field of potential through which violent assemblages are composed.

In the case of Jake's warning to me about car rebirthing and the trafficking of women, the assemblage that formed in the research field site was structured around my first question of what things we should not know about, to minimize risk. Candice was unknowable. She was in the room talking to me in a busy drug dealer's house, but the assemblage that I had formed was poised ready to erase her story from the research. Her future suffering may or may not have been prevented by a different course of action, but there is no doubt that the trafficking of women through Bendigo by motorcycle outlaw gangs and organized crime avoided the research spotlight because of the desire to reduce risk.

When the mother of a drug user mobilized a language of institution in her story to her sons about what happens to women who 'cry rape', the 'old school' was inserted into an assemblage that structures the conditions for sexual violence for these young men.

Moira and Owen kept their drug-dealing assemblage cool, at a low social temperature. Their deployment of relational skills in the face of instrumental violence maximized the utility of the gendered sexual economy that was apparent in their small Bendigo drug-dealing assemblage. Gender performance is often less than conscious. Although the gendered nature of dealing in Bendigo was explicitly apparent through the narratives of other drug users, Moira and Owen did not consciously articulate their strategy. Owen and Moira extracted from the field of potential some subject positions from which to play in the dealing game. The instrumental violence so apparent in the actions of their male counterparts was not a resource available to them. Instead they extracted value from the commodity exchange through a style of trafficking that was valued because of their highly gendered skillset.

In the middle of his highly abstracted conjuncture of bodies and forces is an ethical conservatism in Deleuze that is rarely acknowledged, especially when it comes to thinking about the force of drugs. Deleuze is famous for advocating experimentation with bodies, and there seems to be a radicalism about how he configures desire. However, all is not as it seems. There is a conservative ethics associated

with Deleuzian becoming-other, especially through psychoactive drugs. Although Deleuze advocates strongly for opening up to the world (to becoming-other) and seeking many different ways to become-other (meditation, drugs and so on), he also asserts that we need to keep enough of ourselves together that we can wake up each dawn (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 186). We need to be 'stratified', 'molarized', enough of a subject to function in the world. Balance is key to the ethic Deleuze espouses when it comes to drugs. Deleuze notes that when he and Guattari first published *Anti-Oedipus* in 1968, they were widely misunderstood to be pro-drugs. They are most assuredly not. This has significant implications for how we should come to apply this context of forces to understanding sexual violence and drug use.

Becoming-other through drug use changes the coordinates of the world (Fitzgerald and Threadgold, 2007). Drugs alter the speed of perception, such that the virtual world, made up from singularities, becomes visible. This experience is at once powerful, beautiful and horrifying. The risk is that the drug user seeks to become-other too much. And through opening up to the world loses the self in the world. The body becomes destratified and the self no longer has a subject position, a social and political form through which to function in the world. In fact, Deleuze's exemplars for bodies that are 'botched', that seek to destratify too much, are sadomasochists and drug addicts (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Deleuze and Guattari advocate for balance.

The force of unrestrained desire flowing across the assemblage detaches the drug user from the molarized social form. From a Deleuzian perspective, the drug user and the sexual sadist become-with-the-world through the same mechanism. They both seek beyond the limits of the social body through becoming-other. Both characters botch the body when they transcend the limits that the assemblage asserts, and never do they act alone. They always act through assemblages that are collective and reflect the activities of a number of machines.

Botched bodies

A botched body for Deleuze is a body that has 'emptied itself out of its organs' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 187). Organs in this instance refer to the elements, systems, forces and machines that form the body. Emptying oneself out of organs is eschewing those molarized or structured elements of the body that keep a body together. By trying to destratify – to seek the limits of the body, to try and become-other too much – you empty the body of its 'organs'.

If a botched body is one where the limitative is constitutive, then a body of 'great health' is one where the desire for openness with the world is found in a rhythm between bodies. From a psychoanalytic perspective Nasio (2004) describes the rhythmic harmony of sexual love through the presence of a loved one as a foreign force:

> But if the real status of the loved one is to be a foreign force that connects the two partners like a bridge of energy and arms the unconscious, the symbolic status of the loved one is to be the rhythm of that force. Certainly one should not conceive the pressure of desire as a blind and massive surge, but as a centripetal movement and with rhythm brought about by a somewhat regular succession of increases and decreases of tension. Our desire is not a pure real but a force that is regulated by a precise and definite rhythm that makes it singular. (p. 32)

According to this psychoanalytic account, the symbolic presence of the other in our unconscious is a rhythm, a harmonious accord. I have invoked a psychoanalytic frame here only to position the relations between forces within a metaphor that is mobile enough to be used in the Deleuzian register. Although Deleuze explicitly argues against the psychoanalytic apparatus, the energetic, rhythmic model of desire noted by Nasio is familiar terrain in the Deleuzian framework, although it should be noted that desire for Deleuze is a collective rather than individual endeavour. Nasio (2004) goes on to explain the consequence of disharmony, when the loved Other is no longer available to perform the rhythmic function, when:

> My desire is deprived of the excitations that he or she could awaken so well, I certainly lose an affinity of riches but I lose, more importantly, the framework of my desire, that is to say, its rhythm . . . .The symbolic other is a rhythm or a measure or even the psychical metronome that sets the tempo of my cadence of desire . . . . it protects me from turmoil by limiting my jouissance. If I believe that the loved one is irreplaceable, it is because no other can correspond so perfectly to the rhythm of my desire. It is as if the loved one was above all a body that approaches slowly, positions itself, and adjusts to the beat of my rhythm. (p. 31)

This account of the cadence of desire and dysrhythmic desire should not be read as a reductive account of sexual violence. I am not saying that

this is what happens in the instance of sexual violence. This account is included to provoke thought about the mechanism through which the force of desire can be dysrhythmic at an ontological level. Using a Deleuzian approach, desire can be free flowing and productive or it can be blocked and subsequently botch a body. The botched body is one where the rhythm of desire in an assemblage is disrupted whether through drug use, sexual violence, gender-force or any other force. The thresholds for when drug use and violent sex become botched are delimited socially through the molarized forms that either seek structure or seek to destroy structure. The ethical (conservative) balance between seeking limits and maintaining form are lost in the botched body, regardless of the forces involved.

This is the architecture for the contest of forces at the scene of sexual violence in the drug-use setting. The assemblage becomes a site, a field of potential and a context for the collective forces that constrain, influence, coerce, injure and mutate bodies when they become-other together. There is no guarantee of rhythmic accord. This is a risky moment when bodies are exposed to the world. It is 'molarized' structures such as gender, risk, language and the forces of subjectification that both restrain the ferocity of becoming-other and create the conditions for monstrous harm in this setting.

Force, sexual violence and opening out the world

At the beginning of this chapter I posed a challenge offered by Inciardi et al. in 1993. Back in the middle of the 1990s crack epidemic, Inciardi et al. suggested that poverty, lack of employment and addiction caused a loss of control and hence precipitated drugs' causal role in sexual violence. The challenge I suggested was to think of sexual violence as being caused not solely by individual human actors, but also by abstract forces. This is a challenge for many reasons. There is a risk of inadvertently reducing the culpability of perpetrators of sexual violence, but also the challenge of holding these abstract forces to account. That sexual violence has discursive and abstract roots should take no one by surprise. Putting this framework to work is an altogether more difficult task. The task becomes easier when force and power are the defining attributes of the cause of sexual violence, rather than just mediators of the psychodynamic characteristics of the perpetrator.

When they encounter each other, forces produce bodies (Deleuze, 1983, p. 40). When the body is defined by its capacities and what it does, rather than by its physiognomy, the body is a product of force.

Following from this perspective Brinkema (2005) suggests that rape is a 'violent opening of the body onto space, this excavation, this excruciating fold, the humiliating extrusion. We can no longer read rape as an intrusion of another into the body, but as the shock of ingesting the entire world' (p. 50).

There is, of course, widespread acceptance that power is at the centre of rape rather than sexual pleasure, and an extensive older literature debating the role of force in sexual violence (Brownmiller, 1975). According to Marcus, rape is culturally prescripted: 'Rape does not happen to pre-constituted victims; it momentarily makes victims' (1992, p. 391). Marcus' focus is on the grammar of scripted gender roles and the capacity of women to resist falling into these roles and move beyond conventional subject positions in the rape script. For Marcus, the way for women to respond to the male game of violence is to resist through asserting themselves at the scene of violence. Mardorossian (2002), however, suggests that making women's behaviour and identity the focus of rape prevention reproduces a discourse that sees rape as women's problem.

In summarizing the tensions between the individualizing imperative of Marcus and the structural critique of Mardorossian, Marsden asserts that a richer account is needed of how the social script is embodied and how bodies, as products of force, are 'realized' and experienced as weak (2004). Although Marsden draws on Deleuze to discuss different types of force (active and reactive) at stake in theorizing rape, he does not question the ontic origins of force and how this may reorient discussion of how bodies are produced. It is to one of Deleuze's structuring metaphors ('the pack') that I now turn to as a way to resituate this tension.

One wolf or many wolves

In the opening chapter of Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus*, the authors focus directly on the reductive tendencies of psychoanalysis. Drawing on Freud's case study of the 'wolf-man', Deleuze asserts that Freud took the patient's dream image of a pack of wolves and sequentially transformed the image to represent a singular figure of one wolf, the father, and the imposing analytic construct of Oedipal castration. Deleuze's critique of the transformation of many wolves into one wolf by Freud is at once a critique of the reductive tendencies of psychoanalysis, an intervention into Hegelian dialectics and a provocation to start to focus on analytic multiplicity, referred to by Deleuze as 'the pack' (Malabou, 1996).

The pack is the multiplicity of forces at contest in a collective unconscious. Although Delueze makes a distinction between the mass (molar) multiplicity and the pack (molecular) multiplicity, he also asserts that there is no duality, they operate in the same assemblage. Importantly, Deleuze believes it is essential to keep 'sight' of the molar (social) machines and molecular forces at the same time:

> Keep everything in sight at the same time – that a social machine or an organized mass has a molecular unconscious that marks not only its tendency to decompose but also the current components of its very operation and organization; that any individual caught up in a mass has his/her own pack unconscious, which does not necessarily resemble the packs of the masses to which that individual belongs; that an individual or mass will live out in its unconscious the masses and packs of another mass or another individual.
>
> What does it mean to love somebody? It is always to seize that person in a mass, extract him or her from a group, however small, in which he or she participates, whether it be through the family or through something else; then to find that person's own packs, the multiplicities he or she encloses within himself or herself which may be of a different nature. To join them to mine, to make them penetrate mine, and for me to penetrate the other person's.
>
> (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 40)

I have included this extended quotation because the tone of Deleuze's prose is important. Deleuze requires the many forces to be there at the scene of theoretical analysis and at the scene of love: the person and their packs, and the packs with their social mass. The implications of this approach are profound. There is an intuitive resonance here, highly codified in Deleuze's language. When we love, we love more than just the person: we love their friends, their history, their material objects, their ethics, their speeds and intensities and the relations they have with the world around them. An individual does not carry all this around with them in their head. The forces that compose someone extend beyond them and, when we love them, we expose ourselves to these extensive forces. The wolf is a pack, from the very beginning. The unconscious is collective.

Nasio's (2004) text cited earlier in this chapter, about the relation between the loved other and the rhythm of desire, seems now to be quite partial. The other, as a modulating influence, seems inadequate

to explain the multiplicity of forces that make me and my body love. The machines that populate my assemblages: human, social, technical, and organized molar and creative molecular machines should all be in the mix. Deleuze does not articulate these forces in terms of sexual violence and this itself is of interest and concern, but I will not explore that omission here. I will, however, explore these forces in terms of sexual violence.

The perpetrator of sexual violence, as a figure of force, is never alone. The perpetrator is always-already multiple. The perpetrator is part of a pack of forces. Sometimes the perpetrator is the leader of the pack, sometimes the perpetrator will be the loner, the figure that haunts the borders of the pack.

It is the pack that attacks in sexual violence. Although each wolf acts alone, it is by virtue of the pack that the intensity of sexual violence achieves its outcome. The force of economic violence, the force of gender, the force of sexual economy and the force of sexual violence discourse are all members of the pack in this drug assemblage. Each wolf may alone exert sufficient violence to open the victim to the world, but it is the pack that maintains a stalking presence.

The unmaking of the victim through opening them up to the world without their control or consent can occur in numerous ways. Deleuze suggests the body can be botched by being emptied, cancerous, totalitarian and fascist (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 192). The most monstrous is the unhinging of habit, by emptying a body out of its organs. These organs are the structures that maintain the body and its form. For Deleuze, although the body is a product of the contingent forces swirling around and through them, the person has a materiality borne out of the repetition of contractions that Deleuze calls habits: ‘it is simultaneously through contraction that we are habits, but through contemplation that we contract’ (1994, p. 74). Habit, the accumulation of collective syntheses and contractions, defines us in relation to other material forms (Massumi, 1993, p. 48).

It is habit that allows an individual to be something. The exercise that is central in the functioning of habit binds vital energy (Malabou, 1996). As much as Deleuze and Guattari valorize becoming-other, they also recognize the critical role of habit for individual formation.

As a corollary, when habit is unhinged through sexual violence we lose the capacity to bind vital energy. As we lose habits, and organs empty out of the body, the capacity of desire to flow through this body is blocked. Desire, matter-energy that is collectively produced through the machines that constitute our body, needs to flow for us to be healthy.

This is the great unmaking of the individual in sexual violence, it is the blocking of flows of desire through and across the body. It isolates the individual from the social machines, blocks the capacity to become-other, it disrupts the rhythm that modulates the individual in relation to the world around them. The many machines, of capital, of language and of gender, that form us, modulate us and hold us together, subsequently turn into wolves and our capacity to tell the difference is dissolved.

Ghost surplus value: The surplus value of exchange

The story of drug dealer Moira and her partner Owen and their selection of subject positions might seem like a curious inclusion in this chapter as it doesn't explicitly involve sexual violence. I have included it to explore two points about sexual economy and value.

The first point is to open up a discussion about value in sexual and drug economy and how it might relate to sexual violence. As noted at the beginning of the chapter, Inciardi et al. observed the centrality of sexual economy in their 1993 crack house ethnography. Sex was a central part of a barter system, where sexual practice had value equivalence in drug transactions. The reduced capacity for negotiating consent in the crack house created the possibility for a sexual 'service' to be equated to a quantity of drug or other commodity. It is the violence in the removal of consent that created value equivalence. It is only through erasing (or automating) consent that sex can be exchanged for drugs. Economic violence enters into the sex-for-drug economy through the monetization of sex by fixing a value to volition.

Owen, through deploying his relational skill set in the face of instrumental violence, in Deleuzian terms extracted a subject position from the field of potential. He did the cleaning, babysitting and some cooking and was one of a series of male sexual partners to Moira. He received his drugs from Moira at a different rate to that of other people in the network. His sexual economy, however, never got framed in terms of 'trafficking'. Candice's situation was never compared to Owens. As it was, Candice was at risk of being trafficked. Owen was simply supporting Moira. The sexual economy that supported Moira was also the sexual economy that exploited Candice.

What is apparent is that the economic force implicit in maintaining Owen in his role would rarely be construed as violent, but the economics of violence were all too apparent, all too corporeal for Owen. I remember the torment on Owen's face as he struggled with the trauma of having a gun waved in his face when the home invaders came looking for

Moira. I remember him nervously pacing up and down the room feeling the force of violence flow through him. As much as I suggest that he extracted a subject position from the field of potential, Owen also absorbed the economic and instrumental violence of his position. If he wanted the sexual and pharmacological benefits of his role, he also had to withstand the force of violence in its multiple forms. The wolves are multiple, as are the organs that he assembles and the habits that he contracts in order to wake up each morning. At what threshold do Owen's choices become less than volitional and he becomes the subject of violence, rather than the tactician who skilfully avoids it and extracts value from the exchange? Taking the children for a walk as the men with the guns drove past the house was his labour. He was near the limit of what he could put up with.

Perhaps his gendered location gave him more options than was the case for Candice. Candice had few options left. Most of the machines that she could mobilize had ground to a halt. The economic wolves of unemployment, depression, speed and the state welfare system were circling. She could extract no value from the exchange.

My second task is to explore how exchange features in the value of sexual violence. Implicit in this chapter has been an assumption that illegal drug use is a consumption practice that involves commodity exchange. What perhaps is not as apparent is a consideration of a consumption dimension to drugs and sexual violence. The relational character of sexual violence in all its dimensions (discursive and physical) needs to be framed widely, in order to understand the magnitude and landscape of sexual violence in the drug-use setting.

The 'value' of exchange in sexual violence predates the intent and it outlasts the incident of sexual violence in the drug-use setting. Although it is not immediately apparent as to what value is accrued in sexual violence in a drug-use setting, the early North American ethnographic literature would suggest that value is central to understanding sex for crack exchanges (Inciardi, 1993). Bourgois (1995, 2008) suggested that Primo's narratives about his coerceive sexual exploits contributed to his authority as a street dealer. But the complexity of value needs to be examined using a relational lens sensitive to the multitude of forces in the setting. I suggest that the analytic tool of 'ghost surplus value' might assist in finding this sensitivity to force.

Ghost surplus value refers to how Massumi, following from Deleuze, configures the glow of self-worth, the aura accumulated from the exchange itself. According to Massumi, every consumer accumulates surplus value in the form of ghost surplus value (2002, p. 203). Subject

formation is bound to the accumulation of ghost surplus value. It is an important economic activity in its own right.

A mother's discourse on sexual violence institutes violence equivalence. Her 'old school' authority, derived from a history of bashings, beatings and rapes, reproduced a black hole of subjectivity. Stuck in this black hole of subjectification she will never leave this underclass cul-de-sac. Her life is bound to this black hole, and her narrative institutes the same capture for her children. One of her brothers' sons is the leading speed dealer in the area. He listens intently to her stories. He knows that he also is being tied to the underclass narrative, although he tries to rise above it. His own authority as a speed dealer is rooted in being able to deal out violence when necessary. 'When you hang out with these people long enough you start acting like one of them', he said to me. His interest in getting out of the neighbourhood was stymied by the fact that his authority and power were linked to his two skill sets, managing the flow of money and managing the flow of violence. Although he was making more money than the rest of his extended family combined, he could not get away.

For Owen, there was no aura of cool or self-worth attached to the labour he provided to Moira. He was the dealer's live-in boyfriend who did the domestic work. Although he was a drug user who benefitted from his relationship with Moira, he was not accumulating ghost surplus value. Moira certainly was; each time she skilfully avoided capture by other drug dealers or by the police, her relational skills became more apparent. Her ghost surplus value was being banked in the form of prestige granted to her by the drug consumers in the town. Owen, though, was stuck in the machine of capital; he was being consumed, as there was value still in his organs and he was playing along as much as he could.

Extending the culpability of forces

What the application of this lens to sexual violence enables is a recomposition of sexual violence in the drug-use setting as an application of a number of forces. Among its other meanings, sexual violence is an attempt to make two bodies generic: to unmake the body of the victim, and to unmake the self. Some of this unmaking is conscious, some is an unfolding of the conscious into a less-than-conscious opening out of the body in an attempt to become-other. Wilful acts, according to Deleuze and his interpreters, are less about the act itself and more about the collective production for an act to be recognized as wilful (Deleuze,

1990; Bowden, 2011). What is critical is what forces can be found to contribute to the conditions for a wilful sexual offender.

This should not in any way be code for a mitigation of the culpability of the perpetrator. Rather, this extends the culpability out to those forces that enable and produce the environment such that sexual violence and the sexual offender are made possible. This analysis challenges the hierarchies of force and the dichotomies that structure pharmacological determinism in the literature. This analysis places the forces of pharmacology, poverty, gender and subject formation into the scene of sexual violence, hopefully in a more accountable and visible way, in order to avoid the blind spots that have troubled me in the past.

13
Drug Epistemologies

We need to be more humble in our appreciation of drug use. Drug use is so important, so central to our existence, we should show more caution in our deliberations and we should show more care in appreciating our capacity to know what we are dealing with. If drug use connects us to the *pharmakon*, the art hidden in the depths of our souls, then a pharmacoanalysis should likewise respect the intensity and extensity of the object of analysis.

Drugs are with us to stay – our bodies are both defined and defiled by drugs. We are ourselves, in a sense, just informed matter. On the one hand, we need to have openness to the chaos of the world, to be open to the changing conformations of the body through drugs. On the other hand, becoming too open to the world through drugs destroys bodies, families, communities and economies. Saying no to drugs, or going slow, is like holding your breath for as long as you can. Ultimately we all end up taking a breath and ultimately most people end up using some psychoactive substance, to a greater or lesser extent.

My overriding desire in this pharmacoanalysis is to encourage an encounter with the world and bring the reader closer to the world of drug use. When I am close to the world, when I am more aware of my connections, I care more for the world. My compassion extends to the world when I know I am *of* it.

Bringing Deleuze to drug discourse has enabled me to bring together a series of encounters with discourse. Each chapter has been designed as a plateau, an assembling of machines in specific configurations to bring language to world. I have used Deleuze to explore drug discourse rather than to test Deleuzian concepts. This means that, to some extent, I have used a number of Deleuzian concepts at face value. My intention has always been to put Deleuze to work on drug discourse, rather

than critically appraise the work of Deleuze and his collaborators. The imperative is to be inductive and generate questions about Deleuze, discourse and drug use. What may emerge is a rippling of questions. Just as I appropriated Deleuzian philosophical discourse to say something about drug discourse, it may be that some questions could be asked about the Deleuzian lexicon following from this application.

This work should prompt further thought about some central characters in drug discourse. Important features of this discourse are the configurations of the drug-using subject and the subject-world relation. The ontology that Deleuze offers posits a different kind of drug-using subject. For Deleuze, the drug-using subject is an exemplar of the ontological interpenetration of different configurations of matter-energy. The consequences of this are significant. In political terms, a new set of dilemmas and challenges emerge around issues of sovereignty, autonomy, will and ethical life. For example, how should the modern technologies of addiction be conceptualized with this new ontology? How can the practices of social identity be reconfigured as beyond the role and function of the autonomous individual?

The figure of the assemblage is an important analytic tool for theorizing the flow of desire across a variety of bodies that are rarely considered together in drug discourse. With desire only manifest through assemblages there is a need to think through the very idea of a desire for drugs. Deleuzian desire configured as a flow of matter-energy has little in common with the individualistic desire central to the modern subject. On the one hand, the assemblage and its flows of desire can offer new formulations for thinking about the relations between the institutional practices of drug discourse and the forgotten agenda of the political left. The assemblage could be quite a useful tool for a re-articulation of the connectedness between disparate societal elements and may be amenable to the metaphors of complex adaptive systems theory. On the other hand, I fear that the ontological gulf between the Deleuzian desire and the modern individualistic discourse on desire for drugs may be too deep for many to traverse.

The political implications of the assemblage are profound. When the force of enunciation is acknowledged as residing in the mixity of a collective ontological setting, a new set of demands will be placed on marginal groups to reorganize their own representative politics. How do drug user groups negotiate an identity-based politics when taken-for-granted notions of community and identity are both undermined and strengthened by the heterogeneity of the drug assemblage? Equally important is the impact of the notion of the assemblage on the practice

of ethics in empirical drug research. What kind of processes can be put in place that will satisfy the various demands of the assemblage rather than those of the independent rational actor? The very notions of participation, voice and authority in representative practices for drug users are challenged when a full appreciation of assemblage is undertaken.

Finally, how can looking for sense enable a different reading of the signs of the street drug market and a different rendering of the fear–abject relation? My thoughts return to an image I referred to in Chapter 4 (Figure 4.3). The image of the faceless drug-using woman accompanied by her young child, defaced by the editorial marker, reminds me of how horror is so powerfully inscribed in drug discourse. Rather than simply seeking new ways to inscribe drug use without it being so connected to horror and the abject, it is apparent that becoming-other through drug use is an engine for capital and ignoring this is a fruitless task.

This work maps a terrain for the production of bodies in drug discourse that is fuelled by the force of the abject. In several chapters it was apparent that when drug use involves connecting with the matter-energy of the world – a becoming-with-the-world – a political economy is enacted. In the case of the syringe, the force of the syringe as a sign is manifest through being plugged into different narratives. Barnardo's and the *Daily Record* effortlessly scooped off surplus value from the syringe in a marketing campaign that mobilized capital through the horror of the syringe–baby assemblage. In previous work (Fitzgerald, 2002b) I analysed how ecstasy brand names, talk-back radio, newspapers, politicians, nightclub organizers and international drug marketeers were all plugged into a political economy that highlighted that the becoming-body is at once the site of irruption and the site of intense productivity in late capitalism. In the street drug market, the city is reinscribed by the political economy of fear. The derelict body-becoming-city-becoming-body is an engine of capitalism.

As capitalism thrives on the becoming-body, a new set of options opens up for those responsible for regulating the production of bodies. So long as drug use is located in derelict zones in discourse, the drug-using body will be productive. Inevitably, bodies will fail to be captured when descriptions fall short, a new drug-use narrative appears, a typology is found to be incomplete or an explanatory theory falls over. There will be irruptions from the scopic regimes that produce visibility and the movement from visibility to invisibility is inherent in the social-body-becoming. The question of how to produce bodies in this environment then shifts from removing the horror from drug use

discourse to maximizing the value from the relations of force applied to the bodies that result from these intersections. Returning to the image of the mother and child, the question is not 'how can we stop this photograph?', rather, it is 'what can we do with it?'

I have foregrounded the performative quality of drug discourse. This is a work about how I believe drug discourse affects. Just as there is no single trajectory to the affects of drug discourse, there is no single trajectory across this work. The work is performative in that it creates a map, rather than a tracing. The map is a suggestive guide to how we frame drug use, rather than an arborescent knowledge structure. A pharmacoanalysis is the task of mapping our encounters with the world and learning from them when drugs are an agent of becoming in our encounters. This is the primary contribution of Deleuze to the discourse of drug use.

My suggestion is for more intense encounters with drug discourse that encourage openness to the world. There are many things to learn from drug discourse and numerous entry points to the encounter. My encounter with drug discourse through Deleuze forces me to open to the world. I try to learn from sense, and cherish the moments of transformation that, as Deleuze suggested, can allow me to be a little alcoholic, a little mad, a little bit schizophrenic and a little bit of a guerilla without falling into the crack of desire.

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