

Anthony DiMario
SOC247/Streeter
Final Draft
04/20/2016

Reporting toward the Prison: Print Media constructions of
Heroin, Addiction, Criminality and Identity 1993-1999.

I. Introduction

In the weeks leading up to the 2016 New Hampshire Presidential Primaries, candidates from both sides had a policy cornerstone challenged. During the course of local rallies and town hall meetings across the Granite State, attendants brought up a searing issue affecting their lives: heroin and the effect of its criminalization. New Englanders, mostly bereaved parents with stern, trauma filled voices, told stories of how heroin addiction had stolen from them: their children to overdoses, their sense of control to the inevitability of relapse, and their faith because under the current order all that seemed to await users was either a cold cell or a premature grave. Politicians, as politicians so readily do, seemed to change their tune to fit the grief of their audience. Chris Christie and Hillary Clinton promised federal funding for treatment of addicts and lauded efforts by local police departments, such as Gloucester, MA, to offer amnesty to heroin users charged with possession if they agreed to be transitioned into rehabilitation. Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz shared their own familial experience with addiction and promised a sort of righteous vengeance, investing in medical treatment of addicts while punishing those responsible for bringing pestilence into these quiet, New England towns. Their responses were different from the narrative typical of the War of Drugs era. These addicts were no longer criminals but victims, their heroin-use was no longer seen as a choice that prevented them from being sober, productive members of society, but rather emphasized as a type of insidious coercion. It is fair to say that the political rhetoric wasn't always this way. Not long ago, a single 'soft-on-drugs' statement could jeopardize a campaign. This shift evidences a collapse in the run-of-the-mill drug policy and public discourse on drugs.

However, before investigating the how, why and consequences of this change in any capacity, it is necessary to establish the discursive configurations of heroin that preceded this change in the press. This paper presents a Foucauldian discourse analysis of Boston Globe articles reporting on heroin use, addiction

and trafficking in the years between 1993 and 1999, especially those articles that focus on events in New England. This paper argues that earlier discourses of heroin in print media employed a sharply anatomopolitical stance (Foucault, 1982), an orientation that considers the discipline and punishment of the offending body as whole, discrete unit (whether it be the pusher or the addict) as means to remedy the social ill of drugs and drug abuse, and does so by filtering of independent incidents through systematic frames and narratives that establish the behavior of the addict as a socially dangerous choice rather than a biologically victimizing compulsion and constructs the role of the dealer likewise to fit the concept of the addict. This paper is broken down into the following: an introduction, a literature review, a methodology, an analysis of newsprint reports on looming threats to the community, heroin traffickers, heroin addicts and a conclusion section.

II. Literature Review

The literature surrounding the relationship between media coverage and the reality of drug use is robust to say the least. Answers to question of how the construction of heroin and addicts in the media changed can and must be related back to the nature of social deviance and attempts to punish it. Erikson (1966), drawing on insights from Durkheim (1972), argues that deviance remains relatively stable in a society, but certain types of deviance are drawn to public attention at various times by a number of factors. This public attention to a type of deviance likewise causes an imperative to punish it. The process by which the public hones in on the presence of a particular type of deviance has been described by social constructionists as “moral panics” (Cohen, 1972; Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994). These panics can be constructed around a variety of social problems, ranging from street punks to serial killers to crystal meth (Cohen, 1972; Jenkins, 1994; Ayres and Jewkes, 2012). The literature indicates that moral panics are often catalyzed by an isolated, particularly shocking event, described by Surette (2012) as ‘symbolic crimes’, or result from the sustained efforts of moral entrepreneurs (Becker, 1995), as was the casing of the US temperance movement and prohibition during the 1920s (Gusfield, 1963).

The media is often instrumental role in deploying these panics. In particular, the nature of news media and the journalistic institution factor greatly in how moral panics develop and gain their legitimacy as a

social truth. Scholars have pointed to how journalistic ideals of objectivity, integrity and bias-free reporting are largely an appearance produced and maintained by an array of discursive choices. Further investigation reveals how these choices often create a bias within themselves. Todd Gitlin (1980), in his study of media coverage of Vietnam war protests, examined how an intense network of journalistic choices frames events in such a way to produce the most appealing story, but often these choice became routinized to the point of hegemony. Gitlin invoked the Marxist refrain, that journalistic coverage had a necessary effect on the reality of Vietnam war protestors, but not an effect of their own making. Likewise, the routinized choices in journalism have been examined elsewhere by scholars. Tuchman (1986) asserts that the maintenance of journalistic objectivity is in fact a strategic ritual. By relying on 'objective' sources, such as information taken from institutional authorities such as the police and medical professionals, journalists protect themselves from 'the risks of their trade,' accusations of bias and libel that may arise from 'subjective' sources such a community member, family, and the wider public. Likewise, the acceptably sayable in journalism has been described by Hallin (1986) as a series of spheres: the innermost ring contains those topics and attitudes that are part of an unchallenged consensus, the taken for granted; topics and attitudes outside of this sphere constitute the sphere of legitimate controversy, those issues and perspective that are up for debate, the topics that may be unorthodox, but not unspeakable; outside the sphere of legitimate controversy is the sphere of deviance, those taboo topics and perspectives that cannot be uttered in the contemporary discourse. The sphere can expand and contract with time. It modulates within a larger socio-historical discourse and development. The media wields this sphere and the changes that occur in powerful ways. In their 1972 publication, McCombs and Shaw observed that mass media often sets the agenda for not only the topics of political debate, but also the frames by which they are addressed. This force of news media has been regularly documented by media scholars, ranging from elections back to moral panics.

Many scholars have pointed to the role media plays in drumming up public outrage in the course of moral panics. Figures like Best and Surette (2012) have harshly criticized the media for distorting reality and creating widespread fear in an attempt to sustain an audience. Various figures have argued that the media constitutes a major source of 'factual' knowledge of crime (Tabbert, 2012) but this is filtered through

an a 'alienating discourse' (Gregouriou, 2011; 3) which often creates "reality of crime and justice for the public" (Surette, 2009: 239). Scholars have pointed to the pernicious policy effects public demands for justice over an exaggerated problem can cause; laws and policing efforts are often implemented without serious consideration of their efficiency and real effects on controlling crime (Zgoba, 2004a). Rather, these strategies tend to create only the appearance of controlling crime in what has been dubbed 'crime control theater' (Griffin & Miller; 2008: 160). This may be especially true in the construction of drug scares in the media, where some scholars contend that the exaggerations of the danger of narcotics may fan the flames of the War on Drugs discourse and policy efforts (Jenkins, 1994; Tunnell 2004; Taylor 2008; Clear and Frost, 2015).

While much has been written on the media construction of novel drugs in the history of substance abuse, like crack cocaine or methamphetamine (Hartman and Golub, 1999; Brownstein, 1991; Tunnell, 2004; Jenkins 1994; Ayres and Jewkes, 2012; Roach, 2012), relatively little has been written on the way in which media constructs heroin, heroin addicts and heroin dealers. A large portion of this research focuses on visual images of addiction both in print and televised media forms, those that create an 'evocative telepresence' about the addict for the viewer (Katovich, 1998). Consequently, there is a dearth of research analyzing the content of newsprint media on the subject. Likewise, in the tradition of moral panics research, scholars have argued that media representation of heroin use are largely inconsistent with ethnographic accounts of heroin addicts and the reality of drug abuse (Duterte et al, 2003; McCoy et al, 2005; Denham, 2008). However, this incongruity between reality and representation is largely irrelevant because, as earlier argued, the public gains most of their knowledge about crime from the media and the media distorts reality while presenting itself a truth insofar that "the media is not a window, but a prism subtly distorting and bending our picture of reality" (Jewkes, 2009; 16).

Visual images tend to construct the addict as haggard and broken- a sickly, tragic and unexplainably alluring individual who is compelled by disease to routinely violate socially norms. Interest in this image of the heroin addict seems to have come to a boil in and around the 1990s, during the advent of a fashion trend dubbed 'heroin chic' (Arnold, 1999). Scholars have explained the pervasiveness of this image in a

variety of ways. Huggins (2006) took a hermeneutical approach to the representation of the body of the addict. Huggins asserted that the stylized images of intravenous drug use as a metaphor for breaching of the social contract. Others have argued that these images of ritualistic intravenous drug use have allowed addicts bodies to be wrongly stigmatized and held responsible for the contraction of blood-borne diseases like HIV/AIDS, while others, like homosexuals and recipients of bad blood transfusions are excused, getting the disease through no fault of their own (Lensing, 2002). Taylor (2002) saw 'heroin chic' as the culmination of a century of drug prohibition which saw phases of conception of narcotic deviance sequentially on definition, demonization, resistance, and finally commercialization and insignification. Contrary to Taylor, Reinerman (2005) saw the discourse around heroin beginning in 1990s to be culmination of a history of an 'addiction-as-disease' model. Reinerman contends the disease model began as a tool of politically active moral crusaders and was only later adopted by medical and psychiatric institutions; in other words, science adjusted to politics, not the other way around. Reinerman criticizes the definitions of addiction-as-disease as lacking any internal consistency and as being epistemological flawed. Reinerman argues that the model serves a cultural purpose as it explains 'casual possession' by drugs, in which a drug user is not accountable for his actions. In addition to this, Reinerman suggests that medicalizing the deviant behavior rather than politicizing it, 'addiction' could be addressed and corrected with less resistance from the 'addicts'. With a similar interest in the 'addiction-as-disease' Conrad and Schneider (2010) investigated the process by which deviance is medicalized, arguing, with a Foucauldian tinge, that medicalization of deviance allows for finer and finer social control across a larger breadth of bodies. While Reinerman sees addiction-as-disease being the site of a very pointed historico-political development in the medical establishment. Conrad and Schneider envisioned the medicalization of deviance as a development in Foucauldian bio-power, allowing for the every-finer optimization of bodies through diagnoses, measures, and medication. Like Reinerman, Conrad and Schneider saw that medicalizing deviant bodies allowed them to be 'corrected' with little resistance, as the body in question was the victim of an abnormality, not the perpetrator of it.

Of the research that has addressed the construction of heroin in newsprint media, a large majority has been built by subsequent teams of Australian scholars. Much of this research has been done with quantitative methods, using content analysis with rigid coding schemes. This research began around the Australian ACT heroin trials, in which Australian politicians, pundits and publics debated passing a law that would allow heroin to be pharmaceutically prescribed as a means of treating addiction and its negative social effects. The law was eventually scrapped, but the floodgates of inquiry had opened: the construction of heroin and heroin addicts in the press became a popular topic for Australian scholars across a range of social science disciplines.

Elliot and Chapman (2000) approached newsprint articles about heroin from 1992-1997. They used a method coding for common frames, which yielded seven primary representations of heroin users: users as ill, or having health and medical problems; users as dying; users as criminal; users as 'us' or 'them'; users as a cost or threat to society; users as victims; users as ruined. The authors found these frames were used both in support and opposition to the bill, both to justify medicalization and criminal punishment of users. The authors conclude by exploring the irony that both sides still emphasized sobriety and abstinence, prohibition.

Building on Elliot and Chapman, scholars such as Teece and Makkai (2000), Rowe (2002), and Watts (2003) undertook content analysis projects of their own, focusing on portrayals of heroin. Teece and Makkai (2000) analyzed how media representations of heroin constrained public opinion and effective policy development, concluding that the effect of media was minimal. Watts (2003) argued the contrary, elucidating how frames that pervasively associate heroin use with crime maintain a policy trajectory that emphasizes prohibition and criminal punishment while also preventing the serious evaluation of other policy options. Rowe (2002), on the other hand, tried to understand the fervor surrounding the ACT heroin trial and an apparent Australian 'heroin boom' as fitting Cohen (1972) definition of a moral panic and matching Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (1994) trajectory of moral panic, eventually dissipating by the ends of the 1990s. Years later, Hughes et al (2011) tried to measure constructions of a range of drugs in the

Australian press. They found that heroin was represented of simultaneously as the most morally neutral but most physically and socially destructive.

Relatively few studies of this type have been done in the United States. However, their approaches and findings are notably different from their Australian counterparts. In an analysis of heroin coverage in and around Baltimore in the 1990s, Agar and Reisinger (2000) argued that the 1990s saw salience of a novel frame in drugs scares: heroin-in-the-suburbs. The authors conclude by exploring the conditions that allowed this frame to take off, including reports of youth heroin use, Clinton-era drug policy and the fanning of community fears. Denham (2008) used representations in major national publication to explore the way media interacts with ‘heroin chic’ fashion trends, celebrity deaths and apparent resurgence of heroin use, especially among youths. The author concludes by noting that, despite the propagation of fears and moral panic, heroin use did not increase in the 16-year period of their analysis.

While many of these studies make use of discourse analysis in one way or another, ranging from frame analysis, to content analysis, to semiotic analysis, to trying to hermeneutically understand images of addiction, none make use of Foucauldian discourse analysis. Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) is a type of critical discourse analysis focused on power relations conveyed in text and draws on the work of French theorist and historian of ideas, Michel Foucault (1926-1984). The next section will briefly outline the method of Foucauldian discourse analysis and how it was used to analyze the data presented in this paper.

III. Methodology

Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) is a strain of discourse analysis that attempts to excavate power relations present in Foucault’s notion of discourse, which includes surfaces ranging from texts, speech, practices, institutions and architecture (Kendall and Wickham, 1998). While Foucault’s ideas have been criticized for having little internal consistency (Visker 2008), advocates of his approach have cited that all of his projects, or ‘histories’ have attempted to point out that ideas and discourse don’t develop out of historical necessity, but rather a complex network of power relations operating between discourse, practice and agents that develop, rupture and modulate far more on the basis of contingency than fixed trajectory

(Foucault, 1972). This led Foucault to problematize the development of discourses surrounding topics of madness, punishment and sexuality since the Enlightenment. Foucault's work has been divided into two periods both by himself and subsequent scholars. These periods are archaeology and genealogy. While in his earlier, purely archaeological period, Foucault contended that the investigator could not delineate the boundaries of a contemporary discourse because of his submersion in it, with the later genealogy, a term Foucault borrowed and altered from Nietzsche, attempted to write a 'history of the present,' using development in discourse in the past to highlight contingencies and problematize the taken for granted today (Kendall and Wickham, 1998; Visker, 2008).

A crux of Foucault's work is his novel approach to modern apparatuses of power, which he insists are multidirectional, constantly creating and dissolving themselves across multiple agents; no one body possesses absolute power over another. This multidirectional configuration of power stands in contrast to classical power relations in which power emanated unilaterally from the body of the king over his subjects (1982). Foucault argues in this previous power arrangement made use of juridical strategies, or subtractive power, which took the form of executions, amputations, torture, fines, imprisonment etc. In contemporary society, multidirectional power, which flows in and out of the institutions of the state, makes use of a different strategy and is in contrast, overwhelmingly productive, creating the base conditions for life at every level. Foucault positions this other strategy as existing at two ends of an axis, anatoma-political and bio-political power. Anatomical-political power addresses the body as a whole, individual unit, and can make use of juridical strategies such as imprisonment and fines, but also employ techniques such as examinations and discipline to ensure aptitude and productivity of the body. Bio-political power, on the other hand, addresses strategies that take place on the level of the population, such as techniques to stimulate birth rate and reduce death rates, such as prohibiting abortion and requiring vaccinations respectively (Foucault, 1982; Kendall and Wickham, 1998; Yang, 2007.)

While some scholars argue that Foucault's methods can only be used to effectively do a descriptive history of ideas and power (Mitchell, 2002), others have contended that Foucault's methods form a loose framework of critical inquiry, evocative of Pyrrhonian skepticism (Kendall and Wickham, 1998). These

same scholars insist that Foucauldian discourse analysis can be applied to a wide variety of subject by employing a multiple stage apparatus into discourse that begin with acknowledgement that a discourse exists as a body of statements that has been made and can be made. Kendall and Wickham have emphasized that Foucauldian discourse analysis focuses on contingencies and exceptions in discourse to highlight its systematic regularities, to delineate what cannot possibly be stated, who can say what and in what spaces, and how these discursive statements create and maintain a particular, often hidden, power relation (1998). Under this conception, Foucauldian discourse analysis has been used to investigate often under explored territories with a novel approach ranging from Conrad and Schneider's description of the medicalization of deviance as an insidious expansions of bio-political control (2010) to Yang's use of anatoma-politics to account for the emergence of a neoliberal discourse in an increasingly capitalistic People's Republic of China (2007), or Rabinow's attempts to systematize an anthropology of the contemporary (2009). Likewise, the insights of media's role constructing public perceptions of moral panics and their policy implications make media coverage of heroin a worthy topic for Foucauldian discourse analysis.

This paper gathered data from the Boston Globe's online archive. A search for the keyword 'heroin' between 1993 and 1999 resulted in 1,574 hits. These 1,574 hits were further reduced by analyzing the contents of every fourth pages of results, which contained 10 articles each. The articles sourced from this selection process were then coded and analyzed for their systematic constructions, recurrent themes, frames and narratives, and implicit and explicit power relations. The yield of this analysis is presented in the following sections.

IV. Communities: Looming threats from outside

Several 'environmental' factors seemed to influence the construction and frequency of both traffickers and addicts. These trends were juxtaposed against local reports of heroin addiction and trafficking, informing the moral panic around heroin in Boston during the 1990s and formulating the threat it posed to the community. These trends came from a variety of social, cultural, and political venues, environed the heroin-tinged bodies with which the Boston Globe's discourse was concerned. They can be broken down into three layers, forming the discursive stage on which pushers and addicts were only players. They are

the fears about the appearance of purer, stronger and cheaper heroin; a string of high profile celebrity deaths related to heroin and the emergence of 'heroin chic' in the fashion world; and fears that heroin expanded its appeal to young, middle-class, and suburban individuals. The journalistic choice to report these ambient events creates an atmosphere of community fears upon which other stories and reports on heroin, addiction and drug crimes play out.

Purer and Cheaper Dope

A common recurrence in the data were articles that articulate fears about the appearance of 'stronger' more available heroin that presents a greater threat to the community. This type of fears are exemplified in articles describing a newly imported heroin as "ultra-potent," or "purer" and "stronger." Example titles of these types of articles include: "Ultra-potent heroin eyed in overdoses"(1997) and "Warning Issue on Potent Heroin"(1999) as well as " Cheap, pure heroin a lure for the young." These fears over laps with heroin that is cut with toxic additives which have fatal results. These articles generate fear that necessitate a greater to police efforts to combat the elevated threat, as exemplified by the 1994 article "Police crackdown on stronger, cheaper dope in Boston." The fear of a strong, purer, or more poison product relates to fears that addicts may not be able to understand or cope with the threat and thus risk dying of an overdose if someone or something does no intervene on their behalf.

Celebrity Deaths and Heroin Chic

News reports about high profile celebrity deaths visibly contributed to the atmosphere of fear. Several articles drew on the heroin influenced suicide of Kurt Cobain and what influence that may have on young fans. Other deaths feature included the 1997 overdose of David Sorrenti, a fashion photographer noted for popularizing heroin chic, and the tragic death of Nico, one of Andy Warhol's superstars noted for her debilitating addiction later in life. For example, these fears were pushed in articles titled "The crushed-Velvet life of singer Nico" (1994), "Cobain Carried His Demons on Ride to the Top"(1994). These deaths were often tied to the popularity of a fashion style known as 'heroin chic' which emphasized bleak, emaciated and tragically alluring models (Arnold, 1999). Heroin chic became a center of media attention when in 1997, then-President Bill Clinton decried the fashion industry for constructing the addict as having

an aesthetic appeal, stating “you do not need to glamorize addiction to sell clothes,” describing the style as morbid and dangerous, connecting it to an increase in heroin use among youth. These statements were circulated in the globe and it is arguable that the authority of the president brought legitimacy to fears a cultural trends and isolated incidents.

New Appeals to a Different Audience

Fears about stronger, cheaper heroin and an aesthetic appeal of addiction coalesced in fears the heroin had started to reach new audience: young people, the middle class and the suburbs. These fears are exemplified by articles reporting the overdose death of a notable New York stockbroker as well as statistical reports about an increase in youth heroin use reinforced the idea that heroin posed a real danger to societies protected and elevated classes. Featuring titles like “The New Face of Heroin: The drug is back and its everywhere. But this time around its users are more likely to be young, white and suburban”(1997), these articles often connected both heroin’s decrease in price, increase in purity and use among tragically appealing celebrities as causing an increased use among groups of people who typically are not associated with the drug. Since it is difficult, if not impossible, for community and government forces to control the quality and price of heroin, as well as the trajectory of culture, one of the implicit solutions to these fears is an increased intervention against both dealers and addicts in order to prevent the ‘danger’ from reaching these protected classes, particularly white, suburban middle-class youth. As such, dealers are regularly targeted by police, being constructed in the media as consistently and effectively prevented from distributing heroin to ‘at-risk’ populations. Likewise, addicts are constructed as corrupted individuals who are in need of institutional intervention because of the pernicious effect of the drug, which is described as causing them to engage in greater and more horrific types of deviance.

V. Pushers: Quantifying Traffic

The Boston Globe in years 1993-1999 utilized a succinct, systematic method of reporting heroin busts by authorities that seems to relay the facts outright. With few exceptions that will be discussed later, a majority of reports on drug trafficking and dealing were constructed with the following formula: 1.) title establishing drug bust by law enforcement with qualifier of the scope of the bust; 2.) a brief statement

recounting police procedure and seizure efforts; 3.) a quantification of the amount seized and its estimated value; 4.) a differentiation of what was seized and the charges levied; 5.) a listing of names, age and origin of those arrested in the bust. The coalescence of these five formulations demonstrates the threat of drug traffickers to the community as well as establishing the success of legal institutions in combating this threat.

The title of these articles are the hook for the audience. It is necessary for them to communicate the content of the article in abstract as well as establish the given power relations expressed. This is often done by positioning law enforcement as an abstract social entity, with no fixed amount of force or expenditure expressed, against a quantified and carefully measured criminal body- the number arrested, the number of bags of heroin seized, etc. This is routinely expressed in reports on police drug stings throughout the 1990s. For example, an article from 1993 is titled "City police seize 1,150 heroin bags," while another from 1998 proclaims "\$500,000 IN DRUGS SEIZED BY POLICE." This immediately establishes the amount of heroin, or the amount of danger, that law enforcement has removed from the community. Such power relations are echoed in similar titles that subordinate amount of heroin seized to number of persons arrested in the bust. For example, "Police arrest 2, heroin seized" and "4 Men arrested on heroin charges," both from 1994, "23 arrested in federal sweep in Worcester" from 1995 and "12 arrests made at Haymarket" from 1998. These constructions establish the subordination of the actual narcotic substance to those using or selling in the hierarchy of deviance presented in the Globe's drug discourse. Where '1,150 heroin bags' emphasizes the success of law enforcement in the seizure of dangerous substance from communities, article titles that emphasize arrests from drug busts emphasize the success of law enforcement in removing dangerous bodies from communities. Likewise, newsprint quantify the success of law enforcement by casting arrests and seizures into numeric phenomenon as opposed an ensemble occurrence, e.g. 13 arrested in police raid vs. Police raid results in arrests. Both convey the same information of an event, but one quantifies the event in such a way to give it a measurable scope and success. In addition to this, the use of quantification, the use of numbers to cast crime as a measurable unit in a legal economy of power and force, reinforces the appearance of journalism as a professional and objective institution. In short, a number cannot

be biased; yet, what is deemed quantifiable and where numbers are used by journalists underwrites an investment, if not faith in, other institutional powers, such as the police.

The same methods of positioning a discrete whole of law enforcement against a quantifiable deviance is continued in the second part of this formula. Where the title establishes the power relation between law enforcement and narcotic traffickers, the procedural brief that often appears first in the article reinforces these relations by further obfuscating officers and federal agents into anonymous, immeasurable entities. For example, an opening line from a 1994 drug bust report: “Police arrested 18 people in a drug sting targeting heroin and cocaine buyers at a city housing development.” The report provides information regarding the number arrested, the targeted group and the setting, however provides no number for officers involved in the operation. The audience is compelled to both beg and answer that question themselves, *was it one officer, or seven?* Ultimately, the line suggests that the actual number involved is irrelevant, it was a number sufficient enough to successfully arrest 18 drug offenders.

The visibility of law enforcement is further obfuscated, but their force amplified, in the next step in the drug bust formula. Similarly, to the title and procedural levels, the next step involves the quantification of the deviance that law enforcement has successfully removed from the community, whether this be an amount of narcotics or a number of traffickers, or both. This step often synthesizes a qualification of criminality: whether product was street ready, levels of purity and co-morbidity with other types of drug trafficking, contextualizing the location of the crime.

In a 1998 article titled “Two Men Arraigned on Drug Charges,” the article states “Boston police found 450 bags of heroin in the men's car in the Beechland Street housing development in West Roxbury.” The amount of heroin found by police is quantified, 450 bags of heroin, presumably ready for sale and removed from streets by police. The evocation of location is also important because it demographically and geographically situates the offenders, a housing development in West Roxbury, a poor, predominantly black neighborhood of Boston (Day, 2009). The inclusion of these types of geographic qualifications associates a deviant behavior, heroin trafficking, with the deviant bodies occupying as particular space, presumably black or Hispanic men living in a poor neighborhood. The inclusion of this type of information is by no

means necessary to the arrest reports, but furthers racist stereotypes about minorities, drug crimes, and the threat they pose to the protect, white public. The article further qualifies the drug offense by adding the two men “face charges of possession of heroin with intent to distribute and possession of heroin with intent to distribute in a school zone.” Of interest here is the reiteration of the possession of heroin with intent to distribute *in a school zone*. What this does is collocate the drug charge with a symbolic victim, school children. It is not clear whether or not the two men intended to sell to children, but the evocation of the second charge is to elicit a response to the collocation of narcotics distribution and children, a class that is constructed as vulnerable and protected in our society (Surette, 2012). This type of qualification is unusual in the regular schema, but ultimately serves the goal of the narrative in creating a real and measurable danger that is remedied by the intervention of legal institutions such as the police.

Similar processes occur in articles that emphasize the quantification and value of a drug bust in a way the replicates the discursive formula of the title. The earlier referred to 1993 article “1,150 bags of heroin seized” fits a typical formulation of a calculable and qualified drug bust. The article reads:

“Detectives of the Boston Police Department's Drug Control Unit yesterday seized 1,150 bags of heroin worth \$15,000 to \$20,000 and arrested three suburbanites on Massachusetts Avenue near Southhampton Street in Roxbury.”

The quantification of the drug bust is reiterated, but contextualized within intervention of specific agents and institutions, detectives from a dedicated drug control unit in the Boston Police Department. In addition to this quantifying and contextualizing of the drug bust, the report monetizes the quantified amount of heroin seized in the bust in a dollar value, 1,150 bags becomes \$15,000-\$20,000. Likewise, the report goes on to situate the bust in Roxbury, a majority African-American neighborhood in Boston as well as quantifying the number arrested. The juxtaposition of all these specifications of the event in the news report serve a general purpose: to establish a measurable amount of criminal activity and deviance, triangulate its location and emphasize the success of law enforcement in combating it. While the article does not make it explicit, though, arguably, it does not have to, the juxtaposition of a large drug bust on the street in a predominantly black neighborhood creates an association between black bodies and drug trafficking for local audiences. Likewise, these reports underwrite the effective functioning of state institutions in fighting

crime. What information is reported comes from the police, particularly their success in combating drug crime. A journalist presumably would not report information from the neighborhood in which the bust occurred, such as a local drug dealer expanding his customer base, or generating much needed revenue stream for an impoverished neighborhood.

The association between the crime and bodies involved are integral in the last step of the drug-reporting formula. While inclusion of names, ages and origins seems to be a standard of arrests reports, the power relations and discursive underpinnings of this formulation are revealed when focus is drawn to the regularities reporting and its contingencies. A typical listing would read like the following:

- 1.) “Charged with trafficking heroin were Felipe Garcia, 31, and Janet Rincon, 24, both of Lynn, an Roberto Belfort, 37 of Peabody” from 1993.
- 2.) “Emilo Rodriquez, 33, of Florida, and Romon Zibar, 40, were arrested and charged with selling heroin” from 1994.
- 3.) “Also arrested on heroin-related charges were Manuel Morales, 30, and Angel Baez, 37, both of Dorchester, Jose Burgos, 44, of Roxbury, and Orlando Cotto, 39, of Waltham” From 1998.

What is apparent is that these lists of arrested consist entirely of Hispanic first and last names. While it could be argued on the contrary that these aren't racially influenced decisions, that these names are reflective of the people actually arrested for narcotics, that I have cherry-picked data to fit my point, I offer the following from the data analysis. These lists that include only Hispanic names are what appear in the 'systematic' formulations of arrests. When white names were reported, indicating the involvement of white bodies in the arrests, the entire formulation of the arrest report was violated- there was no longer as a distant brevity involved, the quantification and specification of the arrest were subsumed in qualifications of the individual's involvement; there was often an effort toward empathy and understanding of the involvement of a white body in what is regularly constructed as non-white crime.

One routine contingency of the formula is the involvement of out-of-state individuals, what I subbed here as “NH Man” or “NH Couple” stories, stories that involve white individuals from New Hampshire who travel to urban areas in Massachusetts to buy cheaper, more potent heroin and are subsequently caught up in a police sting. On prominent story, iterated over and over, involved a beloved N.H. high school principal, who, as it happened, was a heroin addict. When she was arrested in Massachusetts on possession

charges, the formula was abandoned and a new take on drug crime adopted. One such iteration read as follows:

Recognized in Newton, N.H., as a leader and a role model, Margaret Loder-Healy, the principal of an award-winning school, stood in Boston federal court yesterday confronting her sad and sordid other side: a suspected heroin addiction, a troubled life.

It was a side that some parents in the small New Hampshire town say they confirmed four years ago by following her to a methadone clinic in Lawrence. At the time, one parent said, police told them not to pursue the issue because Loder-Healy had allegedly confronted her problem and was getting help.

Caught up in this other life, the principal, whose school, Memorial Elementary, was selected as the state's best elementary school in 1997, reportedly faced investigations by police in Salem, N.H., and in Massachusetts, in North Andover and in Ipswich, for alleged offenses ranging from shoplifting to using stolen prescription blanks.

Two weeks ago, the delicate balance was toppled, when she was charged with possession of heroin, an allegation that surfaced last spring during a federal investigation into a heroin trafficking ring.

School officials have placed her on administrative leave with pay and have hired a private investigator to review her case.

Yesterday, Loder-Healy, 46, of Merrimac, the mother of two daughters, pleaded not guilty to possessing heroin in North Andover on April 27. She quickly left the courtroom, declining to talk about the charge against her. The misdemeanor count carries up to a year in prison and a \$100,000 fine.

US Magistrate Judge Robert Collings released Loder-Healy on an unsecured bond and ordered her to submit to random drug tests and to attend a mental health or drug treatment program.

Outside the courtroom, Debra Taylor, the mother of a fourth- grader who attends Memorial Elementary, said she was among a group of parents who received a tip in 1995 that Loder-Healy had a drug problem.

"We had parents following her to a methadone clinic in Lawrence," Taylor said. "We knew she had a problem, but we couldn't do anything about it."

Taylor said another parent reported Loder-Healy's alleged drug use to the Newton, N.H., police, but was urged to back off because the principal had admitted she had a problem and was getting help.

"We backed off in 1996," Taylor said. "We didn't want to get charged with slander. It would have been like we were on a witch hunt."

But Newton Police Chief Andrew Theriault said he was unaware of any allegations linking Loder-Healy to drugs that were made known to his department. Although Theriault didn't take over as chief until 1996, he said if previous complaints had been made about the principal of the small town's only elementary school he probably would have heard.

And Newton School Superintendent James H. Weiss, who took over as head of the town's schools in 1997, said he also was unaware of any previous allegations linking Loder-Healy to drugs.

Loder-Healy's alleged drug problems were not the only troubles she faced away from school.

In March, she pleaded guilty to shoplifting baby clothes from the Sears store at the Mall at Rockingham Park in Salem, N.H., and was fined \$200.

In April, police in North Andover, Mass., were called to the Butcher Boy, where a woman had tried to take \$40 worth of meat but fled when confronted by employees, the Eagle-Tribune of Lawrence reported. Police traced the registration of the fleeing car to Loder-Healy, who was summonsed to court.

But no record of the case appears in Lawrence District Court, and North Andover Police Chief Richard Stanley said he could not talk about the incident because the investigation continues.

The Eagle-Tribune also reported that Loder-Healy was investigated by the Ipswich police last year after it was reported she might have been using stolen prescription blanks. No charges were filed.

Elliot D. Lobel, a lawyer who represents Loder-Healy, said yesterday the heroin possession charge against her "has caused a lot of distress for her.

"She is essentially a very decent and shy person," Lobel said.

Loder-Healy graduated from Boston University in 1975, later earned a master's degree in education, and taught at Amesbury High School from 1978 to 1985, according to Lobel.

He refused to comment on whether Loder-Healy has negotiated an agreement with prosecutors or whether she is a heroin addict.

But the charge against Loder-Healy is made in an "information." An information, as opposed to a complaint or an indictment, generally signals that a person has already struck a deal with prosecutors.

When these stories appear, the breadth of reporting increases dramatically. There is no matter-of-fact distance, but an intervention by the report into their involvement, it no functions as an arrest report as an investigation into involvement, circumstance, identity and causation.

Similarly, in one notable 1994 case, a candy store on Cape Cod, remarked by locals and tourists alike for its large, jack-o-lantern shape, was discovered by police to be a front for selling heroin. When the two white owners were arrested, the Boston Globe's report did not read like their typical arrest report, but was an investigation outside of the facts of the arrest, speaking to locals about the apparent betrayal, juxtaposing 'what nice people they were' with the deviant behavior that lurked behind closed doors.

HULL -- Police say the managers of a local candy store that is painted to resemble a jack-o'-lantern, which is popular among young children in the neighborhood, have been charged with trying to sell heroin.

Teresa A. DiVendra, 32, and Joseph P. Wielki, 33, were charged with possession of a Class A drug with intent to distribute and conspiracy to violate drug laws, police said.

The store, the Penny Candy House, has been owned since 1990 by DiVendra's sister Jean, according to town records.

Teresa DiVendra and Wielki, who neighbors said have been seen running the store for several months, were arrested Saturday after allegedly selling heroin to undercover officers at the store, police said.

Police said they used a search warrant when they arrested DiVendra and Wielki, who live in a basement apartment at the store on Nantasket Avenue.

Also arraigned Monday on the same charges were Hull residents Brian E. Hannon, 45, and Dean G. Klucevsek, 45, who were arrested Sunday.

Last Tuesday, Phillip L. Attardi, 25, also of Hull, was arrested on charges of possession with intent to distribute heroin.

"I had no idea what was going on in there," said a neighbor who asked that his name not be used. "I'm as shocked as anyone."

The orange store was a popular hangout among children in the neighborhood, residents said.

"I went there once every week or so," said Anne Gould, 14. "It never seemed weird. We never knew there was anything going on."

Neighbors said they were surprised at the arrests and the fact that drugs could have been sold in the same place where children gathered daily.

A group of Hull teen-agers said yesterday the couple who managed the store seemed nice.

Jill St. Martin said it was not the fact that drugs had surfaced in her neighborhood that surprised her, but that it was heroin allegedly sold at the store.

"Mostly, it's just a lot of pot around here," she said. "I never knew there was heroin and stuff like that."

The Candy House is a landmark and summer attraction for tourists, said Jane Brundige, 40, also of Hull.

Now, because of the charges it will lose some of its appeal, she said.

"It's sad for the people who summer here because that's what they remember, the candy store," Brundige said. "They always ask about the candy store."

While the suspects were not operating a ring they are known to one another and to police, said Police Chief Donald Brooker.

Brooker said he expects more heroin arrests as part of the investigation.

There was no emphasis on police success, no quantification of the couple's black market business, no curt listing of charges. Rather there was an intense effort to situate the crime within reason, to explain the behavior that sat incongruently in the bodies in front of them. The aberration from the typical discursive formation asserts, in its modulation, white people don't sell drugs, it an anomaly like that has to be thoroughly investigated for its cause and effects, what it means for the community. This departure from the essential formula of arrest report is telling, the anonymous and absolute force of legal intervention against the measurable deviance of brown bodies dissolves into a obsession with the unexplainable transgressions of white bodies in the same setting.

VI. Addicts: Piercing Boundaries

While the formulaic structure of arrest reports and their construction of power relations illuminated contingencies on grounds of race and geography, the patterns that colored the coverage of addicts were much less systematic, relying on themes, narrative frames and isolated incidents over a calculated relay of particular pieces of information. This difference allows for a multiplicity of conceptions of the addict that at first seem contradictory. However, as Foucault and his successors are quick to inform, discourses are often the site of contradiction, refutation and debate around the subject in which they operate (Kendall & Wickham, 1998).

The intercourse of these themes in the overall discourse of addiction coverage in the 1990s Boston Globe cast the addict as a transgressor of the social contract, whose initial deviance (heroin use) injects the user into a foray of greater, grimmer deviance. This resembles Huggins' (2006) description of the intravenous drug user and hypodermic needle as hermeneutic symbol for a piercing of social boundaries, standard conventions of conduct, productivity and sobriety. Likewise, the Boston Globe in its formulations of these multiple narrative both implicitly and explicitly prescribes a solution to the transgressions of the addict in the intervention of two institutions: the hospital and ultimately the prison. Collectively, these different discursive formations in the reporting of addicts can be broken down into these categories: symbolic crimes, expositions of corruption, pestilence and death, and redemptions stories.

Symbolic crimes

These articles employ narratives that construct addicts as transgressing social boundaries by honing in on isolated incidents that feature symbolic crimes. Surette (2012) develops symbolic crimes as a process by which an otherwise 'regular' crime (murder, prostitution or robbery), is further typified and its perceived deviance amplified by its contextual details, often involving the perpetrator transgressing against a socially protected class or institution, such as selling drugs to children or vandalizing the side of a church. A preference for reporting these types of crimes is can have twofold effects for the publisher: sensational, transgressive stories turn a profit and likewise instigate moral panics that subsequently galvanize public support for intervention in a way Griffin and Miller (2007) describes as 'crime control theater.' During the

period between 1993-1999, the Boston Globe published a number of reports that fit this category of symbolic crimes, often drawing upon incidents occurring across the northeast to paint a picture of the addict as a morally-bankrupt and transgressive figure. Some examples of this formulation include the following 1994 story:

“A prosecutor said Gary L. Scott has confessed to the murder of Randy Cote, a night motel manager, in Lawrence MA and the fatal stabbing of his stepfather Omer N. LaBelle in Rhode Island to get money to buy heroin.”

The two murders are confessed by the murderer “to get money to buy heroin.” This detail evokes the corruptive influence of the drug, but in addition there is a symbolic element. Cote murdered his step-father, the quasi-parricide illustrates a dearth of moral limits presumably precipitated by heroin use and addiction. The addict, in his quest for the next fix, distances himself from his humanity and his practice of it insofar that he would murder a relative in order to satiate himself.

Such a theme of ‘forgetting to be human’ is reinforced by stories such as this report from 1994 article titled “Man throws body from 4th floor”:

NEW YORK -- A man who said his friend died of a heroin overdose about a week ago tossed the decomposing body out a fourth-floor window of his Bronx apartment yesterday, police said. Henry Washington, 59, was charged with unlawful disposal of a body and creating a public nuisance. Washington told police that his friend, Richard Lee Jones, 42, died while they were using heroin.

The symbolism of the man’s crime, “unlawful disposal of a body and creating a public nuisance” is amplified by the graphic detail the article provides. The image of a decomposing body being thrown out of a window is a violent attack on the sanctity our society places upon our dead, bodies are disposed of with ritualistic reverence in the form of the funeral, or at very least, burial or cremation. The man in question, who defenestrated the rotting corpse of his friend, violated the sanctity of the body by treating it like rubbish in the Bronx circa 1890. The symbolic violence of the act is amplified by its juxtaposition with the use of heroin, the deceased overdosed while the two men were using heroin together. The journalistic choice involved here is important. if the man hadn’t thrown the body of his friend out a window, it is likely the story wouldn’t have been reported. The symbolism of the crime serves as a “potent impetus” for addressing this type of deviance through legal intervention, regardless of its efficiency in ameliorating the problem as

it truly exists (Griffin & Miller, 2007;191). If the man had only been charged with possession, the crime wouldn't have the same transgressive quality that would necessitate the intervention of state institutions.

Heroin and heroin user's association with particularly transgressive crimes is its most catalytic when collocated with perhaps the United States' most symbolically vulnerable and protected class: children (Best, 1990; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1999; Surette, 2012; Zgoba, 2004a). In my earlier discussions of the formulaic reporting of drug busts, I contended there were two contingencies under which the formula violated itself and thus mutated: the involvement of whites in the drug bust and when heroin trafficking involved children. Collocation of heroin and children allowed for an overall increased vitriol in the reports, which applied both to addicts and traffickers.

For example, in the earlier discussed story of a candy store that was discovered to be a heroin front, many residents interviewed in the article voiced more concern that their children often visited the store than the revelation that there was a heroin ring in town. One resident took the news somewhat lightly, joking that "[he] thought this was more of a pot town." Similarly, drug bust articles that emphasized intent to distribute in a school zone reinforce notions of children as a particularly vulnerable and protected class. Likewise, one article from 1998 out of Lowell detailed the outrage of parents after learning their children had unwittingly handled packets of heroin found outside of their school. In another case, a man was caught trying to coerce a teenage girl to peddle heroin in her high school, the article quoting a police chief as stating the man "deserved to fry," despite the United States not executing drug criminals. The chief's casual comment reflects a desire for the most extreme punishment for the crime, the journalist's choice to include the comment entertains it as an appropriate possibility coming from a figure of authority. In one symbolically potent and relatively brief article out of Hartford in 1996 documented the intention of the state to pursue first-degree murder charges against a man who bludgeoned a toddler to death with "a remote control, a belt, and a closed-fist" while he was in a heroin-fatigued rage.

Expositions of Corruption, Pestilence, and Death

Expositions of corruption, pestilence, and death present themselves as an honest exploration in the tragic reality of the addict. These stories construct heroin as unilaterally destructive type of deviance,

implying a necessity of social control in order to remediate, whether it be criminal prohibition, social activism or medical intervention. Likewise, these narratives and their implication maintain supremacist sobriety ideology that necessarily precludes the possibility of a ‘functional addict,’ the heroin user who avoids the criminal behavior, economic turmoil and health problems associated with use.

Corruption stories often involve the juxtaposition of heroin use with other forms of crime that are not symbolic. These often took the form of reports of burglary and petty theft associated with the unsustainable cost of an addict’s habit. One case from 1993 documented the story of a Lynn man who had burglarized over 50 homes in order to fund a habit. For instance, the 1993 article “In Somerville, Police capture man sought in numerous burglaries” reads:

LYNN -- A former Marblehead man who in the last week allegedly burglarized or tried to burglarize more than 50 homes in communities north and south of Boston was arrested in Somerville yesterday morning by police who knew his \$100-a-day heroin habit would bring him back to his usual haunts.

These stories suggest a universal criminality of addicts, who, because of their addiction and the cost of heroin, engage in criminal deviance that is not simply embedded in drug use; we seldom hear stories of people burglarizing or prostituting themselves to pay for marijuana. The deontological violation of laws opens the addict up to deontological punishments, such as prison sentences. As with the construction of dealers, the police are represented as successfully addressing these crimes. However, unlike the drug dealers, addicts involved in these stories are humanized, the sordid circumstances of their addiction explaining their criminal deviance.

Pestilence stories pivot on the association of intravenous drug use and blood-transmitted disease such as HIV/AIDS and hepatitis. One report documented comments by one Massachusetts congressman who criticized federal spending on treating AIDS in Africa, when at home, less is spent to “send welfare checks to heroin-addicts” suffering from the same disease. Likewise, another article documented the struggle to set up a legally stable needle exchange program in the greater Boston area. The activist in charge of this campaign pointed to the toll HIV/AIDS had taken on heroin users due to the inaccessibility of clean needles and the common place practice of needle sharing. These articles in particular exemplify the contention in the discourse surrounding the plight of heroin-users with HIV/AIDS. The arguments around

the disease and heroin in Boston during the 1990s match Lensing's (2002) argument that heroin addicts with HIV/AIDS functions as a 'pariah among pariahs,' a deviant subgroup whose deontological responsibility excuses the deviance of others who are not responsible, e.g. unlike others, like homosexuals and receivers of bad blood transfusions, who contracted the disease by no fault of their own, intravenous drug users at responsible form their contraction of HIV/AIDS, and are thus underserving of federal and medical aid and de-stigmatization.

Death stories can be boiled down into a single word, overdose, and are constructed as the final stage in an addicts' ruinous path. These stories manifest in wildly different ways, as obituaries, news briefs, general reports, opinion pieces, and political news. In any of their different forms they emphasize a 'struggle with addiction' and its culmination in an overdose. Journalist's draw on interviews with friends and family, which is typically not included in any other heroin coverage precisely because of the instrumental value pathos rich symbolism: sudden death and a grieving family. The opposition of bio-political regimes of power to death (Foucault, 1978) result in efforts to prevent overdose deaths at all costs, including imprisonment of addicts, while also using stories of overdose deaths as a symbolic deterrent to heroin-use. As such, overdose deaths that paint a particularly poignant and pathetic picture of heroin use, addiction and death prove especially instrumental towards this goal, such as the following story from 1996:

“PLYMOUTH -- Police yesterday were investigating whether drugs were involved in the death of a mother of four who was left unconscious in front of the North Plymouth fire station. Firefighters found Susan Melvin, 27, of Duxbury in cardiac arrest on the curb in front of the fire house at 7:02 p.m. Wednesday. Two men yelled to firefighters that Melvin had been using heroin and crack cocaine before the two fled by car, said Fire Capt. John Furtado. Firefighters immediately began cardiopulmonary resuscitation on Melvin. She was later pronounced dead at Jordan Hospital. Melvin had a fresh needle mark in her arm, Plymouth County District Attorney Michael Sullivan told The Enterprise of Brockton. An autopsy was scheduled. Capt. William O'Meara of the Plymouth police said investigators are trying to determine whether drugs were involved. Melvin's father, Jerome Melvin of Duxbury, said his daughter had recurring drug problems. and had recently been in a methadone program. "She was trying to clean herself up," he said. A law enforcement source said Melvin was released Wednesday from the Highpoint Alcohol and Drug Treatment Center in Manomet. O'Meara said Melvin collapsed at a house on Castle Street in North Plymouth. Melvin's four children, ages 4 to 10, live with their father, said Jerome Melvin.”

The story employs a number of details that manicure an image of addiction as a long term struggle that inevitably ends in a tragic death, as well as reinforcing the amorality of addicts. This is perhaps epitomized by the mother's abandoned body, the "fresh needle mark in her arm" and friends' and family's instance that "she was trying to clean herself up." Stories such as these, with varying levels of symbolism, construct addiction as an insurmountable tide that society must combat by any means necessary in order to prevent any more deaths.

Redemption Stories

If stories of corruption, pestilence and death seeks to elucidate the deviance of heroin use and justify strategies of social control as a means of amelioration, then redemption stories serve as evidence of the success of these very same strategies. As such, these stories are finely constructed to emphasize the success of institutional intervention in curbing the social ill of heroin use. They can take form of articles detailing a recovering addicts' struggles and triumph the success of 12-step programs like Narcotics Anonymous, and the instrumental role institutions such as rehabilitation hospitals, methadone clinics and prisons place in weaning an addict off of their dependency. The effectiveness of state institutions in helping to 'correct' or 'cure' the addict is a recurrent theme in redemption stories. A 1997 article titled "SIDEBAR Heroin Addict Finds Haven Behind Bars" documents the story of an addict named David and the success prison plays in preventing him from giving into the temptation of "getting high, getting sick, stealing, and getting high again." David asserts that the only way an addict could get clean is through "detox" or more promisingly "prison." As David indicated, his 1-year prison sentence doesn't give him any opportunity to relapse unlike his three weeks stay in a detox program. David asserts prison "is the best recovery program [he's] had." David indicated he feared going back to the projects after his release, because "[He has] never worked a day in [his] life, but [he does] know how to get high thought." Stories such as these construct prisons as a permanent solution to the plight of the addict: while detox programs can temporarily stave off and sporadically curb an addicts' temptations, a prison will prevent the desires of a corrupted body from being fulfilled indefinitely, while avoiding all collateral societal damage from their desires in the process.

VII. Conclusion

Environmental fears propagated in the media allowed for a very specific construction of traffickers and addicts that often emphasized the role of institutional intervention in remediated the social ill these groups posed. Fears about stronger, cheaper and potentially more deadly heroin sustained fears about the risk heroin posed to the community in the wake of high profile celebrity overdoses and cultural modes that glamorized images of addiction. These fears were then contextualized by reports that heroin had begun to spread its appeal to audiences typically insulated from a drug that is associated with the poor and persons of color: youth, the middle class and the suburbs. In order to justify action to ameliorate a set of ambient fears, the media contextualized the image of the addict, using symbolic crimes to demonstrate the amorality of the addict, while using stories of corruption, pestilence and death to reinforce the hopeless trajectory of addiction. Redemption stories were used to demonstrate the salvation of the addict from his plight after institutional intervention, thus suggesting that hospitals and prisons were an effective way to address the social and biological harm the addicts' causes. These account of the effectiveness of institutional intervention were further reinforced in the construction of dealers. Dealers were constructed as helpless against the anonymous and immeasurable force of the police. Unlike the police, knowledge about the bodies and assets of dealers were readily quantifiable, presented as a measure of danger removed from the streets. Unsurprisingly, the formulaic construction of dealers only worked when those arrested in drug busts were Hispanic and was greatly upset by the introduction of white bodies in the bust, reinforcing the sentiment of scholars that the War on Drugs was effectively a racist pogrom (Clear and Frost, 2015).

While there are racist underpinnings in the construction of dealers, what is more of interest to this study is the emphasis on institutional intervention as an efficient means of combating the deviance of narcotics use and distribution. In the data, the idea of amnesty for the addict is never entirely considered: rehabilitation hospitals are considered an optional intervention, while prison is the ultimate solution to their behavior. Likewise, the police and legal institutions are constructed as effectively removing danger from society in their interventions into the behavior of both addicts and dealers. This course of action, for a long time until recently, seemed to quell public fears about drugs. This reflects Foucault's fears that an

unintended consequence of the Enlightenment is an over-reliance on interment for the creation of docile bodies. In order to legitimize institutions of power and to correct deviance, a body must either be disciplined or removed from society, and likewise these strategies are presented as humane and satisfactory to the public. In this case, the media legitimates institutional forces by constructing them as successful. The legitimacy of institutions means that they are relied on, consented to remove addicts and dealers as they appear, filling up prisons and clinics, one body after another, until there is no one left to become addicted or arrested. I would like to emphasize that I am not saying that addicts should not be treated in hospitals, however, the ubiquity of institutional intervention into the lives of drug offenders and its legitimacy underwritten by the media to the public can be described as conspicuous at best. Is interment the most effective means of addressing the cause and effects of drug addiction, or a drug economy? Why are institutional powers so central in our approaches of addressing social problems? Are hospitals really all that better than prisons? I do not think these are my questions to answer at this time, however, as those bereaved parents at campaign rallies expressed, approaches that afford life are infinitely preferable to those that afford death.

Works Cited

- Agar, Michael H., & Reisinger, Heater S. 2000. "Read all about it: Media construction of a heroin epidemic." *Substance use & misuse*, 35(11), 1551-1571.
- Ayres, Tammy C., and Yvonne Jewkes. 2012: "The haunting spectacle of crystal meth: A media-created mythology?." *Crime, Media, and Culture* 8.3 315-332.
- Arnold, Rebecca. 1999. "Heroin chic." *Fashion Theory*, 3(3), 279-295.
- Becker, Howard S. 1995 "Moral entrepreneurs: The creation and enforcement of deviant categories." *Deviance: A symbolic interactionist approach*: 169-178.
- Brownstein, Henry H. 1991 "The media and the construction of random drug violence." *Social Justice* 18.4 (46): 85-103.
- Burroughs, William. 2012) *Junky: The Definitive Text of "Junk"*. Grove/Atlantic, Inc..
- Clear, Todd R., and Natasha A. Frost. 2015 *The punishment imperative: The rise and failure of mass incarceration in America*. NYU Press.
- Cohen, Stanley. 1972. Moral panics and folk devils. *London: MacGibbon & Kee*,9.
- Conrad, Peter, and Joseph W. Schneider. *Deviance and medicalization: From badness to sickness*. Temple University Press, 2010.
- Denham, Bryan. E. 2008. "Folk devils, news icons and the construction of moral panics: heroin chic and the amplification of drug threats in contemporary society." *Journalism Studies*, 9(6), 945-961.
- Durkheim, Emile., & Anthony Giddens. 1972. *Emile Durkheim: selected writings*. Cambridge University Press.
- Duterte, Micheline, Kristin Hemphill, Terrence Murphy, and Sheigla Murphy. 2003. "Tragic beauties: heroin images and heroin users." *Contemporary Drug Problems* 30: 3: 595-617.
- Elliott, Amanda. J., and Simon Chapman. 2000. "Heroin hell their own making ': construction of heroin users in the Australian press 1992-97." *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 19(2), 191-201.
- Erikson, Kai. (1966). *Wayward puritans: A study in the sociology of deviance* (p. 61122). New York: Wiley.
- Foucault, Michel. 1977 *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. Vintage.
- Foucault, Michel. 1982 "The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction, trans. Robert Hurley." *New York: Pantheon*
- Foucault, Michel. 1988 *Madness and civilization: A history of insanity in the age of reason*. Vintage,
- Foucault, Michel. 2012 *The archaeology of knowledge*. Vintage.
- Goode, Erich, and Nachman Ben-Yehuda. 2010 *Moral panics: The social construction of deviance*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Gregoriou, Christiana. 2012. *Constructing Crime: Discourse and Cultural Representations of Crime and' deviance'*. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Griffin, Timothy, and Monica K. Miller. 2008. "Child abduction, AMBER alert, and crime control theater." *Criminal Justice Review* 33.2:159-176.
- Gusfield, Joseph. 1963 "Symbolic crusade." *Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press*
- Hallin, Daniel. C. (1989). *The uncensored war: The media and Vietnam*. Univ of California Press.
- Hartman, Donna M., and Andrew Golub. 1999 "The social construction of the crack epidemic in the print media." *Journal of Psychoactive drugs* 31.4: 423-433.
- Hickman, Taylor. A. 2002. "Heroin chic: The visual culture of narcotic addiction." *Third Text*, 16(2), 119-136.
- Huggins, Richard. 2006. "The addict's body: Embodiment, drug use, and representation." *Body/embodiment: Symbolic interaction and the sociology of the body*, 165-180. .
- Hughes, Caitlin. E., Kari Lancaster, & Bridget Spicer. 2011. "How do Australian news media depict illicit drug issues? An analysis of print media reporting across and between illicit drugs, 2003–2008." *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 22(4), 285-291.
- Jenkins, Philip. 1994 "'The ice age' the social construction of a drug panic." *Justice Quarterly* 11.1: 7-31.
- Jenkins, Philip. 1994 *Using murder: The social construction of serial homicide*. Transaction Publishers,
- Jewkes, Yvonne. 2009 *Media and crime*. Sage.
- Katovich, Michael A. 1998 "Media technologies, images of drugs, and an evocative telepresence." *Qualitative sociology* 21.3: 277-297.
- Kendall, Gavin, and Gary Wickham. 1998 *Using Foucault's methods*. Sage.
- Hughes, Caitlin Elizabeth, Kari Lancaster, and Bridget Spicer. 2011 "How do Australian news media depict illicit drug issues? An analysis of print media reporting across and between illicit drugs, 2003–2008." *International Journal of Drug Policy* 22.4: 285-291.
- Lensing, Dennis. 2002. "Pariah among Pariahs: Images of the IV Drug User in the Context of AIDS." *Americana: The Journal of American Popular Culture, 1900 to Present*, 1(2).
- McCombs, Maxwell. E., & Donald L. Shaw (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public opinion quarterly*, 36(2), 176-187.
- McCoy, Kate, Judy McGuire, Ric Curtis, and Barry Spunt. 2005. "White chicks on dope: Heroin and identity dynamics in New York in the 1990s." *Journal of Drug Issues*, 35(4), 817-841.
- Dean, Mitchell. 2002 *Critical and effective histories: Foucault's methods and historical sociology*. Routledge,
- Rabinow, Paul. 2009. *Marking time: On the anthropology of the contemporary*. Princeton University Press,
- Roach, T. 2012. "The Social Construction of Methamphetamine in the Print Media." *The Harms of Crime Media: Essays on the Perpetuation of Racism, Sexism and Class Stereotypes*, 64.
- Reinarman, Craig. 2005. "Addiction as accomplishment: The discursive construction of disease." *Addiction Research & Theory*, 13(4), 307-320.

- Rowe, James. 2002 "Heroin epidemic!: drugs and moral panic in the western suburbs of Melbourne 1995-6." *Just Policy: A Journal of Australian Social Policy*: 38.
- Surette, Ray. 2009 "The entertainment media and the social construction of crime and justice." *Crime and media* 2 239-268.
- Surette, Ray. 2014 *Media, crime, and criminal justice*. Nelson Education,
- Tabbert, Ulrike. 2012 "Crime through a corpus: The linguistic construction of offenders in the British press." *Constructing Crime*. Palgrave Macmillan UK,. 130-144.
- Taylor, Stuart. 2008. "Outside the outsiders: Media representations of drug use." *Probation Journal*, 55(4), 369-387.
- Teece, Michael. & Toni Makkai, 2000. *Print media reporting on drugs and crime, 1995-1998*. Woden: Australian Institute of Criminology.
- Tuchman, Gaye. (1972). Objectivity as strategic ritual: An examination of newsmen's notions of objectivity. *American Journal of sociology*, 660-679.
- Tunnell, Kenneth D. 2004. "Cultural constructions of the hillbilly heroin and crime problem." *Cultural criminology unleashed*, 133-142.
- Visker, Rudi. 2008 "Michel Foucault, philosopher? A note on genealogy and archaeology." *Parrhesia* 5: 9-18.
- Watts, Rob. 2003. "'Headlining heroin': policy change and reporting the heroin problem." *Media International Australia incorporating Culture and Policy*, 108(1), 67-81.
- Yang, Jie. 2007 "Zuiqian'deficient mouth': Discourse, gender and domestic violence in urban China." *Gender & Language* 1.1
- Zgoba, Kristen. 2004 "The Amber Alert: the appropriate solution to preventing child abduction?." *The Journal of Psychiatry & Law* 32.1: 71-88.