



**POLICING
METHAMPHETAMINE**



Narcopolitics in Rural America

WILLIAM GARRIOTT

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Policing Methamphetamine

Narcopolitics in Rhode Island

William Garriott



NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
New York and London

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For Sarah

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Contents

Acknowledgments

Introduction

1 “The Most Dangerous Drug in A

2 “It Could Be Here . . . It Could B

3 “You Can Always Tell Who’s Usin

4 “The People You’d Never Suspect

5 “Against the Peace and Dignity o

6 “What Do You Do with Them?”

Epilogue: “A Lot Happens in a Li

Notes

Bibliography

Index

About the Author

	ix
	1
“America”	19
“Be My Neighbor”	37
“Bong Meth”	59
“t”	83
“of the State”	103
	129
“Little Town”	163
	167
	173
	181
	191

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Introduction

On March 9, 2006, George W. Bush signed the Homeland Security Improvement and Reauthorization Act of 2006. The PATRIOT Act was largely a reauthorization of the same general emphasis on combat terrorism and national security. There was, however, one major legislative addition focused on *methamphetamine*, recently dubbed “America’s most dangerous drug.”

In his comments during the signing ceremony, President Bush called it the “growing threat” of methamphetamine and urged the legislation to address it. “Meth is easy to produce and is ruining too many lives across our country,” he said. “The bill introduces commonsense safeguards to prevent the chemicals used in manufacturing meth from being sold without enforcement to track. . . . The bill also prohibits the buying and selling of meth. Our nation is committed to protecting our young people from the scourge of methamphetamine.”

Methamphetamine is the first drug epidemic to spread across the United States in the twenty-first century. It originated in the Southwest, moved to the Midwest and now into the South. In the West, the problem of the meth problem as an epidemic. In the Midwest, the problem is a law enforcement issue. The legislation, for example, authorized *double* the amount of federal funding for initiatives in “meth hot spots” as what it authorized for the fight against meth from Mexico, improving the assistance to incarcerated female meth offenders, and supporting meth lab cleanup initiatives—components that have become part of the methamphetamine problem. Methamphetamine has involved repetition of the same strategies that have come to characterize efforts to address the problem (see, for example, tram et al. 1996).

Bush signed into law the USA PATRIOT Act. True to its name, the 2006 version of the act was a reauthorization of the initial legislation, with the addition of "terror" in the name of homeland security. The new act included legislation that made it easier to obtain the synthetic substance *Newsweek* had called "the most dangerous drug" (Jefferson 2005).

When President Bush spoke directly about methamphetamine and the measures taken by the administration to make it harder to obtain, he said, "It is highly addictive. It is a major problem in our country," President Bush stated. "The bill that would make many of the ingredients easier to obtain in bulk, and easier for law enforcement to track, increases penalties for smuggling and trafficking, and is critical to protecting our citizens and our country from methamphetamine."¹

The act was intended to generate national concern in the wake of the 9/11 attacks. Its spread from the West Coast to the Southeast has prompted many to speak of a "second wave." And as with previous drug epidemics, the current one has been framed overwhelmingly as a national security issue. The PATRIOT Act, for example, provides for an increase in the amount of funding for law enforcement initiatives that were previously allocated for stopping the importation of drugs. The health of children affected by methamphetamine, and the impact on parents and caregivers, is often overlooked. The PATRIOT Act is funded in part by the same punitive paradigm that has been used to combat other illicit drugs in the United States (Ber-

This book examines contemporary order to understand the abiding role of politics in political life. Specifically, it examines how one rural American community has transformed the workings of law, the practice of politics in the contemporary United States. Concern with narcotics has left its imprint on politics. Narcotics, a vernacular term that has been and continues to be of significance in the administration of justice, the practice of law, legal consciousness, the process of lawmaking, policy (both foreign and domestic), the use of military force, the interpretation of the Constitution, to name but a few relevant areas of concern. Race, class, gender, immigration, crime, and others, have all been refracted through the lens of narcotics.

Nowhere, however, have the effects of narcotics been so acutely felt than in the legal system. The changes brought about through the law have brought about fundamental changes in the United States itself. The criminal justice system is the front of these changes. Whether one looks at the criminalization of narcotics over the past century or the system untouched. Police forces have expanded around drug enforcement; courts have increased resources adjudicating drug offenders; the legal system has gone through an exponential period of growth. The range of bureaucratic, programmatic, and institutional changes in society has expanded and changed (Wallerstein 1986).

These changes in the criminal justice system represent a fundamental shift that has taken place with respect to the control, monitor, and shape the actions of individuals with respect to narcotics. That is, the focus on narcotics has shifted what is known in legal terms as “the public good” in the United States. When one hears the word “police,” one thinks of the uniformed police force. But the changes in the broader enterprise. Generally speaking, the focus has shifted to that modality of governance concerned with the “well-regulated society” (Novak 1992) and the broad objectives of maintaining order and stability.

concerns over methamphetamine in
played by illicit narcotics in American
the response to methamphetamine in
how the focus on narcotics has
exercise of police power, and the prac-
United States. Over the past century, the
print on practically every corner of U.S.
used to refer generally to illicit drugs,
significance to the election of officials, the
of law enforcement, the shaping of
lawmaking and the formation of public
the allocation of social services, the use
law, and the behavior of the judiciary,
concern. Perennial political conflicts over
inal justice, and social welfare, among
the lens of narcotics.

s of the focus on narcotics been more
a. Efforts taken to address narcotics
fundamental shifts in the legal culture
al justice system has been at the fore-
looks at police, courts, or corrections,
the past century has left no component
ces have been reorganized and reori-
urts spend vast amounts of time and
and the corrections system, which has
f growth in the last decades, now faces
c, and ethical challenges as its role in
acquaint 2009a, 2009b).

e system are only a part of a more fun-
ith regard to the state's efforts to con-
f its citizens by means of the concern
narcotics has transformed the exercise of
"police power" of the state in the United
"police," the image that comes to mind is
exercise of the police power is a much
g, the police power of the state refers
erned with achieving and sustaining
996). To this end it is concerned with
order and avoiding future ills (Pasquino

1991, 109). As Markus Dubber writes, power to order its constituents so as to “ing to rules of expediency” (Dubber 2005, 3). William Blackstone’s definition of police power in *the Laws of England* as “the due regulation and discipline of the household, the family, the neighbourhood, and good manners, whereby the individuals of the society are bound to conform their general behaviour to the good neighbourhood, and good manners, and to be inoffensive in their respective situations” (Blackstone 1765, 413).

This definition highlights the fact that the police power is exercised in the exercise of police power. The police power is exercised in the kingdom and the “well-governed family, the well-regulated neighbourhood,” “good manners,” and “good institutions such as the family, the church, the school, and the like” (Blackstone 1765, 413). Likewise sites of police and sources of police power. Thus, just as the uniformed police force is the police power of the state, so, too, is the police power of the state the police power itself.

Similarly, while the police power is exercised in the exercise of the term “law enforcement” in the United States, the police force is perhaps the most overt and visible institution. The relationship is an ambiguous one. The two are intertwined in the exercise of governance (Dubber 2005, 3). And the police power is in many ways the police power in any straightforward way. The police power function as a tool of police power, rather than as a defining feature of the police power. The police power has a tendency to defy definition or limitation.

Calibrating the relationship between the police power and these function in the service of governance is a complex task in this context. Governance is here “unique and procedures for directing the police power.” The introduction of illicit narcotics into the United States is a particular mode of political practice that has led to the rationalization of the practices of governance with narcotics.³

From this perspective, the various policies and practices of the United States to address narcotics, including enforcement and regulation, are not competing alternatives (as the

“The police power of the state is the
to maximize the ‘public welfare’ accord-
001, 833n.7). He goes on to quote Wil-
from the influential *Commentaries on*
ation and domestic order of the king-
state, like members of a well-governed
eral behavior to the rules of propriety,
ers: and to be decent, industrious, and
as” (ibid.).

that, in practice, the state is not alone
analogy Blackwell draws between the
ly,” as well as his reference to the “good
d “rules of propriety,” illustrates that
community, even “society” itself are all
police power—even if only in potential.
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power of the state but one modality of

typically associated with law—the use
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often function as separate modalities
l while the legitimation, exercise, and
s rooted in law, law is not the source of
ay. Indeed, in some instances, law may
her than the reverse. This reflects one
power in Western political history: its
on.

en law and police, at least insofar as
nance, becomes the task of politics in
nderstood in the broad sense of tech-
human behavior” (Foucault 1997, 82).
to this equation has resulted in a par-
I term *narcopolitics*, which works to
e in terms of the problems associated

approaches taken within the United
nforcement, treatment, and education,
ey are often treated in policy debates)

but components of a broad “illicit drug” (3). An apparatus, according to Michel institutions, architectural arrangements, preventive measures, scientific statements, propositions” (quoted in Stalcup 2000 book, the illicit drug regulatory apparatus of American political life.

Treating the various approaches to of the same apparatus should not be functions equally. On the contrary, the United States has long been organized this emphasis is that other components and education, are often incorporated. A similar approach to narcotics should not be however, will not be on evaluating the situating its effects on the workings of within the context of political life in the

Methamphetamine is the most recent framed as a national threat and treated array of interventions may be staged. This amphetamine is not to suggest that the contrary, journalists and scholars have has caused significant harm to families rural areas (Weisheit and White 2009; This work lends support to the findings which noted methamphetamine’s potential medical and social complications (Lind the idea that methamphetamine use not without evidence. According to the (DEA), meth lab seizures in middle America 1999 and 2003. Meth-related treatment the same period. And by 2004, the National was reporting that approximately 11.7 million older had tried methamphetamine at least

At the same time, there is evidence amphetamine is neither as new nor as extensive. *Newsweek* dubbed methamphetamine 2005, this was not the first major article subject. In 1989 *Newsweek* published

g regulatory apparatus” (Stalcup 2006, Foucault, is composed of “discourses, ts, policy decisions, laws, administra- philosophic, moral, and philanthropic 6, 3). As will be seen throughout this atus has been woven into the very fab-

o narcotics regulation as components taken as a sign that each component ne illicit drug regulatory apparatus in zed around enforcement. The effect of ts of the apparatus, such as treatment into enforcement efforts. This particu- e accepted uncritically. The focus here, e effectiveness of this approach, but on f law and the exercise of police power e United States.

ent in a long line of substances to be l as the horizon against which a broad To highlight this political role of meth- here is no reason for concern. On the documented how methamphetamine ies and communities, particularly in Reding 2009; Owen 2007; Pine 2007). s of a report issued by the Mayo Clinic, ential to unleash a “perfect storm” of eberry and Bostwick 2006). Moreover, has reached epidemic proportions is ne Drug Enforcement Administration merica increased 126 percent between t admissions increased 87 percent over tional Survey on Drug Use and Health y million Americans aged twelve and east once during their lifetimes.⁴

that the proliferation of methamphet- sive as has been suggested. Although e “America’s most dangerous drug” in le the magazine had published on the an article titled, “The Newest Drug

War,” in which it similarly stated that cocaine was a growing problem in rural America (Gardner and Fuller 2004, 52). There has also been a return to the initial coverage of methamphetamine in the representation of the methamphetamine problem (Gardner 2005, 2006; Valdez 2006; Egan 2009).

These debates resemble those that have emerged in stances positioned as the “most dangerous” in the regard, there is something familiar in the discourse of methamphetamine and the backlash. What is striking about these themselves but the wider political project of the one small dynamic in the ongoing use of methamphetamine; they are part and parcel of narcopolitics.

Narcopolitics

Narcopolitics refers to any practice that emerges in the concern with narcotics. My argument is that the largest consumer of illicit drugs (a.k.a. the United States) find variations of the same phenomenon in other parts of the world (Penglase 2009; Moore 2007; Arias 2007). Because of the inherently global nature of the problem, political practices are inevitably interconnected. Contained in the discrete frame of the local, however, the specificity of anti-narcotics practices take in a particular form, resulting in important differences, which must be careful to articulate.

Contemporary narcopolitics began to emerge with the rise of the global trade in pharmaceuticals (Gardner 2001). The transformation of products into global commodities redefined the relations between them, creating new forms of sociality, labor, and trade (Gardner 1986; Ortiz 1995). Indeed, the commodification of contemporary narcotics, creating a new form of technology and personal enjoyment-reproduction (Derrida 2003).⁵ These global practices have paved the way for new generations of psychoactive substances: cocaine, marijuana, and methamphetamine.

crank—a type of methamphetamine—
ica (Baker et al. 1989; see also Weisheit
en something of a journalistic backlash
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ne problem in earlier accounts (Shafer

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of governance whose rationalization
focus is the United States, the world’s
. “narcotics”), but one could certainly
enon elsewhere (e.g., Campbell 2009;
06; Taussig 2004; Zhou 1999). Indeed,
e of the illicit trade in narcotics, narco-
connected and can only ever be loosely
ne nation-state. Despite this inherent
cific form that the narcotics trade and
rticular place can vary considerably,
hich an anthropology of narcopolitics
te.

taking shape in the sixteenth century
psychoactive substances (Courtwright
ts such as sugar, opium, and tobacco
e geopolitical map of the age and cre-
le, governance, and experience (Mintz
lity form is one of the defining features
particularly modern anxieties about
—pleasure in the age of mechanical
lobal commodities, in turn, paved the
tive substances, including the heroin,
mine of today.

The practice of narcopolitics was a constant in the twentieth century (Musto 1999; Musto et al. 1996; Tracy and Acker 2004; Casper 1997; Agar and Reisinger 2002a, 2002b). The formal declaration of the War on Drugs in 1986 is an avenue through which the U.S. government has pursued projects—everything from the regulation of drug markets to the reshaping of military intervention in Latin America to the reinterpretation of the constitution and other legal matters. Citizens, too, participated in this project, often making demands related to education, public safety, and public space. Today, narcotics continue to produce and reflect broader anxieties over immigration, public safety, and social control, to name just a few, are articulated and managed in a variety of ways (Wacquant 2009a, 2009b; Andreas 2000; Acker 2004; Moore and Haggerty 2001).

If the topic of narcotics does not hold a prominent place in American political discourse, such as during the escalation of the War on Drugs in the 1980s, it is no longer viable. On the contrary, the concept of narcopolitics is a for-granted component of American political discourse and comment. Thus students in public schools are taught to receive through the DARE (Drug Abuse Resistance Education) program, as well as the regular drug searches performed in schools, as part of their educational experience. Similar to the way that coaches manage groups as diverse as athletes, in the context of drug strikes no one as odd or unreasonable as a drug strike is a strategy for a society that appears to be in a state of crisis.

This book counteracts the “hidden” nature of narcopolitics by providing an ethnographic analysis of contemporary American narcopolitics. The book underscores both the forms these practices take and how they are lived. The focus is on methamphetamine, as America’s most dangerous drug. Like heroin, methamphetamine’s addictiveness, availability, and capacity to cause harm to users and communities is a standing, that has been emphasized (Jensen 2005).

Despite these similarities, however, methamphetamine is not like other drugs, such as heroin or amphetamine. Unlike comparable drugs, methamphetamine is

defining feature of American statecraft (Musto and Korsmeyer 2002; Bertram and Campbell 2000; Reinerman and Levine 2002b; Schneider 2008). Even before the 1980s, the concern with narcotics provided the government with a vast array of tools for the regulation of schools and neighborhoods, the extension of national and foreign policy to the reinterior, and the re-fundamental sources of legal rights. In this process, using the issue of narcotics to address concerns of public safety, and the shaping of civic identity, provide a robust medium through which to address poverty, and intergenerational conflicts, and social issues managed by both citizens and the state (Musto 2009; Bourgois and Schonberg 2009; Musto 1999).

It would be hard to hold the prominent place it once did in American political life during the Reagan administration's 1980s, this is not because the issue is no longer a concern with narcotics is now such a taken-for-granted part of political life that it provokes little debate. Schools accept the drug education they receive (Drug Resistance Education) program, as administered by police, as routine components of their curriculum. Similarly, the rampant use of drug testing to monitor inmate populations, and factory workers is common. Rather, it seems like a commonsense concern for a society perennially plagued by drugs.

The "in-plain-sight" quality of narcopolitics is a result of the analysis of the practices at the heart of the American state. This ethnographic approach examines the practices take and the ways in which they have changed over time because of its current position. Unlike previous drug threats, it is methamphetamine, its association with crime and violence, and its impact on communities, regardless of social class (Jefferson 2005).

There is much that distinguishes methamphetamine from drugs such as cocaine and heroin, meth

does not need to be imported. It can be made from household items such as cold tablets, then “cooked” using “recipes” readily available. The name given to places where methamphetamine has been found everywhere: in hotel rooms, in ordinary homes located inconspicuously in a common location. Furthermore, methamphetamine has had a disproportionate effect on rural areas, in precisely the places most susceptible to such social problems as economic decline. Concern over methamphetamine has elicited a response that is acutely ambivalent about the War on Drugs. Many Americans feel that fighting the drug war is a losing battle that can't be won (Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, 2001). Even so, though methamphetamine has elicited a strong response has emphasized the same strategies used in previous drug threats.

The location of the study is Baker County, West Virginia.⁶ Between 2006 and 2008, I was looking at the methamphetamine problem in Baker County. I combed through archives, spoke with law enforcement, and impacted meth was having on the local community. I was particularly attuned to the way communities were responding to methamphetamine. I watched as prosecuting attorneys increased meth offenders, increasing workloads on the criminal justice system; as community health workers tested in schools, causing tension between parents and children; as rumors circulated over the availability of treatment for addiction at the local mental health center; as people driven into a life of crime by their use of methamphetamine; as overcrowded regional jails and state prisons became a local treatment. Upon their release they returned to the community where they lived, with their criminal record and their addiction. I documented how narcopolitical practices were being implemented in the wake of methamphetamine.

The prevailing response to methamphetamine in Baker County illustrates how the practices and logics of the War on Drugs are embedded in everyday expressions of politics. In those places, like Baker County, assumptions about the

is manufactured locally using everyday household items like iodine, and drain cleaner, which are readily available on the Internet. “Meth labs”—where methamphetamine is manufactured—have proliferated in homes, cars, and even suitcases, though traditionally in rural areas remain the most common sites of methamphetamine production. The rise of methamphetamine is having a disproportionate impact on those places assumed to be least likely to be affected by drugs, addiction, and crime. Finally, the war on drugs emerged at a time when the public feels that the war on drugs is over. Drugs. While the majority of Americans still believe that it is necessary, they no longer feel it can be won. The Pew Research Center [hereafter PEW] found that methamphetamine has a unique profile, the prevalence of which has led to the narco-political strategies used against

in Baker County, a small, rural community in Oregon. In 2007 I conducted ethnographic research on the problem there. For more than a year I lived in Baker County with local residents, and observed the impact of the drug on the community. During this time I was struck by how community members responded to methamphetamine. The priorities of the courts shifted toward prosecuting drug traffickers, and bringing new people into the community. Advocacy groups advocated for expanded drug courts. The relationship between teachers and students, parents and children, and those who had been seen going to receive treatment at a mental health facility; and as addicts, those who used methamphetamine, were sent to prisons where they received little medication. Many struggled to find a place for themselves in the community. They lived with the double stigma of both drug use and incarceration. Attending to these developments, I observed how various policies were deployed in Baker County in

response to methamphetamine in Baker County demonstrate how the politics of narcopolitics have become embedded in the everyday life in the United States—even in places that seemed to stand at some remove from the

problem of illicit narcotics. This includes life as the legitimation of state authority, upholding of rights, and the provision of justice. This illustrates a different instance in which the law operates in place vis-à-vis the concern with methamphetamine.

This analysis reveals three key features:

1. THE TARGETING OF SUBSTANCES RATHER THAN PEOPLE AND THE FIELD OF INTERVENTION. The problem has been based on the assumption that the primary impact of narcotics is to limit—and undermine—the quality of life. As a result, the various elements of the law have been directed to police practices to judicial decisions on the substance and its effects as the primary focus of intervention. This concern is ancillary to the focus on people and their actions, such as distributors, traffickers, and users of the substance. The expansion of the U.S. prison population during the War on Drugs in the 1980s involved the targeting of the drug trade, which has only been possible through the targeting of the drug trade.

Take, for example, the spike in the number of drug possession—to prosecute criminal offenses in the latter half of the twentieth century. According to the Department of Justice, the increase in drug possession offenses marks “the end of the era of the ‘possession’ offense because the policing of possession is understood as the ‘serious violation of another person’s property’ as a ‘state run system of interpersonal relations.’” The offense is understood here as the potential harm to the community, the extension, the possessor of that object, and the potential for harm. The objective of the criminal justice system is not to punish but to neutralize a potential threat to the community and use of an illicit object.

This approach toward the policing of drugs is distinct from the retributive concerns of traditional criminal justice on prevention and incapacitation. This approach focuses on possession. Furthermore, it has been a system of “penal police” concerned less

des such basic components of political
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res of contemporary narcopolitics:

TANCES AND THEIR EFFECTS,
R ACTIONS, TO STRUCTURE THE
evailing U.S. drug control strategy has
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ns, are united by the common focus
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y to the narcopolitical practices that
a as the arrest of specific buyers, sellers,
f the drug. To be sure, the dramatic
ion that occurred with the escalation
olved the prosecution of people. Yet it
rugs themselves that these arrests have

e use of possession offenses—such as
al offenders that occurred over the lat-
ording to Markus Dubber, this use of
f criminal law as we know it.” This is
concerned neither with crime, under-
her’s rights,” nor with law, understood
l conflict resolution,” but with *threats*,
m posed by an illicit object—and by
t—such as a drug (Dubber 2001, 834).
system here is not to remedy a harm
at, in this case, by disrupting the circu-

f possession offenses marks a shift away
ional criminal law and toward a focus
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threats. “Persons matter neither as the
Dubber states. “Penal police is a matter

Similarly, several landmark Supreme
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2. THE SIMULTANEOUS USE
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tip of the iceberg when it comes to th
control the flow of drugs. For example
narcotics legislation is the Harrison A
system of drug regulation that quickly
The Harrison Act was not criminal law
passage fundamentally altered the lan
policed, and traded, setting the stage fo
has characterized the U.S. approach ev

More recent antinarcotics legislatio
governmental capacities of the state on
during the Reagan administration, fo
almost \$2 billion to address illicit na
drug-testing program for federal emplo
offenders, including the death penalty
ued sponsorship of international drug
against countries identified as drug p
U.S. eradication efforts (Goode and Be

Increased use of the military has a
against illicit narcotics. In 1981 Congre
hibited the military from engaging in

the source, nor as the target, of threats,”
between the state and threats” (ibid.).
The Court decisions regarding the use of
police searches have redefined such basic
privacy and protection from unreason-
able searches. The threat posed by drugs them-
selves enabled police to carry out searches
apart from the concern with narcotics
traffickers, ultimately, who are sent to prison,
forced to submit to a drug test, it is the
social effects, whether real or imagined, that
justify these interventions. And as we will see with
the case of precursor chemicals out of

OF MULTIPLE METHODS OF
NARCOTICS CONTROL. The
visible sign of both the state’s police
power and its intervention specifically. But this figure is the
tip of the broad array of practices deployed to
control the drug trade, one of the most significant pieces of
legislation since the Act of 1914. This act created a federal
structure that shaped the drug markets of the era.
It was, however, but tax law. Nevertheless, its
impact on the landscape in which narcotics were used,
and the criminalization of narcotics that
has followed since (Acker 2002).

The state has likewise attempted to engage the
drug trade on multiple registers. Legislation enacted
in 1986, for instance, involved the allocation of
resources to fight narcotics. Specific initiatives included a
ban on the sale of firearms to drug dealers, stiffer federal sentences for drug
traffickers, and stiffer sentences for so-called drug kingpins, contin-
g eradication programs, and penalties
for producers who did not cooperate with
the state (Ginsberg-Yehuda 1994).

It has also been a hallmark of the campaign
against drug trafficking that Congress revised a century-old law that pro-
hibited the use of civilian law enforcement. As a result,

the military was allowed to “loan equipment, law enforcement personnel, and directly support military efforts” (Kraska 2003, 301). The law also authorized the use of military forces to apprehend drug traffickers in other countries (these provisions were made more controversial by the controversial arrest of Manuel Noriega).

More recent efforts have tended to focus on community-based, two most recent administrations have emphasized community, and faith-based initiatives. The Obama administration “drug czar” Gil Kerlikowski no longer be using the phrase “War on Drugs.” The administration’s shift toward a more public health approach is a change,” Kerlikowski stated. “The challenge is to view it as a public health problem. Law enforcement is still involved in all big parts of it. But clearly, the public is not necessarily viewing this” (U.S. Outlines New Drug Policy, 2009).

And yet the same year saw the Obama administration’s *Southwest Border Counternarcotics Strategy*, an effort strictly focused on fighting Mexico’s flow of drugs and guns along the U.S. border. The administration’s enforcement efforts increasingly overlapped with military efforts, particularly in Afghanistan where the DEA has played a significant role in the conflict (Associated Press 2009).

3. THE BRIDGING OF PUNITIVE AND PUBLIC HEALTH GOVERNANCE. When drugs are considered a public health problem, there is an inevitable blurring of moral boundaries that takes place. The moral opposition between good and evil is well known. Its puritan heritage continues to influence how particular substances are valued. Those substances that are to be embraced unproblematically while others are largely disdained (Levine 1978; Vandebeek 2001). Drugs are typically cast in moral terms, and those individuals involved with drugs. The “drug dealer” is the “figure of criminality” (Rafael 1999) (Vandebeek 2001). Drug dealers are cast as “wicked” and “without rights and all moral claims upon us” (Vandebeek 2001). The punitive and “expressive” approach to drug policy is “overtly moralistic, uncompromising, and an assertion of sovereign power” (ibid., 191; cf. Bertrand 2001).

ment to the civilian police, train law
assist in some aspects of interdiction
o authorized military officials to arrest
owers were later suspended following
iega).

downplay the military approach. The
ve emphasized treatment, education,
s. In the summer of 2009, the Obama
kowski announced that they would
on Drugs,” in large part to signify the
public-health-oriented approach. “It is
ange in emphasis is to look at this as a
ent and prevention and treatment are
c health problem is the way we should
rug War Strategy 2009).

ama administration issue the *National*
ategy, a transnational law enforcement
exican drug cartels and stopping the
. border with Mexico. Similarly, such
lap with other military conflicts, par-
A is poised to assume an even greater
009).

E AND ACTUARIAL MODES OF
stituted in political discourse as threats,
rality-based and risk-based reasoning
to drug use in the United States is well
s to cast a long shadow over the way
se taken to increase productivity tend
ile those taken primarily for pleasure
alverde 1998). As a result, illicit drugs
this moral evaluation extends to those
” has become a particularly maligned
in the public imagination (Garland
ed individuals who have lost all legal
(ibid., 192). This fuels a particularly
drugs and drug-related crime, one that
g, and concerned to assert the force of
m et al. 1996).

But while drugs continue to incite, enabled practices for managing drug use are not purely risk-based. Such practices are not primarily about criminal involvement with illicit narcotics but rather than as a risk factor to be managed. They are understood to increase the likelihood of further criminality (beyond the criminal act of the drug possession itself). Possession is thus constituted as both a crime in itself and/or future criminality.

This association has given rise to stop-and-frisk sweeps, and drug courier profiling, all of which are part of the age-old practice of managing criminality and other associated risks. This is a key component of the way the criminal justice system does the work of risk management. For example, when narcotics are targeted, not because they are inherently dangerous but because there is a statistical (as well as causal) link between drugs and crime. Thus institutionalized practices in criminal justice practice just as much as in public health (Simon 1992, 1994).

The attractiveness of narcopolitics is rooted in the data-based and risk-based framings of narcotics, and actuarial approaches. This creates a feedback loop that fuels the continued politicization of the alternative model of intervention, while simultaneously supporting the implementation of ever-more sophisticated “offender management” focused on minimizing risk.

These key features of contemporary drug policy provide a general foundation for the more specific practices of

Methamphetamine Comes to Bak

West Virginia shares many of the same characteristics that have been heavily impacted by methamphetamine. It is one of the most rural states in the United States. It has a high percentage of poor and least educated, with 18 percent of the population living in poverty.

The DEA’s profile of West Virginia as a high-risk area, particularly in metropolitan areas, including Pittsburgh, makes it a strategic location for drug

te moral opposition, they have also offenders that are not morality-based punitive but actuarial. They view criminality as a moral failing to be reproached. A person's involvement with drugs is a good of their involvement with crime (possession and use itself). Drug possession is in itself and a predictor of additional

such techniques as drug testing, drug possession of which target drugs as a way to mask. These techniques are now a central justice system polices threats and also from the risk-based perspective, then, they are inherently bad (at least not just) well as discursive) correlation between incentives make narcotics the focus of as a sense of moral outrage (Feeley and

s its ability to bridge both the morality-narcotics and their corresponding punitive a potent system in which moral objectives of narcotics and sustain a largely punitive simultaneously enabling the development sophisticated forms of surveillance and mitigating risk.

narcopolitics form the backdrop to the occurred in Baker County. They provided specific interventions that took place.

Baker County

characteristics as other states that have methamphetamine.⁷ It is one of the whitest and its population is also one of the poorest residents living below the poverty line.⁸ notes that its proximity to major metropolitan areas, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C., is a factor in drug trafficking. The state's location, near

the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, just as the research, also positions it at the center of drug trafficking operations. Moreover, even though I interviewed would not officially confirm that the Valley was part of a larger meth trafficking route through Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and West Virginia's rural character, its poverty, metropolitan areas and drug trafficking routes allowed methamphetamine to take root as it had in other parts of the country.

I chose to focus on West Virginia because it had already had a significant impact on the region in order to see the methamphetamine epidemic. Research in West Virginia between 2005 and 2010 was a kind of opportunity. At this time, West Virginia was just beginning to gain widespread attention. In 2005 the number of meth lab incidents in West Virginia was a concern.⁹ Federal organizations such as the Drug Enforcement Administration saw West Virginia as the leading edge of the epidemic that had moved eastward. A growing appreciation of the significance in the regional and global methamphetamine epidemic. I began my research, a Federal Drug Trafficking Task Force operation in the area focused on disruption and distribution between local dealers and suppliers in the Shenandoah Valley.

In response, West Virginia lawmakers, including Governor, Joe Manchin, targeted the methamphetamine epidemic as a priority for intervention. They followed the lead of other states in legislation increasing the criminal penalties for the production and strengthening the regulations on precursor chemicals in the methamphetamine production process. These measures included the mobilization of significant sectors of the economy and the responsibilities under the legislation, including the monitoring of those precursor chemicals used in the production process. Conducting my research in West Virginia allowed me to observe an epidemic "in the making" rather than in its aftermath.¹⁰

I focused my research on a cluster of counties in the western part of West Virginia. This area sits just west of the Shenandoah Valley.

hundreds of miles from where I conducted my research. A number of national and international drug traffickers, although the law enforcement officers did not confirm it, I was told that the Shenandoah Valley was a trafficking pipeline that stretched down through Virginia, Texas, and into Mexico. In short, the region's geography, and its proximity to major metropolitan areas made it fertile ground for methamphetamine production areas (Ove 2006).

West Virginia, rather than on a state where methamphetamine, such as Missouri, Oregon, or Hawaii, had been a problem as it emerged. Conducting research in 2006 and 2007 provided precisely this opportunity to study West Virginia's methamphetamine problem as it spread recognition. Between 2003 and 2006, methamphetamine statewide tripled, causing great concern. The Drug Enforcement Agency targeted West Virginia as the methamphetamine epidemic as it spread. The attention of the Shenandoah Valley's significant drug trade added to the concern. Indeed, as the Task Force was wrapping up a two-year investigation of dismantling local networks of methamphetamine producers and dealers in West Virginia and producers in other states.

West Virginia, particularly the newly elected governor, took the methamphetamine problem for regulatory attention. Lawmakers in other states and passed legislation imposing penalties for meth-related crimes and regulating precursor chemicals used in the methamphetamine production. Regulatory interventions involved the attention of the population, who were given new regulations, particularly with regard to the monitoring of methamphetamine production. The attention in West Virginia at this time thus provided a "window-of-opportunity," as it were, enabling me to study the methamphetamine problem in the region.

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Virginia. To better insure the anonymity of the author, I was asked to write about the area as if it were a different state. Like other parts of rural America, this area has experienced significant economic, demographic, and social changes. The primary occupation of most residents is poultry farming, so many now work in the local poultry processing plant or as workers in the processing plant. Many have moved to factory jobs an hour or more away. The area, which is roughly three hours away, has made it difficult for retirees from the city, as well as for those who have moved. Some of these people came to the area in search of a better area's rural location.

There is likewise an increasing Latino population of immigrants, largely from Mexico and Central America, primarily in the poultry industry. Along with the Latino population is also a rising population of "Baltimore transplants"—individuals and families seeking a new life in the rural area, drugs and violence of the city. While many of these individuals were still proud to call it home, they have a sense that the best years of the community are behind them. Changes such as these were often spoken of in the area. I was told numerous times about the dwindling sense of community, morals, and of common sense. "This used to be a great neighborhood," a neighbor, Elmer Jones, told me as we drove through the area. "Looking at the home of the 'Baltimore transplants' and its crumbling facade and unkempt lawns, it's hard to see how to take care of themselves."

Any discussion of methamphetamine use in the area about these more widespread changes in the community. There was no family that had not been affected by the concern over methamphetamine was particularly high. It was estimated that anywhere from 50 to 75 percent of the area dealt with, such as breaking and entering, drug trafficking, had something to do with methamphetamine.

Such perceptions were not just limited to the rural mental health field—substance abuse counselors, social workers, health department employees, and law enforcement. Administrators at the poultry processing

ty of my subjects, however, I have cho-
e one county that I call Baker County.
s area continues to undergo significant
anges. Small-scale farming used to be
ents. Such farming is no longer viable,
ry industry either as growers, drivers,
ny others commute to work at similar
e area's proximity to Washington, D.C.,
t an increasingly popular location for
ourists looking for weekend getaways.
a shortly after 9/11, seeing safety in the

atino/Latina presence in the area, as
Puerto Rico, move there to work, pri-
g with the influx of "Mexicans," there
ore people"—white, mostly poor indi-
fe in the rural setting away from the
local residents who were native to the
there was nevertheless an underlying
munity might be behind them. Social
en of in terms of moral decline. I was
lling of parenting skills, of ethics and
used to be a real nice place to live," my
chatted on his porch one summer eve-
altimore people" across the street with
rn. "Nowadays, people just don't know

nine usually took place during talks
For instance, residents said repeatedly
a affected by drugs in some way. Con-
ticularly acute. Police officers I spoke
o to 90 percent of all the crime they
ring, burglary, and domestic violence,
tamine.

ited to law enforcement. Those in the
ounselors, psychologists, and psychia-
geable caseloads, as did social work-
nd those in child protection services.
ng plant instituted random drug test-

ing as a standard practice to control the problem. Residents expressed frustration at the high turnover of tenants, either testing positive for drugs and being evicted, or admit to a drug test.

This concern among professionals varied by neighborhood. Anxieties over the rise in methamphetamine use and related anxieties were consistently articulated. Many residents indicated that they had not experienced the problem, but that they had begun to suspect the problem was real, either in the newspaper, or heard about from friends or family, or how related to methamphetamine. Anxieties were often prompted residents to turn to the law, or some other institutional context, to address the methamphetamine problem, albeit in different ways.

Some were working to make law enforcement more effective in handling the drug problem. One group of residents formed a community watch group “Concerned Citizens” group formed shortly after a drug-related crime. Members demanded that police take a harder line on drug crime, monitored courts to make sure offenders received appropriate sentences, and pushed for more treatment resources available in the community.

In other areas, citizens turned to the police to address their concerns over meth-related crimes. Residents provided anonymous tips about possible dealers, reported drug use on their property or in the neighborhood, and reported behavior of their neighbors, especially if they suspected dealing or using was taking place.

And elsewhere, there was little more that could be done” about the growing drug problem. Residents who were responsible for doing it. Though unwilling to face reprisal from the family members and neighbors, these residents nevertheless became more vocal about arrest someone that, as I often heard, “

Such frustration often led to speculation about the growing drug problem in the community. Residents, mayor, the sheriff, and other officials were often in the drug trade. Residents whispered stories about drug use at the area’s tiny airport that were

the use of meth by their workers. They
over rates that resulted from employees
being fired, or quitting rather than sub-

was mirrored in the community. Anxi-
ine use were particularly high. These
l as a concern over crime. Local resi-
experienced a dramatic rise in crime per se,
at much of the crime they read about
m friends and neighbors, was some-
articulating their concerns in this way
rather than to religion, public health,
to address the growing methamphet-
s.

enforcement more accountable for han-
citizens came together and formed the
Citizens United Against Crime.” This
ated shooting at the local VFW. Mem-
order stand on drugs and drug-related
e that those convicted of drug crimes
rompted discussion about the lack of
mmunity for addicts and their families.
he law in less formal ways to express
e. Individuals called police with anon-
ported signs of meth production dis-
oods, and paid close attention to the
y newcomers, for any signs that drug

e than a feeling that “something should
lem, and a sense that law enforcement
nwillig to assist personally for fear of
neighbors on whom they’d be report-
ne frustrated when police were slow to
everybody knows is selling drugs.”

ation about who was really behind the
y. Rumors circulated about the role the
were playing in facilitating the local
es about suspicious nighttime rendez-
e presumed to be drug related. A local

journalist caused a major stir when s
attorneys who were rumored to be inv
ever arose to substantiate the rumors, a
to dismiss them as nothing more than
in the eyes of the community, should h
to further substantiate the rumors, ma
the local drug problem was as bad as i
addressing it were actually involved in

And in the midst of all this conce
gling with methamphetamine addic
extremely limited. Although there was
like similar facilities in rural areas, wa
facility, with only a handful of certified
licensed psychiatrists who were respon
vices for the entire region.

Inpatient treatments and hospitali
cities, the nearest being one hundred
community who made daily trips to t
ment, but many more went without, of
nal justice system after committing a
complicating the issue was the sheer d
addiction itself. Local addiction couns
methamphetamine users at 30 percent,
was grossly inflated. Thus the limited e
ficulty of its implementation in rural a
criminal justice system—rather than t
institution—would assume responsibi
rehabilitation.

Methods

I conducted my research using an eth
assembled in three ways: (1) through th
criminal cases involving methampheta
dance in each of the five counties and
in court cases, and (3) through intervie
one hundred individuals in the five co
about the local meth situation, includ
that dealt with meth use and its associ

he wrote a column about a group of
involved in the drug trade. No evidence
and the officials in question were quick
gossip. However, when someone who,
have gone to jail did not, it just seemed
maintaining the suspicions of many that
it was because the officials in charge of
it.

ern and speculation were those strug-
on. Options for these individuals were
a regional treatment facility, its scope,
as modest. It was a strictly outpatient
substance-abuse counselors and three
nsible for providing mental health ser-

zations were available only in larger
miles away. There were those in the
these facilities to maintain their treat-
ften ending up enmeshed in the crimi-
crime to sustain their habits. Further
difficulty of treating methamphetamine
elors estimated their success rate with
, a figure that program participants felt
effectiveness of treatment, and the dif-
reas, increased the probability that the
the family, the church, or some other
lity for the meth addict and his or her

nographic approach. Information was
he collection and analysis of all known
mine, (2) through regular court atten-
l interviews with individuals involved
ews and conversations with more than
ounties who were most knowledgeable
ing those who worked in a profession
ated crimes, participated in one of the

citizen action organizations focused on those who had been personally affected by meth in some way.

In ethnography it is always hard to do a good job of exploring the experiences and responses of people to methamphetamine among those most affected. My connections with key administrators at the organizations that were addressing the meth problem included the local hospital, courthouse, and police station. The goal here was to understand the ways in which people were dealing with methamphetamine in the community.

I conducted interviews with key people at these institutions. I mapped the bureaucratic processes involved, such as the process governing the distribution of drugs, the protocol teachers followed when dealing with drugs, and the use of drug testing by schools. In addition to work, I moved from the professional world to the world of citizens. The goal here was to understand the ways in which people were living on everyday life, first of all by participating in the work of community action groups that were addressing the problem. I included the group Concerned Citizens mentioned earlier, as well as another group called the Community Coalition. I attended meetings and interviews, paying attention to the ways they talked about the problem and the kinds of action they were involved in to address the meth problem.

I also participated as fully as possible in the community. I sang in the community choir, went to the elementary school social studies fair, went to the bingo night and attended community events, the festival and the weekly bluegrass jam session at the center. Participating in community events was a way to get a sense of life in the area. It also demonstrated my concern about methamphetamine, as community members quickly turned to the topic.

Over the course of the research performed, I participated in “interviews” (Levy and Hollan 1998) interviewing methamphetamine addicts. I documented the experiences of these individuals with methamphetamine.

n addressing the meth problem, or had
me way, real or imagined.

to know where to begin. I began by
nses to the problems associated with
t involved with addressing it. I made
and professionals working in institu-
amphetamine problem directly. These
e, police station, schools, and churches.
professional bureaucracy in place for
area.

officials and administrators within
aucratic processes in which they were
ng a person's arrest, trial, and sentenc-
men they suspected a student of using
administrators within a range of institu-
er their supervision. Building on this
context to the world of ordinary citi-
the effect methamphetamine was hav-
icipating in the activities of a number
focused on methamphetamine. These
ens United Against Crime previously
alled the Substance Abuse Prevention
interviewed members of these groups,
ed about drugs, crime, and addiction,
olved with or wanted to see taken to

le in the life of the local community. I
Bible studies, and served as a judge in
air. I volunteered at the nursing home
ity events, such as the annual summer
ession at the senior citizen community
vents this way gave me a more robust
nstrated the pervasiveness of the con-
versations with local residents often

iod I conducted detailed "person-cen-
ews with a small number of recover-
umented in detail the experiences of
nine. In addition to obtaining detailed

personal histories, I recorded each person's experience as well as accounts of arrests, if applicable.

Additionally, I examined the case files related to each crime. These files included the details of each individual's case, transcriptions of interviews by a psychologist and probation officer, and statements from friends and other community members. Proceedings if the case had gone to trial, and transcripts from the person to the judge asking questions. These files provided a crucial supplement to see the way these individuals were treated in the justice system and beyond.

Proceeding in this way, this book provides a view of how the community responded to the methamphetamine epidemic, their response, the residents of Baker County, and the patterns that are now deeply engrained in the community's patterns of enforcement, and the political implications of the term "narcopolitics." Understanding the workings of law and police power, is the

person's version of his or her addiction
test, conviction, and/or rehabilitation as

es on individuals convicted of a meth-
e history and full legal proceedings of
f confessions, preliminary evaluations
cer, letters of support (or vilification)
embers, full transcription of court pro-
nd, if the person was convicted, letters
him or her to reconsider. Examining
ent to my interview work, enabling me
gured as criminals in the criminal jus-

rovides a detailed account of how one
phetamine problem. It shows how, in
County drew from patterns of enforce-
in American political life. It is these
ics by which they are sustained, that I
ne significant role played by narcopoli-
cal life, particularly with regard to the
ne focus of what follows.

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onally left blank

“The Most Dangerous Drug in America”

I did not initially focus on Baker County. As originally conceived, the book was a study of the nation of the treatment experiences of people with addiction to meth—what I thought of as the “recovery process.” I was interested in the scientific literature on methamphetamine, which I had found to have emphasized the neurological impact of the drug, in addition to being highly addictive and/or causing chronic psychosis.¹ This complex literature had focused on successful treatment. I was interested in how people coped with their addiction under these conditions, especially in the poor settings of the rural United States.

Thus, I began my research by speaking with mental health services related to addiction. I met Carl Fergus, a head addiction counselor, at his office, in the small brick building. He welcomed me into his office, shaking my hand as I expected, seeming at most to be around. On the wall, a *Show* hung on the walls, providing the

“How in the world did you end up here?” he asked. I explained my interest in methamphetamine and its impact on rural communities. Carl began to tell me how the clinic and the community were struggling. The drug was so addictive it was nearly impossible to get people to stop. The clinic had a 30 percent success rate. In fact, treatment worked only when people stopped using the drug. Users, however, seldom got to treatment on their own. The clinic probab

the policing of methamphetamine in
my project was going to be an exami-
of addicts working to overcome their
as the “therapeutic trajectory” of their
this question because of my reading
phetamine addiction. Clinical reports
of methamphetamine, noting that
e, methamphetamine results in acute
plicates the already dim prospects for
in how meth addicts learned to live
ditions, particularly in the resource-

aking to those who worked in thera-
made arrangements to interview the
on, at the local mental health clinic. I
ck building that housed the clinic. He
my hand. He was younger than I had
nd forty. Stills from *The Andy Griffith*
only decoration.

p here?” he asked, smiling, as we sat
hamphetamine and the impact it was
gan to explain in detail all of the prob-
vere having with meth. Because meth
ble to treat. Carl estimated that, at best,
e treating meth addicts. In his experi-
eople really wanted to stop using the
that point and so rarely sought treat-
oly wouldn’t see any meth users, Carl

wagered, if the court system did not see it that way, it did. Indeed, the court played a vital role in the process. It is the hammer that keeps them in treatment.

This movement from the clinic to the courtroom (and vice versa) became a theme that recurred throughout my involvement in addiction therapeutics. I contacted a pastor at Church where, according to the news, he was speaking at a town meeting on Thursdays. In a brief conversation about the group; he wasn't even sure if I was really interested in learning more. The person I wanted to talk to was Janice Cochran, head of the local chapter of Citizens United Against Crime. She had been a critic of law enforcement to be more aggressive in the process, she had become something of a proponent, at least with regard to the criminal dimension of the problem.

A group of professionals in the social work field, community organizers, the high school guidance counselor at the local hospital. The focus of their meetings was to identify treatment programs that met the court's requirements for their meetings. After conducting interviews with members of the group, however, they suggested I contact Daryl Montgomery. Daryl was the real deal.

Daryl's expertise came from two years on the state's Federal Drug Task Force focused on a specific area in the area. I asked Daryl how law enforcement was related to meth use and addiction. He said they were not addressing them. "They all want treatment programs. But few stayed with it. "I see treatment as a long-term solution. "Some people call me hardcore, but I think that's because I'm aggressive. The prosecuting attorney for the court system was aggressive in obtaining felony convictions. I was aggressive to treatment as an alternative to incarceration.

During these early interviews, a pattern emerged, myself being constantly directed to the courts. However, ever I began asking questions about the degree to which drug problems were framed locally, the problem specifically, were framed locally in terms of the court system. Eventually I began simply conducting my own justice system myself. One of these was the

end them to the clinic as often as they
le in the work of the clinic. “The court
tment,” he said.

the court (and back again, and vice
in my early conversations with others
contacted the pastor of the First Baptist
paper, there was a Narcotics Anony-
f email he replied that he knew noth-
ure if they were still meeting. In any
ing about addiction issues, the person
f the anti-drug group Concerned Citi-
been working to put pressure on local
e in their pursuit of drug offenders. In
ng of a local expert on drug issues, at
nsion of the problem.

ial service field—social workers, com-
dance counselor—met regularly at the
etings was to develop prevention and
nty’s specific needs. I began attending
rviews with the two primary organiz-
ted I speak to the local deputy sheriff,
expert on methamphetamine.

ars of experience working as part of a
rresting methamphetamine traffickers
orcement dealt with the medical issues
admitted that they did not do much to
nt when they get caught,” Daryl stated.
nt as an easy getaway,” he continued.
hink jail’s the best treatment for them.”
nty shared Daryl’s view and was very
ons for drug offenders. He rarely agreed
ration. “We’re very lucky,” Daryl stated.
pattern developed in which I found
members of law enforcement when-
methamphetamine. This underscored
generally, and the methamphetamine
ally as matters for the criminal justice
ntacting members of the criminal jus-
ne prosecuting attorney for the county,

Daniel Gardner. I called his office one day with a decidedly un-West Virginian accent. I introduced myself and explained my interest. I could hear papers rustling in the background.

“I was wondering if you could tell me what cases were involved,” I asked.

“I don’t really have time to do that,” he said. I went to the circuit clerk’s office and started asking questions about specific cases let me know what was going on.

This was the first of many brush-off calls, so I thought. I followed his instructions to the clerk’s office where all of the criminal case files for the county were. I posed the same question to the clerk and posed the same question to the attorney, but this time with more specificity: “Are there any cases in which drugs were involved? Any cases related to methamphetamine?”

The clerk looked back, silently, lips pursed, but she said something. I could not tell whether she was in confusion, or both. I braced myself for a long wait. She was trying to figure out the best way to answer the question, she explained, was that so much of the cases were explicitly involved, but it was also common—breaking and entering, theft, drug-related, even though this was not what the prosecuting attorney’s suggestion was. I went through the file drawers. It would not take long.

In this way I discovered that the county was taking the lead in the response to the problem of drug enforcement. To understand the problem beyond the concern with treatment patterns of drug control, of which the local courts were the center.

Taking this approach would also reveal the extent of methamphetamine in Baker County within the context of drug control. Illicit narcotics have long been the centerpiece of a broader “enforcement” strategy, drug treatment, education, and research. The history of criminal law (Stalcup 2006; Bertram

the morning and after two rings a man with a thick accent picked up the phone. I introduced myself. “Uh huh,” he said, distractedly. I explained my interest in the ground.

He asked me about some cases in which drugs were involved.

“Just go through the files,” he said, papers still rustling. “Just go through the files. If you have any questions, let me know.”

Over the next few weeks I received during my fieldwork, or through the court clerk’s office, and went to the circuit clerk’s office in Baker County where the files were housed. I introduced myself and the question I’d asked of the prosecuting attorney: “Could I see the files for any cases that you’d be particularly interested in seeing?”

She pursed her lips as though she were about to brush me off, but her expression was one of annoyance, not anger. “Another brush-off. Then she spoke. I asked her to respond to my request. The problem was that the crime they saw was drug-related. It was about drug distribution, crimes in which drugs were involved, the crimes committed with more regularity—domestic abuse, etc.—that were often reflected in the charges. She concurred with my suggestion: the best thing to do was simply go through the files and make long to find drug-related cases.

The criminal justice system in Baker County was heavily involved in methamphetamine and that the local courts and law enforcement were inseparable from this wider system. To understand this system would require going beyond the local level, to a consideration of deeper patterns of drug use and treatment options were but a part.

To understand the more general history of U.S. drug use and the more general history of U.S. drug use and the more general history of U.S. drug use framed as a law enforcement matter, “the law enforcement apparatus” that also includes legal regulations outside the court system (see, for example, et al. 1996). This framing has become

so well engrained into U.S. political culture and criminal justice more generally—from the concern with narcotics. Thus, the justice system to address illicit drugs has been a function of the “drug problem,” the deeper concern with criminal justice itself, which has been a function of drug enforcement. Notably, the process of identifying “the most dangerous drug in America,” as Alberto Gonzales, is part and parcel of the U.S. drug control and the exercise of power.

Methamphetamine at the Dawn of the 21st Century

Methamphetamine is a synthetic stimulant powder that may be smoked, injected, or snorted. Since the mid-1990s, there has been a resurgence in the preferred method of administration (snorting). Meth goes by various names including “crack,” “speed,” and “meth.” Other names include “chalk,” “speed,” and “meth.” It is part of the wider family of amphetamines, which has spiked globally in recent decades.

Users report experiencing a “rush” of enhanced feelings of well-being, heightened energy, and euphoria. The anthropologist Jason Pine has written on the part of the user to reduce the “rush” of speed (Pine 2007, 358). But this desire for a “rush” in addition to the initial rush, users may experience psychological effects, including paranoia, talkativeness, anxiety, or depression. Some users report seeing bugs under their skin and trying to remove, injuring themselves in the process. Prolonged meth use on the body can lead to dental, cardiac, pulmonary, and metabolic problems (Lineberry and Bostwick 2006).

The methamphetamine production process involves physical risks. Though the majority of production is outside the United States, it is also possible to produce meth labs using widely available chemicals and drain cleaner. The chemicals used

culture, in fact, that law enforcement—
are virtually unthinkable today apart
s, though the use of the criminal jus-
had a direct impact on the manifesta-
er impact has been on the practice of
n reoriented around the demands of
s by which methamphetamine became
” to quote the former attorney general
of this history, providing new venues for
police power.

of the Twenty-First Century

ulant. It is a white or brown crystalline
or taken intranasally (i.e., “snorted”).
shift from snorting to smoking as the
Rawson 2007, 2). In its smoked form,
g “ice,” “crystal,” “crank,” and “glass.”
and “Tina” (NIDA 2006, 1). Meth is
amine-type stimulants (ATS), use of
cades (UNODC 2005).

sh” that includes increased energy,
ghtened libido, and appetite suppres-
as suggested that this reflects a desire
body to little more than a “vector” for
e is not without its consequences. In
also experience or display a variety of
ia, agitation, violent behavior, psycho-
on. Hallucinations are also common.
eath their skin, which they then try to
cess. Additionally, the systemic effects
n be extensive, affecting dermatologic,
c, immune, renal, and/or neurologic
(5, 81).

n process likewise carries numerous
f methamphetamine is produced out-
ible to produce it domestically in so-
chemicals such as iodine, cold tablets,
ed are toxic, as are the chemical by-

products, which are typically dumped
or in the woods. The production pro
labs—which can be anywhere from a
of explosion. Thus everything from a
to cardiac arrest can be a symptom of
and potency, the risk it poses to users
ties, and the “collateral damage” inflic
vices, led a Mayo Clinic report to label
social complications (Lineberry and B

Methamphetamine was first synthe
Japan, England, Germany, and the Uni
War II to increase energy and enhance
personnel. It likewise continues to hav
tants and bronchial inhalers. A Sched
scription in small, nonrefillable quant
ment of attention deficit hyperactivity

Domestic use of amphetamine an
States can be traced back to the early
drugs were discovered. Between 1932 a
promoted a list of thirty-nine generally
drugs. These included everything from
head injuries to low blood pressure, ra
1997). Amphetamines were even prom
following in the footsteps of both her
promoted as anti-addiction medication

Amphetamine tablets were availabl
States until 1951 and amphetamine inh
'60s, amphetamines and methamphet
for the treatment of depression, obes
to be used licitly for the purposes of
amphetamines for weight loss and to b
students, businessmen, and laborers (C
for their anti-fatigue effects (Campbell

Production of amphetamines soar
1970 the annual legal production of a
10 billion tablets. Approximately 20 m
year during the 1960s, peaking in 19
amphetamines were written. Even so,
licit use. Of the 100,000 pounds of ph

by “cooks” on the side of the highway
ess is also extremely volatile, so meth
house to a suitcase—carry a high risk
severe burn to psychosis to tooth loss
methamphetamine. Meth’s prevalence
s, their friends, family, and communi-
cted on legal, medical, and social ser-
meth a “perfect storm” of medical and
ostwick 2006).

sized in Japan in 1893. The militaries of
ted States used the drug during World
the performance of soldiers and other
e a commercial use in nasal deconges-
ule II drug, it is available with a pre-
ities, and has been used for the treat-
disorder (ADHD) and narcolepsy.

nd methamphetamine in the United
1930s when the medicinal uses of the
and 1946, the pharmaceutical industry
v accepted medical applications for the
m the treatment of schizophrenia and
radiation sickness, and hiccups (Miller
oted as a treatment for addiction itself,
oin and cocaine, which were likewise
ns (Bourgois 2000).

e without a prescription in the United
alers until 1959. During the 1950s and
amine were marketed and prescribed
sity, and narcolepsy. They also began
f self-enhancement: housewives used
be more productive around the house;
particularly truck drivers) used them
(2000; Miller 1997).

ed during this period. From 1958 to
mphetamines grew from 3.5 billion to
million prescriptions were written each
67 when 31 million prescriptions for
licit production consistently exceeded
armaceutical amphetamine produced

each year up until 1971, it is estimated were diverted to the illicit market (Miller 1997).

Use of methamphetamine began to doctors began to prescribe its intravement of heroin addiction. The introduction set the stage for increased illicit use users, who were already using illicit prescriptions written by pharmacists. Aware of the growing illicit market amine, the Department of Justice tight quotas on the amount of amphetamine could produce. They also successfully turers to voluntarily remove injectable the outpatient prescription marketplace created opportunities and demand for distribution (Miller 1997). Thus meth process Anne Lovell has called “pharm Lovell demonstrates in the case of high opment and sale of pharmaceuticals in an illicit market in which the drug si pendence of the two markets makes i in isolation.

Illicit use of methamphetamine ha West Coast states and Hawaii. Meth at least the 1960s, and the first meth lab Then, biker gangs were the primary amphetamine (Miller 1997). But begi spreading east. The precise reasons fo number of factors contributed. The fir distribution changed. No longer limite of friends and family began using low of meth. The new production process chemical knowledge. What it did requi second change. Throughout the 1980s, But in the 1990s, detailed instructions process began to circulate and eventu This made instructions for meth use e manufacturing it (Owen 2007). It also be accurately described as the first dru

that between one-half and two-thirds (Ler 1997).

to take off in the late 1950s when some intravenous administration for the treatment of injectable methamphetamine became the drug. Demand grew as heroin addicts became familiar with it. Illegal pharmacies and doctors became more common. Regulations on amphetamines and methamphetamine tightened. In 1971 they set regulations that pharmaceutical manufacturers could not produce methamphetamine ampoules from the licit market. The shrinking of the licit market led to more extensive illicit production and distribution. Methamphetamine is the product of the "pharmaceutical leakage" (Lovell 2006). As the licit development of buprenorphine, the licit development is always shadowed by the creation of an illicit market that simultaneously circulates. The interdiction is extremely difficult to regulate either

and long been thought to be limited to the licit market. Its use has been common there since at least the 1960s. It emerged in San Francisco in 1962. The producers and distributors of methamphetamine in the mid-1990s, meth began to spread. For this are not entirely known, but a common story was that clandestine production and distribution was limited just to biker gangs, smaller groups of people, and home-tech labs to produce limited amounts. The technology required a less sophisticated level of production, however, was a recipe. This was the case for the recipes were carefully guarded secrets. The technology of the methamphetamine production eventually found their way to the Internet. The technology was easily accessible to anyone interested in it. This meant that methamphetamine could become an epidemic of the digital age.

rica"

A third key factor in the eastward migration of truckers who ran routes from the East Coast involved its delivery. Truckers began using amphetamines going back to the 1950s to stay awake without a prescription. The drugs helped them spend long hours on the road. As the cost of amphetamines to obtain licitly, the illicit market grew, leading to new types of methamphetamine. One of the truckers I interviewed told me about his father, also a trucker, who used “bennies” (Benzadrine) and other amphetamines as a regular component of work. Once these truckers like him began to look for regular routes from West Virginia to California, the demand for amphetamine increased. As a means of paying for fuel, other truckers like him began to transport amphetamines.

The domestic production of methamphetamine also increased significantly during the 1990s. The Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) was reporting that methamphetamine was the most prevalent clandestinely manufactured drug in the United States (Miller 1997). Though levels of illicit production are uncertain, the general trend over the next decade was clear: a measure of this was the spike in treatment admissions for methamphetamine addiction. According to an official report from the Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) in 2006, the number of treatment admissions for methamphetamine in twenty-one states had increased to twenty-one. The number of treatment admissions for methamphetamine increased from 21,000 to 150,000 between 1995 and 2002. Amphetamine-related hospital emergency department admissions increased 100 percent between 1995 and 2002 (NIDA 2006). Newsweek magazine had dubbed meth “America’s Most

No Place to Hide

Methamphetamine is used by diverse populations, but it is increasingly come to be seen as a white, rural phenomenon. This association was produced by the National Institute on Substance Abuse at Columbia University. The report, “No Place to Hide: Substance Abuse in

spread of methamphetamine was that it to the West and back again became were some of the earliest users of s when they were still widely available ed drivers maintain wakefulness while amphetamines became more difficult , creating demand for crank and other ny informants, a trucker named Ken, er, who introduced him to the use of phetamine-type stimulants as a regu- drugs became illegal, Ken and other placements. When Ken started driving California, he was introduced to meth- for their own supply of meth, Ken and port it east.

amphetamine in clandestine meth labs 1980s. By 1992, the Drug Enforcement that methamphetamine was the most l controlled substance in the United illicit drug use are always hard to mea- decade pointed toward expansion. One ent admissions for methamphetamine report released by the National Insti- only five states reported high rates of tamine in 1992. By 2002 the number Not surprisingly, the total number of tamine increased significantly as well, 2 and 2004. Similarly, methamphet- artment visits increased more than 50 (2006). And by 2005 *Newsweek* maga- t Dangerous Drug” (Jefferson 2005).

populations. However, it has increas- drug. One of the first studies to make National Center on Addiction and Sub- (CASA). This study, tellingly titled, n Mid-Size Cities and Rural America,”

found that contrary to popular belief, rates of use in rural and small town areas were equal to or higher than in urban areas. Among young teens, rates of use were higher in rural areas. As a case in point, rates of methamphetamine use among 15- to 17-year-olds were 104 percent more likely in rural areas than in urban peers. In his introduction to the book, Joseph Califano Jr., located these findings as part of a national decline, concluding that “As a result, in America, there is *no place to hide* from addiction” (CASA 2000, ii).

This representation of methamphetamine as a rural, white drug is unfounded. It is supported by certain data on methamphetamine use, particularly among arrestees and inmates. A report published in 2002 found that 94 percent of methamphetamine users were white, compared with 61 percent of crack cocaine users. Similarly, a study published in 2001 in the *American Journal of Drug Abuse* found that 45 percent of rural inmates and 30 percent of urban inmates having used amphetamines prior to incarceration. A 2006 study of “the criminal effect of methamphetamine” conducted by the National Association of Public Defenders, a lobbying organization for rural government, found that methamphetamine was by far the number-one drug associated with crimes such as robberies, burglaries, and domestic violence. The study found that meth had increased in rural areas (NACo 2006; but see Owen 2007).

Perhaps the biggest reason that methamphetamine is seen as a rural, white drug is because clandestine labs are more likely to locate in rural areas. The CASA study found that 75 percent of meth labs in the number of meth labs seized by law enforcement, a majority of which were located in less-populated areas. In 1999, the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia was identified as a methamphetamine distribution hub for the eastern United States. All of this may explain why a poll conducted by PEW in 2001 found that “drugs” was the number one problem in rural communities,” according to residents of rural areas. The poll also found that education, taxes, and infrastructure (PEW 2001).

rates of drug, alcohol, and tobacco use equivalent to those in urban locations. The study presented evidence that children twelve to fourteen years old are actually higher. The study presented evidence noting that children twelve to fourteen years old are more likely to use methamphetamine than their parents. In a 2000 study, the executive director of CASA, presented these findings in a broad cultural narrative of rural America as we begin the twenty-first century in the context of the problems of substance abuse and

methamphetamine as a white, rural drug is not surprising. The measures of rural methamphetamine use are high among the incarcerated. For instance, a DEA study found that 44 percent of arrestees for methamphetamine, 54 percent of cocaine users and 18 percent of marijuana users. A study of incarcerated offenders published in *Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse* found that 23.1 percent of the most rural inmates reported methamphetamine use compared with only 10.6 percent in urban areas (Hend and Fuller 2004, 139). More recently, a study titled "Methamphetamine on Communities" by the National Association of Counties (NACo)—the premier national organization of rural governments—found that methamphetamine use is the top drug problem facing rural governments; that rural areas have experienced an increase in domestic violence had all increased as a result of methamphetamine use and the workload of public safety staff

Methamphetamine has come to be seen as a rural drug. As methamphetamine manufacturers have tended to locate their operations in rural areas, the DEA notes that there was a sixfold increase in methamphetamine seizures by the DEA during the mid-nineties, the majority of which occurred in rural and populated areas. The number of states with methamphetamine seizures increased during this period. Already by the late 1990s, methamphetamine was being identified as the methamphetamine problem in the Western United States (CASA 2000, iii). A 2001 study conducted by the PEW Research Center found that methamphetamine is number one "problem facing the communities" in rural areas, ahead of unemployment, education, and health care (PEW 2001, 3-4).

merica"

Global Trends

These changes in the consumption patterns in the United States are part of a global trend. Cocaine is the most-used drugs in the world behind alcohol. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) estimates that between 2003 and 2004 approximately 100 million used amphetamines. By contrast, approximately 10 million used heroin. Nor is the use of amphetamines an even Western phenomenon: countries in South America, the Pacific, Southeast Asia, Australia, and Africa show similar levels of use (Rawson 2007).

Methamphetamine production is a global phenomenon in scope, but in a unique way compared to other drugs. The chemicals used in making methamphetamine are manufactured in just nine factories worldwide: the United States, India, China, Germany, and Japan. The production process is extremely technical (requiring specialized knowledge and instruments). Again this is a trend visible here, as the illicit trade in methamphetamine is based on the licit pharmaceutical market.

Ephedrine is used in asthma and decongestants. It is a key ingredient in a number of cold medications, including Pfizer's Sudafed. The cold medication market is regulated and is itself the product of an FDA decision to allow over-the-counter prescription medications, including decongestants, available over the counter. Indeed, before the 1970s, pseudoephedrine could not be purchased in the United States without a prescription. Thus, just as the market in amphetamines is being deregulated, the market in medications containing pseudoephedrine was being deregulated and expanded.

This is a crucial point to consider: the rise in the use of methamphetamines has always been directly related to the rise in over-the-counter medications. This means that the methamphetamine market is not just a quirk in the manufacturing process, but the more general rise of pharmaceuticals. The rise in over-the-counter medications has occurred since the middle of the twentieth century, and the rise in over-the-counter medications that acco-

patterns of methamphetamine in the world. Amphetamines are now the second most widely used drug, after cannabis. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime estimates that for a twelve-month period in 2007, approximately 26 million people worldwide used amphetamines, 14 million used cocaine and 11 million used cannabis. Amphetamines are a strictly American or European phenomenon throughout Eastern Europe, the South and Central America, increasingly, Africa, report problem-

and circulation are likewise global compared to other drugs. The key ingredients, ephedrine, and pseudoephedrine are produced in the world, located in only four countries: the United States, the Czech Republic, the United Kingdom, and the Czech Republic. The production of amphetamines is much more so than producing methamphetamines (which are synthetic), requiring sophisticated chemical processes. The process of pharmaceutical leakage is particularly significant for amphetamine is uniquely dependent

on the licit market for diet pills, while pseudoephedrine is the primary source for amphetamines. Medications, the most prominent being pseudoephedrine, the licit market alone is a \$3 billion industry. The discovery of amphetamine in the 1970s that made a number of amphetamines, including those containing pseudoephedrine, illegal. Before 1976, any product containing pseudoephedrine was available in the United States without a prescription. The regulation of amphetamines was being more tightly regulated, including ephedrine and pseudoephedrine

The illicit market in amphetamines and methamphetamines is dependent on the licit market for these drugs. The primary problem with the methamphetamine problem is the production of a specific medication but of the licit market for these drugs. The licit market in the management of health that has been a major concern in the twentieth century and the explosion of the illicit market has accompanied it (cf. Petryna et al. 2006;

Dumit 2002). Pharmaceuticals are not only the least of those with access to medications, but also the least of those with access to social relationships. Governments have undergone a profound transformation, using the regulation of pharmaceuticals as a means by which to carry out the work of governance.

The journalist Steve Suo was one of the first to expose the relationship that exists between the licit and illicit markets for pseudoephedrine in a series of articles published in a newspaper in 2004. In a series titled "The Hidden History of the Various Factors at Work in Creating the Methamphetamine Epidemic in the United States," Suo's key finding was that the policies of the U.S. federal government, enforcement of international organizations such as the International Convention on Vienna, Austria, had directly impacted the availability of pseudoephedrine in the United States. Specifically, the relaxation of the sale of over-the-counter medications containing pseudoephedrine in the 1990s, or to be more precise, the sale of pseudoephedrine chemicals, despite evidence that significant quantities were being diverted toward illicit use, enabled the rise of "methamphetamine labs as well as pseudoephedrine labs" (Suo 2004; Pine 2007).

Suo's series was a damning critique of the pharmaceutical industry and industry, and brought swift response. In part series finished running, the governor of Oregon wrote a letter to the paper promising to make changes to the law to follow many of the recommendations. In response, the state precursor chemicals used in the methamphetamine production an executive order to the Oregon Pharmacy Board to issue an emergency administrative rule" and pseudoephedrine behind the pharmacy counter. The rule required products would have to show a valid prescription. Pharmacies be required to keep a record of the purchase of pseudoephedrine (much they purchased). This has now been adopted by many of other states, as well as federal law signed by President George W. Bush as part of the Methamphetamine Epidemic Act as part of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 2006 (Kulongoski 2004).

Similarly, powerful senators criticized the industry. Senator Dianne Feinstein of California and Orrin Hatch of Utah publicly commit to doing more to address the methamphetamine epidemic.

w at the center of the way humans, at
, manage their health, well-being, and
e taken note of and participated in this
of pharmaceuticals as a key domain in
ance (Biehl 2005).

the first to uncover the symbiotic rela-
and illicit markets in substances con-
of articles published in the *Oregonian*
“Unnecessary Epidemic,” Suo charted
g the methamphetamine problem in
that regulatory decisions made by the
agencies such as the DEA, and inter-
national Narcotics Control Board in
d the course of the meth problem in
ctance of U.S. legislators to restrict the
containing ephedrine in the 1980s and
better regulate the bulk sales of these
icant amounts of the medications were
bled the proliferation of both home-
as meth produced in Mexican “super-

of the collusion between government
onse from legislators. Before his five-
rnor of Oregon had already written a
e the meth problem a priority and to
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h-making process. One of these was
armacy Board to immediately “enact
put any products containing pseudo-
ter. Anyone wishing to purchase these
identification, and the vendor would
urchase (including who it was and how
ecome law in Oregon and the majority
ince the passage of the Combat Meth-
f the renewal of the PATRIOT Act in

zed by Suo for their inaction, such as
rrin Hatch of Utah, were prompted to
dress the meth problem. This took the

erica”

form of putting anti-meth bills on the table, pressuring international leaders to do more to stop meth traffickers and boarders.

In 2005, the House voted 423 to 2 to pass a bill that targeted countries that imported too much methamphetamine in meth (Suo 2005a). Heads of influence in the media, which Suo had portrayed as not taking the methamphetamine problem seriously (he quoted one source at the time as derisively as “kiddie dope”), contested the bill. Suo used the bill to illustrate publicly that meth was a public health problem. Alberto Gonzales stated publicly and privately that meth was an “epidemic,” and that “In terms of public health, meth is now the most dangerous drug in the country,” though Suo’s article was not distributed widely. The bill’s passage was a concern among legislators, who in turn began to view methamphetamine more seriously as a national problem to the extent that it was a public health crisis.

The categorization of methamphetamine as a public health problem had a number of consequences. On the one hand, it increased the sense of urgency, enabling anti-methamphetamine policies to be implemented more quickly. On the other hand, it “naturalized” the problem, making the natural categorization of methamphetamine as a public health problem a history that created the problem in the first place. The actions of the pharmaceutical industry were thereby legitimized, and the industry was able to confront the problem quickly because of the increased sense of urgency and enforcement tactics used in the fight against methamphetamine.

The most significant step in the federal response (at least symbolically) came on March 9, 2002, when President Bush signed into law the USA PATRIOT Improvement and Reauthorization Act. The newly reauthorized act included the “Methamphetamine Epidemic Act,” a multimillion-dollar package of new laws that increased the criminal penalties for making, possessing, or distributing methamphetamine. It was the most significant piece of legislation passed under the PATRIOT Act, and the only piece that was not related to the act’s wider focus on terrorism.

The actions taken (and not) by federal agencies, the pharmaceutical industry combined with U.S. policy toward the drug trade, and the field in which local responses to the problem were made, all affected communities affected by methamphetamine. The actions taken, and the ongoing efforts of the United States to

“fast track” in the Senate and pressure to control the flow of meth within their

to approve a bill that would cut U.S. aid pseudoephedrine, the key ingredient ntial agencies such as the DEA, whom meth problem as seriously as heroin or DEA who said agents referred to meth d the characterization and took steps priority. To this end, Attorney General unequivocally that meth was indeed damage to children and to our soci- drug in America” (Suo 2005b). Even ed nationally, it did much to increase rn began treating methamphetamine effect of calling it an epidemic.

amine use as an epidemic had a num- d, it escalated the sense of threat and nine legislation to be enacted expedi- lized” the problem. That is, the clini- ne as an epidemic erased the political e first place. State regulators and the cleansed of responsibility, and efforts ame the focus of largely familiar law gainst other drug epidemics.

ederal legislative reaction to meth (at 2006, when President George W. Bush mprovement and Reauthorization Act. the “Combat Methamphetamine Epi- ckage aimed primarily at increasing ossessing, and distributing metham- piece of legislation to be added to the t appeared to deviate from the legisla-

ederal officials and the pharmaceutical ward illicit drugs to create a regulatory oblem took shape. In the process, those amine were further incorporated into to eradicate the problem of illicit drugs.

Criminal Justice after the War on

Methamphetamine is hardly the first drug problem in the United States. Cocaine, crack, heroin, and nothing of alcohol—have all taken the United States by storm. In each case, the general focus has been on the problem, with a particular emphasis on law enforcement (Musto 1999).

The response to methamphetamine has been a punitive pattern.² The funding of law enforcement has increased through the legislation contained in the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986. Similarly, within the federal government, the drug control budget totaled approximately \$13 billion since 1986, with \$7.5 billion for domestic law enforcement (\$3.3 billion for interdiction (\$3.3 billion). Together these expenditures make up the federal drug control budget, with \$2.2 billion for treatment and interdiction than to treatment (U.S. Department of Justice 2007). Thus, even though methamphetamine is a unique problem, the response to methamphetamine is the continuation of the same punitive strategy of drug control that has long been the hallmark of the U.S. response to drug use and addiction.

The search for legal remedies to the drug problem in the United States goes back at least to the passage of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act. Temporary drug control efforts are largely a result of the War on Drugs, well into its fourth decade. It was during the War on Drugs (1969–74) that the War on Drugs began. President Nixon used the phrase in a speech in 1970, in which he likewise labeled drug abuse “a national crisis.” He referred to Congress later that summer, Nixon said, “The [drug abuse] problem has become a national emergency. I intend to take every step necessary to bring it under control.” (“Excerpts from President’s Message on the War on Drugs” 1970)

From the beginning, the War on Drugs has been a punitive project. Like other such projects, it was a result of the social implications through which a variety of social problems (Masco 2006; Lutz 2001). At the center of the project was the assumed to exist between drugs and crime. As Kersmeyer have written:

Drugs

drug to generate such national concern (heroin, opium, and marijuana—to say their turn as the most dangerous drug in the U.S.) has been on finding legal solutions rather than a focus on criminalization (Acker 2002;

the U.S. has been largely a repetition of this strategy. Recent government initiatives in “meth hot spots” and the PATRIOT Act is a prime example.³ The U.S. government’s drug control budget, which has increased since 2006, the largest single expenditure (\$3.6 billion) followed closely by inter-agency expenditures constitute over half of the \$7.4 billion more going to law enforcement, prevention, and research (ONDCP 2007). Cocaine and amphetamine has been figured as a new and dangerous drug. The U.S. approach to the problems of drugs

the U.S. problem of illicit drugs in the United States dates back to the Harrison Act in 1914, but contemporary drug policy is the product of the War on Drugs, now being the administration of Richard Nixon. The U.S. has been in earnest. President Nixon declared the drug problem in the United States in earnest. President Nixon delivered in the summer of 1971 in a speech that declared the drug problem a “public enemy No. 1.”⁴ In a speech delivered in 1971, Nixon continued the war motif, declaring that the drug problem “has assumed the dimensions of a national emergency and that it is necessary to deal with this emergency.” (Nixon 1971, “Drug Abuse Control” 1971).

The War on Drugs was envisioned as a national project. It was imagined as a bold effort with broad support. A wide range of policy goals could be pursued under the banner of this effort was the relationship between drug use and crime. As David Musto and Pamela

Richard Nixon seized upon the issue of drugs in the United States as an opportunity to do good and to make good on a promise to lead. He was in charge of implementing his directive to investigate the proposition that a relationship existed between drug behavior. . . . Even those White House officials and such links were aware of the political implications of the relationship between drugs and crime in the public, and the desirability of eliminating it was self-evident. (Musto and Korsmeyer 2002, 10)

The “self-evident” quality of both crime and their need to be eliminated remained continued unabated since its declaration. It has an “in-plain-sight” quality that surrounds the “War on Drugs” (NPR n.d.). Mary Pat Brady argues that the “War on Drugs” is not so much forgotten, as it is “disavowed.” It is true, despite (or even, perhaps, because) of American law and public policy having been fighting out the drug war. These include even asset forfeiture laws, and terms of imprisonment, civil liberties, and foreign policy. Characterization of new federal agencies, and uncounted others, all resulted from the drug war as well. Brady argues, has been through the same process as that by Nixon at the inauguration of the Vietnam War. This is why it is Brady’s contention that the “critical but disavowed” model for the “War on Drugs” (446).

In addition to these more direct (and indirect) impacts on Drugs, the deeper impact has taken perhaps the War on Drugs’ greatest achievement: to make war familiar and largely banal—the War on Drugs is thus a component of the “War on Crime” Lutz has documented, even though it is not always accounted for (Lutz 2002). It goes unremarkable. The drug war has become so common that its continuation now goes without saying.

of increasing use of illicit drugs in the discredit “Great Society” liberalism . . . had an attack on crime. The people in es tended to accept at face value the ted between drug use and criminal e planners who were skeptical about l potential of the issue—the logic of rime was easily communicated to the ating such a pernicious habit seemed (2002, xviii)

the relationship between drugs and may explain why the War on Drugs has ion. It may also explain the “hidden- its effects on American life. A series 07 called the War on Drugs “The For- y has argued that the War on Drugs avowed” and “unremembered.” This is se) of the fact that major components ve been altered in the name of carry- ething from search and seizure laws, risonment, to money laundering laws, ges in government spending, the cre- precedented military operations have ll. The justification for these changes, ame narratives of emergency invoked War on Drugs and implied by the war tion that the War on Drugs is indeed the War on Terror itself (Brady 2002,

(albeit hidden) effects of the War on lace at the level of everyday life. “Per- evement,” Brady writes, “has been to -less terrifying” (ibid., 447). The War e domestic militarization that Cathe- gh it remains unremarked in her own ked, perhaps, because it is now unre- so familiar to the U.S. public, its con-

Statistics maintained by the U.S. Department of Justice paint a vivid picture of just how prevalent drug abuse has been, particularly on the part of law enforcement. “Drug-related violations” are now the single largest category of violations made in the United States.⁶ This reflects a dramatic increase in the number and percentage of drug-abuse violations over the past five years. For instance, of the roughly 15,000 local authorities in 2005, over 1.8 million violations were made. This reflects a tripling in the number of drug-related violations in the 1980s, rising from 538,100 in 1982 to 1,600,000 in 2005. The percentage of total arrests for drug-related offenses rose over the same period, from 7.4 percent in 1982 to 12.5 percent in 2005, though these statistics are significant in light of the more tacit forms of drug-focused police activity, such as stops of suspicious persons or vehicles—that are common in many communities, but often do not result in arrests.

This speaks to the impact that the focus on drug enforcement and administration of law enforcement has had on prosecution. In 2003, more than 90 percent of all local police populations of 2,500 or more performed drug enforcement. Similarly, 97 percent of all local police departments where drug enforcement was reported were sheriff’s offices, with 90 percent reporting drug enforcement functions.

The prosecution of drug offenders has also increased. One-third (35%) of all federal criminal prosecutions in 2003 were for drug offenses, up from less than a quarter in 1982 (21%). Similarly, the number of prosecutions involving 37,501 suspects for drug offenses in 2003. The conviction rate for drug offenders is high and has increased over time. Defendants were convicted compared to 75 percent in 1982—an increasing number—and more than 75 percent are sentenced to prison. Indeed, as the percentage of drug offenders sentenced to prison increased from 54 percent to 75 percent in 2003, the proportion of drug offenders sentenced to prison increased to 93 percent. Very few of these convictions are from jury trials. For instance, 95 percent of drug trafficking convictions are from jury trials compared to 2 percent from jury trials in 1982.

The prosecutorial emphasis on drug offenses has also impacted the population as well. Drug convictions were

Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice
how extensive the effects of the War on
criminal justice system.⁵ "Drug-abuse
type of offense for which arrests are
reflects the steady increase in the num-
ber of violation arrests over the past twenty-
five years: 14 million arrests made by state and
federal law enforcement agencies in 2005,
11 million were for drug-abuse violations.
The percentage of drug-abuse violation arrests since
1987 has increased from approximately 1.8 million in 2005.
The percentage of drug-abuse violations has nearly doubled
from 6.5 percent in 1987 to 13.1 percent in 2005. Finally,
arrests in themselves, they do not capture the
nature of the offense—such as the stop and search of
vehicles, which are common, particularly in marginal
neighborhoods, and which do not result in a formal arrest (Chambliss 2001).

The focus on drugs has had on the organiza-
tion of police departments in everything from policing to
the structure of police departments serving
increased drug enforcement responsibilities.
In 2005, 70 percent of police officers were employed by depart-
ments that regularly performed drug enforcement
duties. The same was true
reporting that they regularly performed

as likewise steadily increased. Over one
million convictions are for drug violations, up from
approximately 500,000 in 1981. Early, U.S. attorneys initiated investiga-
tions of drug offenses in 2004 alone. The convic-
tion rate for drug offenses has grown. In 2004, 92 percent of drug
convictions were the result of a trial, up from 76 percent in 1981. Of those convicted,
more than 50 percent are any other type of criminal offender—
the proportion of all defendants sentenced
to prison increased from 78 percent between 1988 and 2004, the
percentage of convictions that resulted from guilty pleas
increased from 79 percent in 1981 to 83 percent in 2002, for
example, 83 percent of convictions resulted from guilty pleas
and 3 percent from bench trials.

The focus on drug offenders has transformed the prison
system. Drug offenders were responsible for more than 80 per-

cent of the increase in the federal pris (U.S. Dept. of Justice 1997). As of 200 approximately 2.3 million inmates, the highes of these were there for drug-abuse viol of the U.S. prison population, it is dwa probation. As of 2005 there were appr tion. Of these, 28 percent were drug of

But perhaps the most significant im that ties the whole complex together, association between drugs and crime itself an artifact of U.S. drug-contro around which American government place (cf. Moore 2007).

No longer is the association betwe or speculative. On the contrary, one o association is now statistically measur of state prisoners and 18 percent of fed mitted their current offense in order to percent of state prisoners and 26 perc they had committed their current offer

Among all state prisoners, well ove dependent on or abused alcohol or dru those diagnosed as mentally ill, the nu 74 percent of state prisoners dependen

As of 2002, 56 percent of jail inmates drugs at the time of their offense, along weapons violations, 55 percent of burg theft. These percentages were even hig 85 percent of burglaries, 79 percent of drug possession.

When incarcerated individuals we use, the percentages become even mo jail inmates reported having ever use ever used drugs regularly, 54.6 percent 28.8 percent at the time of the arrest. A state prisoners with a mental health p the month prior to the offense.

Such numbers are significant, if for state's continued prioritization of dru

prison population between 1985 and 1995
7, U.S. prisons and jails held approxi-
t number of any nation. The majority
ations. Although much has been made
arfed by the number of individuals on
roximately 4.1 million adults on proba-
fenders.

Impact of the War on Drugs, and the one
is the deepening of the fundamental
itself. Indeed, this association, though
l policies, has become a focal point
t is organized and governance takes

en drugs and crime simply rhetorical
f the fruits of the drug war is that this
able. In 2004, for instance, 17 percent
ederal inmates reported that they com-
o obtain money for drugs. Similarly, 32
cent of federal prisoners reported that
use while under the influence of drugs.
er half (56 percent) were found to be
ugs, regardless of their crimes. Among
umber was even more significant, with
t on or abusing alcohol or drugs.

es convicted of robbery reported using
g with 56 percent of those convicted of
glaries and 55 percent of motor vehicle
gher when alcohol was included, with
weapons violations and 75 percent of

re asked to report any previous drug
re significant. In 2002, 82.2 percent of
d drugs, 68.7 percent reported having
in the month before their offense and
more recent survey found that among
problem, 62 percent had used drugs in

r no other reason than they justify the
gs in crafting public policy. For if, as

these statistics would seem to indicate criminality—whether it is a formal drug focus on drugs and drug-related offenses. Over, as a result of this continued focus, the connection increasingly becomes not just an experiential fact. That is, as those individuals in the justice system carry out their day-to-day work, the magnitude of the drug problem and the impact on the criminal justice system firsthand. Against the backdrop of control policies that prioritize the arrest and prosecution, it makes the impact no less experiential for those administering the policies. Thus, for those who work from social workers to police officers, the connection between drugs and crime is not just a policy issue but a matter of experience.

To put it simply, the association between drugs and crime is a social fact in the United States. It would be difficult for the United States today to participate in a strategy like the War on Drugs. It is noteworthy that a recent public views the state's efforts in the drug war. The Pew Research Center in 2001, just as metropolitan areas received attention, found that nearly three-fourths of Americans thought that the United States was "losing the drug war." The survey also stated that the drug war could not be won. "Demand is so high we will never stop it," one respondent's work gave me no reason to suggest that.

And yet, despite this pessimism, there is still a possibility of stopping the drug war or even considering alternatives like the establishment of more drug-treatment programs or decriminalization of drugs). Indeed, even those who are proponents of the drug war (such as the advocates of long sentences for nonviolent drug offenders) are skeptical from those surveyed (only 45% thought the drug war could be won). The American public still views criminalization of drugs as a policy, despite the fact that it is viewed less favorably than a year ago. Thus, the majority of Americans believe that the drug war they feel cannot be won, using a strategy that has been created a paradoxical foundation for the current drug war context.

e, drugs are implicated in most acts of
drug offense or not—then a continued
seems like common sense. More-
us on drug offenders, the drug–crime
just a statistical correlation but also an
individuals employed within the criminal
day duties, they experience the mag-
impact that drug offenders have on the
n, while this is an artifact of U.S. drug-
est and prosecution of drug offenders,
tially real for those given the task of
hese individuals—ranging from judges
to ordinary citizens—the association
political assertion or statistical correla-

tween drugs and crime has become a
uld not be unfair to say that to live in
e, however modestly or vicariously, in
hen how pessimistically the U.S. pub-
g war. A poll conducted by the PEW
thamphetamine was gaining national
rths of the population (74%) believed
drug war.” Moreover, the same percent-
succeed, agreeing with the statement,
p drug use” (PEW 2001, 1). My field-
t attitudes have changed.

there was little interest expressed in
ndering alternative strategies (such as
ment programs for drug users or the
ven the de-escalation of certain com-
rolling back of mandatory minimum
ers) received only tepid endorsement
at it was “a good idea”). Ultimately, the
ation and interdiction as the best pol-
ss favorably than it was even a decade
s appear committed to fighting a war
egy they no longer believe in. This has
ne political culture emerging from this

These historical developments in U.S. politics of narcopolitics in the United States have led to the framing of illicit drugs as an enforcement issue, with the justice system at the forefront of efforts to combat them. It is no surprise, then, that this is the domain in which narcopolitics has had its deepest impact.

The response to methamphetamine has led to new methods of enforcement but also the introduction of new trajectories. Chapter 2 explores one of those new trajectories made possible by the fact that methamphetamine can be produced using everyday household items. This has led to criminal justice officials on stopping methamphetamine has introduced new avenues for the extension beyond the formal domains of law enforcement, a new chapter in the history of narcopolitics.

U.S. drug policy have shaped the practices. In particular, they have sustained the prohibition issue. This has put the criminal courts to address drug problems. It is not surprising in which the political focus on narcotics

has involved the repetition of old patterns and the production of new trajectories. Chapter 4, an assemblage of policing practices, shows how amphetamine can be produced domestically. The focus of politicians, lawmakers, and courts in curbing this form of domestic production is the exercise of police power, including its limits and the role of law enforcement. It thus marks a turning point in drug politics.

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“It Could Be Here . . . It Could Be My Neig

At one of the final meetings of the SAPC Coalition, a regional coordinator presented a “Readiness Assessment” she had conducted over the month.¹ Jennifer Gaines was in her middle 30s, a Virginia Prevention Resource Center “community prevention specialist.” The primary task of the SAPC groups in developing programs to prevent substance use in the state, particularly those emphasizing prevention.

Jennifer explained that “readiness” was a buzz word common in community prevention. It was a community’s awareness of a problem, in this case, substance use, and its willingness to address it. Jennifer had been able to “score” by asking various members of the community to complete a standardized questionnaire.

Before presenting the county’s scores, she explained the various levels of readiness. The lowest was level one, “No Awareness,” to level nine, “Prevention Program.” A level three, “Vague Awareness.” This was the county’s score and indicated that “Most feel that there is some awareness and motivation to do anything about it.”

The members of SAPC were visibly surprised by the score and began offering explanations as to why the county scored so low. That using alcohol, tobacco, and drugs was a rite of passage, which everyone had done the same when they were young. They felt that there were a large number of elderly people in the county concerned about the drug problem. “A lot of people are worried,” one woman insisted. One particularly f

ghbor”

s of the Substance Abuse Prevention
ented the findings from a “Community
ucted for Baker County the previous
mid-twenties and worked for the West
(WVPRC) as a “community develop-
the WVPRC was to assist community
romote health and well-being in the
revention.

was, like “social capital,” one of those
development. It referred to a commu-
ase substance abuse, and their willing-
ble to establish the county’s “readiness
ne community to complete a standard-

re, Jennifer referred to a chart show-
re were nine levels, ranging from level
rofessionalization.” Baker County was
stage was just one step above “Denial”
e is a local problem, but no immediate

disappointed with the assessment and
their score was so low. Some thought
was something of a community norm,
parents tolerated because they them-
ere younger. Others pointed to the fact
erly residents who weren’t particularly
A lot of it is our Appalachian culture,”
rustrated woman, citing her own expe-

riences trying to raise awareness about that even though the score was low, it's county. Others nodded in agreement and "denial" that persisted in the community problem and take steps to address it, they simply denied that a problem even existed.

Jennifer stepped in at this point. She spoke of SAPC that there was still hope by readiness in the community. Jennifer's readiness assessment, she had discovered to significant drug-related events right related death or a large drug bust, but removed from the event people became could potentially be mobilized but only harness this initial reactive spirit and replacing the idea that "that's not here" it could be my neighbor."

A Vague Awareness?

This conversation surprised me. In members, local awareness of drugs and Indeed, over the course of the time I at just how frequently talk turned to simply as "the drug problem." This form more prominent as concern with meth community members might not have reach make them anxious to participate in the developed by the Substance Abuse Prevention played the awareness that, "it could be

For example, I was at a Bible study an unexpected turn toward the topic group, gathered in the basement of the Corbin, had invited me. I accepted Jo accepted Sandy Hinkle's invitation to social studies fair, and Chris Worthen nursing home on Thursday nights: or immerse oneself as thoroughly as possible in such sites, talk frequently turned to

ut substance abuse in the county, felt still overestimated the readiness of the as she spoke about the strong “state of ty. Rather than acknowledge the drug e woman stated, most county residents ted, insisting, “that’s not here.”

ne attempted to reassure the members y suggesting a strategy for increasing explained that in doing the community ered that there was a strong reaction t after they happened, such as a drug- t that this sentiment faded the farther e. This suggested that county residents y if the group was able to find a way to transform it into a sense of readiness, ” with the sense that “it could be here;

my own interviews with community d drug abuse was anything but vague. lived in Baker County, I was amazed he topic, referred to in the vernacular m of talk seemed to have become even hamphetamine grew. And while com- ched the level of readiness that would he kind of prevention programs being vention Coalition, they certainly dis- here; it could be my neighbor.”

one evening when conversation took of methamphetamine. It was a small he Methodist church. A friend, Joey oey’s invitation for the same reason I be a judge in the elementary school ’s invitation to assist with bingo at the ut of the ethnographic imperative to sible in the field site, but also because, the topic of methamphetamine.

My Neighbor”

The group was composed of older people in their sixties. Joey and I were two of the last to arrive. They had already chatted with each other, some sitting on chairs that had been arranged in a circle in the middle of the room. They were eating, grazing on the impressive spread of food that was standard fare at such gatherings.

I followed Joey as he walked over and introduced me to a large man in jeans, a gray T-shirt, and a baseball cap. He sat a small, frail-looking woman in a blue dress, in her early sixties. The older man gave a slight nod.

“How are you, Billy?” Joey asked in a friendly tone.

“Not too bad,” the man said, pausing for a moment before still killing me though. The doctor checked me out, but ain’t doing no good.”

Joey nodded in sympathy. He had been in the hospital working at the local poultry processing plant. An accident that left him with burns over a significant portion of his body had hospitalized him for three months. He was home with scars and he was missing most of his hair.

During the time Joey was in the hospital, he had a lot of pain. “I got hooked on it,” he said. “I was trying to get it to end.” This personal experience with drug use was a common one of methamphetamine. “But that [morphine] was what the kids are putting into their bodies today. I was sitting in his chair to make the point. “We got a lot of people from us over there. I believe he’s making a point over there from where they was making a point.”

This brief exchange between three people typified the kinds of contexts in which drug use was expressed. I witnessed and/or participated in these exchanges while waiting to vote, while at the hardware store, while at the exchanges, meth was a concern because of the way it affected people. People were aware that meth seemed to be a problem in rural areas, and if the arrest records in the area showed that their community was hardly immune to the problem. Local residents expressed their deep concern about people they knew—or people they had had some kind of personal encounter with. The way they talked embodied the level of awareness that they had about the problem.

“It Could Be F

men and women in their fifties and to arrive. Those who had already gathered in the metal folding chairs that middle of the room, some still on their feet with plates of cookies, cake, coffee, and tea that

and sat down in a folding chair next to a man wearing a camouflage baseball cap; beside him a woman in a blue dress. Both appeared to be in their sixties. They both nod to Joey as we approached.

greeting.

Joey spoke briefly before adding, “My back is bad. I’ve changed my medications around but it

has his own problems with pain. While working at the plant, Joey had been in a severe accident that took a significant portion of his body and had to be amputated. He survived, but his body was covered in scars and he lost the fingers on his left hand.

At the hospital, he was given morphine for the pain. He had to wean myself off it there at the time. The pain and addiction led Joey to the topic of morphine. “Morphine] ain’t nothing compared to what I’ve seen,” he said, moving up on the edge of his seat. “I’ve seen a boy selling meth right up the street and I’ve seen him using it, too. We had a house burn down and he was using it.”

Joey’s friends in the basement of a church that was concerned about methamphetamine had participated in similar conversations at a hardware store, and at Wal-Mart. In these conversations, because of its prevalence and proximity, methamphetamine was found to be having its primary impact on the community. The stories in the local paper were any indicator, but they spoke to its effects. Without being prompted, the friends’ concern about methamphetamine with their own people that they knew, knew—had had a direct impact on methamphetamine. In this way, they were part of the Substance Abuse Prevention Coali-

tion was looking for. Indeed, Joey's store and meth dealer in his neighborhood could be here; it could be my neighborhood.

For most, knowledge of methamphetamine came from second- and third-hand sources. The court proceedings produced a key source. So, too, were awareness campaigns carried out by police officers and community groups, such as the Methamphetamine Prevention Coalition. Many local residents had been involved in community work, either through training programs or as part of a community project related to meth. Taken as a whole, the information disseminated had created a palpable sense of methamphetamine in the community.

This sense of methamphetamine was reinforced by second- and third-hand sources such as newspaper articles. The newspaper coverage coupled with firsthand experience produced a sense of astonishment comparable to seeing the Acropolis for the first time (Gardner 1936, 240). Such individuals served as catalysts for methamphetamine-related talk, enhancing the sense of its presence.

Everything about methamphetamine in Baker County. Its addictiveness, its production, the fact that "the people you'd never suspect" were involved, the aspect of meth that caused the most damage, the way it was produced. Unlike comparable drugs such as heroin, methamphetamine can be manufactured locally using everyday household items. It has been found everywhere, in hotel rooms, in homes, in schools, and in rural areas. These "laboratories" of methamphetamine, with a set of tools and ingredients, compact and easy to use, "cooks" largely opted to work in rural areas. The isolation that accompanied the production process, the secrecy, and the toxic by-products that resulted contributed to the sense that between 1999 and 2004 the number of methamphetamine labs involving an active meth lab or its remnants increased to 17,170 (DEA, n.d.c).

This image of the meth lab as rural, hidden, and easily found from a few telltale signs has become a part of the local culture. Indeed, what the crack house was for crack cocaine, the meth lab was for methamphetamine. More importantly, methamphetamine can be produced from chemicals that were

ry, focused as it was on the meth cook
literally expressed the feeling that “It
.”

metamine came from second- or third-
published by the local newspaper were
-raising campaigns such as those car-
community groups like the Substance Abuse
idents had been made aware of meth at
s or as a result of new responsibilities
ese various forms of awareness-raising
metamine and the threat it posed to the

s amplified as knowledge gained from
s training seminars and the local news-
erience. For those, such as Joey, it pro-
rable to that expressed by Freud upon
: “So all this really *does* exist.” (Freud
crucial nodes in the wider networks of
cing its circulation and verisimilitude.
e was a cause for concern for residents
prevalence in rural areas, the uncanny
ct” were the most likely users. But the
concern was the way in which it was
uch as cocaine and heroin, meth could
day household items. Meth labs had
ns, cars, and even unassuming homes
ften consisted only of a small ensem-
enough to fit inside a briefcase. Meth
areas, where the potent chemical smell
cess was less likely to be detected, and
ld be easily dumped. The DEA reports
ber of meth lab incidents—situations
nnants—nationally rose from 7,438 to

hidden, and impossible to detect aside
a key symbol of methamphetamine.
cocaine, the meth lab has become for
g, the fact that methamphetamine can
e, until recently, widely available, has

My Neighbor”

directly affected the way citizens have been addressing the problem. Specifically, the use of everyday items has led to the expansion of individuals involved in policing their circles. This has happened within the field of law enforcement, such as the Department of Natural Resources, which is in drug enforcement, but also among citizens who are increasingly involved in the policing of their communities. This has led to an increasing awareness of the signs of possible narcotics production.

Legislation introduced to formally regulate the production, particularly products like pseudoephedrine, has encouraged citizens and sought to build on it, creating laws that either formally or informally require citizens to participate in the effort, law enforcement officials, politicians, and the media sought to increase public awareness of the signs of production and use, thereby incorporating citizens into law enforcement.

Making Methamphetamine

“I’ve seen what drugs can do to a lot of people. I was sitting at the table from me. I continued to sip my coffee. Justin was long forgotten about his empty glass of coffee. Justin had been convicted of multiple counts of possession of a controlled substance with intent to deliver. He served two years in prison. Justin was on his sentence on probation. A high school friend of mine called me when he heard I was doing research on methamphetamine.

Justin lived alone in a small farmhouse on a hillside between Meadville, the county seat of Crawford County, and Dove. For reasons he never made clear to me, I had to call his cousin, who would be home. On my third attempt, I reached him. He suggested we meet at Annie’s, the restaurant in downtown Meadville.

Justin was already sitting on a bench outside the restaurant when I arrived, his short, dark hair mostly combed back. He was stocky, though he explained as we entered that he had weighed fifty pounds less than he had when he was in prison.

“It Could Be F

been called upon to aid in address-
association of methamphetamine with
ion of the number and kinds of indi-
culation. This broadening of scope has
forcement, where officers from agencies
resources are now much more involved
g ordinary citizens, who have become
of their communities through a grow-
meth production and use.

regulate the chemicals used in meth
certain over-the-counter medications
couraged this awareness among citi-
g new regulations that either formally
cipate in police work. As part of this
cians, and community groups have all
f the signs of methamphetamine pro-
g local residents into the work of drug

of people.” Justin Stokes sat across the
coffee while he (and the waitress) had
iced tea. Three years earlier Justin had
possession of methamphetamine with
n the regional jail and was completing
ool friend of Justin’s had introduced us
n methamphetamine.

ouse on top of the mountain that stood
f Baker County, and the small town of
ar, Justin had no telephone. To reach
ld then walk next door to see if Justin
hed him, and he agreed to meet. Justin
aurant attached to the bowling alley in

ench outside the restaurant when I
covered by his baseball cap. Justin was
ntered the restaurant that he actually
d a year ago, a fact that he attributed

to the healthy lifestyle he'd adopted since his arrest, including his probation officer and ex-girlfriend, and using methamphetamine. Justin dismissed the rumors as gossip that had always followed him in his life, and in a difficult place for him to live, even before his arrest.

I was somewhat surprised Justin had chosen to eat in the most public place in town. According to the waitress, one meal a day there. My surprise at Justin's choice was approached our table. I sensed a coldness in his eyes I'd sensed before when I'd been there alone. Justin was probably wondering who I was, and what my dealings with one of the most notorious drug dealers that the waitress's son, David, had also done with methamphetamine. Indeed, Justin and David were both arrested that came after a Federal Drug Task Force raid on the store.

Justin spoke in hushed tones. He seemed nervous but mostly remained serious. He had never been arrested for not of producing it. Justin claimed, neither he nor David, both. Indeed, he started producing because he needed to "take his body," as he'd seen others do) to make it [meth], it was *on*," he said excitedly. "I'll go to the hardware store, get my stuff, come back to the store, and make it."

"Were you able to get everything you needed?"

"Hardware store, Rite Aid [a national chain], and a pharmacy."

"I don't know if you know what it's made of," Justin said.

"I know basically," I said, "but I don't know the ingredients."

Justin began listing the ingredients. "Sudafed; I've seen it made with ether, sodium hydroxide, and progressively more excited, seeming to take pleasure in the process."

Although he did not name it as such, the "Nazi method" for producing methamphetamine term holds that it was developed by Nazi chemists during World War II. The term methamphetamine and other amphetamine derivatives, and key officials including, supposedly, the FBI, have taken actions limiting sale of the precursor chemicals. The "Nazi method" is the most common method of producing methamphetamine. Hell's Angels and other biker gangs in the United States use such recipes, which had been secretly given to them via the Internet (Owen 2007).

since his release from jail, but others, his wife, saw as a clear sign he was again dismissed these suspicions as the standard gossip of the town, the kind of talk that made it worse before he became involved with meth.

He'd chosen Annie's to meet. Annie's was popular among locals, half of the town ate at least once a week. Justin's choice grew as the waitress slowly revealed a certain classiness in her demeanor, something I'd not noticed before. I assumed she knew who Justin was, at least in some way, other than a stranger having public dealings with drug dealers in town. I learned later that Justin had been sent to jail for selling methamphetamine. These arrests were part of the same string of arrests in the area where police began to focus on the area.

Justin smiled his crooked smile on occasion. He'd been convicted of selling meth but was proud nevertheless, to have been involved with it. "I refused to steal (or worse, 'sell') to maintain my habit. 'After I knew how to cook it, I'd just go up here to the hardware store and cook it."

"You needed just at the hardware store?" [a local pharmacy chain]. . . " Justin replied. "I'd be out of."

"I don't know specifics."

"Boric Acid, witch hazel, Nasenex, Sulfur . . ." As he spoke he became proud to take pleasure in his own ingenuity.

Justin was describing the so-called "Nazi" methamphetamine. The folk etymology of this drug is that the Nazis during World War II to produce amphetamines consumed by the Nazi military and Hitler himself. Until the new regulations regarding chemicals used to produce meth, it was a secret, gaining prominence first among the West, and then going national once the details were made public knowledge.

My Neighbor

Here is how Donnie Grate, and described the production process to County:

You take the Sudafed, pop them out them, put them in a bucket. Take your lithium strip out of them. Put the pour the anhydrous on it. Then you a white stream of liquid. Then you you take a pop bottle with tubing, through liquefier in it and smoke it. Put it in a filter that into another jar and get the

Recent anti-meth legislation has been enacted by heightening regulations on chemicals. Though new, this legislation is part of a broader effort to control the production of amphetamines and related precursor chemicals out of formal legality for decades (We have seen previous efforts focused largely on the national level, such as the regulation of pseudoephedrine supplies, the recent legislation foregrounds the local level. This has required the involvement of a local law enforcement level to enforce the regulations.

That the police power of the state has been exercised is hardly surprising. In the United States, the primary locus of criminal justice takes place in local communities. This reflects what Lawrence Friedman has called the “localness” inherent to the U.S. criminal justice system. In the reach of crime, the reality of crime—albeit not always the same. Criminal justice, on the other hand, is often exercised at the local level. Indeed, as Markus Dubber and Maria C. Rodriguez note, there is a strong tendency in the United States to view criminal justice as essentially local. “In fact,” they write, “criminal justice is defined as essentially local” (Dubber and Rodriguez).

But this arrangement affects the coordination of police power. That is to imagine police power in local terms is to imagine the local in terms of police power. This is particularly true in the case of clandestine methamphetamine production, where residents of rural communities have

“It Could Be F

other local methamphetamine cook, to the prosecuting attorney of Baker

t of the pack, crush them and grind
r batteries, peel them off and get the
ills and the lithium in a bucket and
throw Coleman to it, it will bubble . . .
take the lid off, put it in a jar. Then
ree inch tubing, and then you put salt
a jar and smoke that liquid. Then you
meth out.

argeted this kind of domestic produc-
hemicals used in the cooking process.
a long history of attempts to regulate
chemicals, which have moved in and
isheit and Fuller 2004). Whereas pre-
tional and international flows of bulk
ands local intervention at point of sale.
wider range of individuals at the local

as been channeled through the local is
, much of the “heavy lifting” involved
l jurisdictions (Scheingold 1991). This
called the “major structural contradic-
tice system: “The causes of crime, the
ll these are national in scale and scope.
as local as local gets” (Friedman 1993).
anna Valverde have observed, there is
e to delegate the state’s police power to
the police power’ is sometimes imag-
Valverde 2006).

nstitution of “the local” as much as the
s, just as there is a tendency in U.S. law
s, so there is also a tendency to imag-
This is evident in the approach taken
e production. To police this problem,
been equipped with a new field of

vision, a new way of perceiving the local landscape of methamphetamine. Immanent in this new way of seeing was the need to police the local landscape for signs of change. Recent legislation has remapped what the sociologist Bourdieu called the “juridical field” of local community—a “habitus” centered on the policing of community boundaries (Hagan and Levi 2005).

This habitus is based, not on struggle (as in Bourdieu’s account) but on suspicion, a sense of loss (ibid., 1502–3). Indeed, the rise of methamphetamine enthusiasts, their presence, or at significant personal cost, is understood here as a particular sense of community in the physical landscape—as they imagined the landscape. Clandestine methamphetamine production revealed an illicit potential in the community that was preferred to remain unaware (Das 2006). The rise in by anti-meth efforts was occupied and the landscape expanded the range of individuals involved.

Policing at Work, Work as Policing

Many of the new regulations on prescription drug production at point of sale. This means that police are part of the daily work routine for employees of pharmacies that sell. Pharmacists are a key example. A pharmacist has been given significant responsibilities. The legislation effectively created a new category of counter medications that are kept behind the counter to maintaining the state registry that regulates the sale of products containing ephedrine or pseudoephedrine. The law limit the amount of medication individuals can purchase in distinguishing legitimate from illegitimate purchases.

I often went to the pharmacy in town to get my prescriptions and, as a business, functioned more like a convenience store. The majority of prescriptions for local pharmacies, including Wal-Mart—they offer a wide range of magazines, groceries, tools, kitschy Valentine’s cards, and clothing.

local landscape centered around meth-
field of vision is a set of responsibilities
s of meth. In this way, the anti-meth
ciologist Pierre Bourdieu would have
mmunities, generating a distinct “legal
andestine methamphetamine produc-

gle, competition, and conflict (as per
apprehension, and—in certain cases—
ough some participated in the policing
others did so with reluctance, indiffer-
cluding the loss of the local—under-
munity and perception of the social and
it. For these individuals, knowledge of
tion was a “poisonous knowledge” that
munity about which they would have
o). Thus the new legal habitus ushered
ifferently by different actors, even as it
lved in the policing process.

ng

ursor chemicals regulate their circula-
policing these chemicals is now part of
of businesses where such chemicals are
As mentioned above, pharmacists have
under the new anti-meth legislation.
ew category of medications: over-the-
ind the pharmacy counter. In addition
records the names of those purchasing
seudoephedrine, pharmacists must now
dual customers buy and do triage work
timate customers.

own. It was a locally owned operation
ke a general store. In addition to filling
l residents—outdoing the local chain
ered a small selection of books and
West Virginia souvenirs, home décor,

My Neighbor”

The Mackies, the family who owned reserved. They would share anecdotes had with “druggies” but were reluctant their business. This was understandable tions in the town, they were entrusted community on both an aggregate and it was because they were aware of the sessed. And they took their role as stew

The Mackies enforced the new re though Jerry Mackie expressed doubt effect. They posted a sign informing cing ephedrine or pseudoephedrine w counter. Those who requested to purch to show an ID and sign the state regi and so the Mackies were not particul Indeed, they were, in many ways, al work, but in a different way.

I would often see Dustin Mackie, Je quiet but would often comment wher access to drugs illegally. For instance, in with a prescription that had obvious forged because there were only two familiar with both their signatures a if I’d believed the signature,” Dustin e would have prescribed as much Vicod Dustin, this local knowledge acquired superior method for monitoring the i than the state’s bureaucratic measures.

And yet, in other areas, the state wa edge to work. A sheriff in one county one of the many “country stores” that diction, providing groceries and conve more urban areas. The sheriff had gone them that there were people making m anyone buying a lot of cold medicine, c anything strange, like plastic tubing. him about an “old boy” that had starte pills just as quickly as he could stock t sheriff’s friend thought it was strange

“It Could Be F

and the store, were friendly but generally
with me about experiences they had
to reveal much of the inner workings of
e. As the primary purveyor of medica-
with knowledge about the health of the
individual scale. If they were guarded,
ensitivity of the information they pos-
ards of this information very seriously.
egulations as they were required to,
s that the new laws would have much
customers that all medications contain-
were now held behind the pharmacy
hase one of these products were asked
stry. Most of these sales were benign,
arly moved by the new requirements.
ready involved in this kind of triage

erry Mackie's son, out in town. He was
a they had had someone trying to get
he told me about a woman who came
ly been forged. They knew it had been
doctors in town, and they were very
nd their prescribing practices. "Even
explained, "there's no way Dr. Jenkins
lin as that prescription said." Thus, for
through long-term relationships was a
illicit acquisition of prescription drugs

s finding ways to put this local knowl-
told me about an old friend who ran
dotted the rural landscape in his juris-
enience items that gas stations stock in
e to the owners of these stores to warn
eth in the area, and to pay attention to
cooking fuel, or batteries, or asking for
His friend looked surprised, and told
ed showing up and buying all his cold
them, saying he had bad allergies. The
but hadn't been aware of the metham-

phetamine problem, or the fact that it could be used for other such items.

But the state is not the only institution that monitors chemicals. National chain stores that sell chemicals, such as Wal-Mart, Tractor Supply, and Home Depot, have their own policies that complement the new legislation. I would regularly go to Tractor Supply Company. One evening I noticed a Meth Watch sign posted in the store.

“Have you been having a lot of problems with methamphetamine as I checked out.

She was in her forties and, without a doubt, had been running the program.

“They gave us a list of things we’re monitoring. We’re now wrestling the large bag of dog food over the counter.”

“What are you supposed to do if you see someone suspiciously asked.

“Well, if they’re buying a whole bag of dog food, we might be using it to make meth, then we’ll ask them to then follow them to the parking lot and see if they can write down the license plate number.”

“What do you do then?”

“Well, we give their license plate number to the police and call the police.”

I asked her if employees at other stores were doing the monitoring of purchases. She told me about a store in Kern State, an agricultural supply store. The store was to monitor the sale of certain chemicals that are used in the production process. Employees there drew directions from local farmers to carry out this task. They were to note, including the amount of each chemical, the name of the stranger came and started buying a lot of chemicals. If a customer seemed to be ordering more than usual, of the year, the employees were to notify the police.

Businesses were not the only sites that were required to monitor chemicals and other products. The state’s production. Nor was regulation at places where methamphetamine which rural residents were being mobilized. Community volunteers, among others, were given instructions on how to identify that a meth lab had been in operation.

could be made with cold medicine and
onal actor restricting access to precur-
at are common in rural communities,
Southern States, have developed their
w regulations contained in the legisla-
apply to get dog food for my two dogs.
ticker on the front door.²

blems with meth?" I asked the cashier
even looking up at me, began explain-

supposed to watch out for," she said,
er the scanner and back into my cart.
ou see people buying those things?" I

nch of something, or if we think they
we're supposed to sell it to them and
nd see what vehicle they get into and

mber to the manager, and I think they

res were having to do the same kind of
about a friend who worked at South-
She and her co-workers were asked to
hat could be used in the meth produc-
rectly from the their relationships with
e employees knew these farmers well,
l they would need in a typical year. If a
of one of these chemicals, or a regular
than they should need over the course
fy law enforcement.

at which people were being asked to
ts associated with methamphetamine
oint of sale the only means through
lized. State road workers and civic vol-
ructions on how to recognize the signs
n. These instructions included how to

My Neighbor"

distinguish garbage carelessly strewn a
nants. Having such knowledge was im
also a way to aid law enforcement in th
producers. In this way, road workers an
to the policing of clandestine methamp
workers' policing of precursor chemica
entation, seeking to prevent clandestine
taking place, the road workers' policin
looking, seeking to find meth produce
methamphetamine production enabled
in both space and time, "allowing the g
with the governance of the future" (Du

Kent MacAfee, a retired army cont
ous volunteer organizations in the con
the work of policing methamphetamine
West Virginia Division of Environme
doing volunteer road cleanup as an
were the instructions given to particip

Do not pick up the following items, a
amphetamine preparation:

- Containers and glassware with wh
- Grinders
- Coffee filters
- Funnels
- Glass or plastic tubing
- pH papers
- Coolers and condenser tubes

Volunteers were further warned tha

The items listed above are often fou
have been tied shut and thrown on th
can result in burns, blindness, and
even explode.

These instructions educated volunt
amphetamine production. They also t
encounter the remnants of a meth lab:

"It Could Be F

along the highway from meth lab remnants as important as a safety measure, but it was the detection of local methamphetamine and volunteers added a new temporality to methamphetamine production. While the retail market sales was forward looking in its orientation, the methamphetamine production from the remnants of meth lab remnants was backward looking after the fact. Thus the targeting of methamphetamine production and the expansion of police power locally and the governance of the past to be articulated (Gibber and Valverde 2006).

A contractor who was involved with numerous communities, was enlisted in this way into the project. He brought me a sheet from the Environmental Protection Agency he had received while he was an "Adopt-A-Highway" volunteer. These are the signs:

As they may be associated with meth-

amphetamine residue or powder

It:

found in plastic grocery store bags that are lying on the side of the road. Opening the bags can cause serious health problems. They may

be used by dealers on the signs of clandestine methamphetamine production. Tell old volunteers what to do should they

Leave the bags where they are and call meth lab items you find while picking up a program. (emphasis in original).

These instructions gave participants a new orientation toward their work. Work of volunteerism was now a potentially a direct threat to those involved, and a requirement if they encountered anything suspicious. The production was transforming participation by drawing attention to potential threats and new responsibilities to citizens to police.

The same kind of instruction was given to Kent, a man I met through singing in the Department of Transportation. He spent time informing road workers about the dangers of methamphetamine. After presenting some general information provided by the DEA, the article concluded that road workers should look for and do with methamphetamine. “Road Workers Need to Be Alert” stated:

Like hunters and Adopt-a-Highway volunteers, you are those likely to stumble upon a methamphetamine waste dump.

Be alert. What may initially look like a pile of inert, lethal meth waste material.

Do not go near the material(s).

Do not touch or move anything in the area. It is dangerous to yourself, disturbing the area may hinder agencies [sic] efforts to trace the lab location.

Contact your supervisor immediately. Notify local law enforcement personnel with the location of the waste dump.

Thus state road workers have been given new responsibilities with regard to methamphetamine. However, the instructions were given to state road workers’ role in police work was not to touch anything that might be a methamphetamine threat to their safety but also because it

911. After calling 911 please report any
up litter to the Adopt-A-Highway Pro-

s in the Adopt-A-Highway program a
that had previously been a benign form
dangerous activity. Such objects posed
required them to call local law enforce-
picious. Knowledge of local meth pro-
on in the Adopt-A-Highway program
ats in the local landscape and issuing
ce the problem.

given to state road workers. Charlie
the community choir, worked for the
showed me a publication he received
angers of methamphetamine produc-
nformation about methamphetamine
cluded with instructions on what road
regard to meth labs. The section titled
ed:

volunteers, road workers are among
waste dump.

like harmless trash in a ditch may be

n the area. In addition to being dan-
a may hinder law enforcement agen-
on and/or the manufacturers.

tely. Your supervisor should contact
exact location of the possible meth

en given the same instructions and
nphetamine as Adopt-A-Highway vol-
ere even more explicit in discussing
rk. Road workers were instructed not
h lab remnant, not only because of the
t could interfere with law enforcement

My Neighbor”

efforts to locate the cooks. For their part, they were expected to participate in the policing of methamphetamine, looking for signs of meth production and the presence of meth lab remnants to law enforcement.

In each case, the protocols given to police officers and volunteers provided a new way of policing methamphetamine. Previously benign citizens, whether on the road or an over-the-counter cold medicine store, were threats through their association with methamphetamine. More, this knowledge carried with it the potential for the work of policing on the spot, and/or prevention. In this way, the range of individuals who could be a problem was expanding as the local landscape changed.

Expanding the Field of Drug Control

This expansion of police power was also an expansion of enforcement itself. A significant group of police officers were DNR officers. These officers were responsible for state-owned land, particularly state parks. Their role consisted of enforcing laws related to hunting, fishing, camping, and the like. This role would include traveling through a section of land that was hunting out of season or fishing in a restricted area, however, was changing this role. Methamphetamine in these areas meant that these officers had to be prepared for more than just hunting and fishing.

The first person I spoke to about this was Matt Keezle. Matt had been an officer for many years, a man himself, working for the Department of Natural Resources. At least he would ever get to hunting and fishing. He was a mutual friend, someone that Matt would know.

The office of the DNR was on an isolated road, a few miles in either direction from the nearest town. Matt was sitting in a swivel chair in front of a desk. He was wearing a green uniform made him seem older than he was. His tobacco bulged slightly from his lower lip. He raised to his mouth occasionally to take a puff.

When I told Matt that I was doing a book on methamphetamine, he began telling me about a course he had taken.

“It Could Be Harder.”

part, then, road workers were instructed to watch for methamphetamine through vigilance in the field and precision when reporting the location of the find.

Pharmacists, road workers, retail clerks, and others, by seeing the local landscape in terms of potential objects, such as a plastic bag on the side of a road, or medicine, were resignified as potential sites of clandestine meth production. Furthermore, the responsibility to act, to engage in the field, to provide information to local law enforcement, and the role of those policing the methamphetamine problem was re-imagined in terms of meth.

Control

Also taking place within the field of law enforcement in this regard was the Department of Natural Resources. Officers were in charge of monitoring state parks and reserves. Their primary duties in these areas, particularly those regulating hunting and fishing, were like those of a police officer. A typical day for a DNR officer was patrolling a state park making sure no one was hunting or fishing without a license. Methamphetamine, however, was a cook's preference for secluded, rural areas. DNR officers were on the lookout for meth production. One of these changes was a DNR officer named Matt who worked for nearly ten years. An avid outdoorsman, Matt worked for the Department of Natural Resources as the closing guard for a living. I met Matt through a mutual friend who would go fly-fishing with him on occasion.

At an empty stretch of the highway twenty miles from the nearest towns. When I arrived, Matt was sitting behind a small desk. His receding hairline and thin frame were thinner than he actually was. A plug of chewing tobacco in his lip, and a small Styrofoam cup, which he used to spit, sat between his legs.

While doing research on methamphetamine, he had taken a year or two earlier that all

of the DNR officers had been required full of information,” he said, and began it. “I know it’s here somewhere,” he as shelves stacked somewhat haphazardly and other bits of bureaucratic miscellany direct involvement with methamphetamine significant things he had encountered in use. By the time he found them, the

DNR officers had the jurisdiction over former labs, Matt explained, but they was dangerous. Matt relayed a story of how he’d inadvertently come upon an active methamphetamine lab (lung damage (Matt couldn’t remember the name, it, its yours” policy that governed jurisdiction between branches of law enforcement in the area was so time-consuming and expensive that the DNR did as much as possible, preferring to let the sheriff handle it. This revealed an important yet overlooked aspect of the effort to stop clandestine methamphetamine production: bureaucratic squabbles, the cost associated with such a significant. County governments and state governments in Virginia have limited funds for such a task, so the alternative to seek out signs of meth production

Matt finally abandoned his effort to find a meth training course and sat back in his chair. “I’ll tell you a lot, though, he assured me. For instance, “piles” (small amounts of waste that could be used for evidence that they had been making methamphetamine look for packages of Sudafed and other over-the-counter medicine. He had heard that as these producers had turned to other products, including “pink cocaine,” which was a bright pink liquid that was used by hunters used to bait deer. Indeed, during his time, he devoted an entire wall near the check-out

But Matt was not just involved in preventing methamphetamine use, he was involved in policing its use. Even before the ban, Matt encountered people doing it on the side of the road. He stood up and reached for a shelf. The box contained all of the drugs

l to attend. “They gave me a big folder
n to search through the office to find
sured me, rummaging through book-
ly with training manuals, file folders,
any. I asked Matt if he had had much
amine. Matt explained that the most
were remnants of meth labs no longer
cooks were usually long gone.

and responsibility to deal with these
tried to avoid it if possible because it
f a local police officer who had inad-
lab, and it had caused either liver or
r which). There was also a “you touch
isdictional issues among the various
rea. Cleaning up after a meth lab was
at those at DNR avoided doing it if at
ff’s department or state police handle
rlooked dimension of national efforts
ne production. Beyond the standard
ciated with cleaning up a meth lab is
state agencies in rural areas like West
activities, creating a financial disincen-
on.

o find the folder he had received at the
the swivel chair. The class had taught
instance, he knew now to check “burn
ampers burn as a means of disposal)
g methamphetamine. He also knew to
er products containing pseudoephed-
ducts had become harder to come by,
ncluding the rather aptly named “Deer
quid available at almost any store that
ng hunting season the local Wal-Mart
out lanes to a display of Deer Cocaine.
oolicing meth production; he was also
ore methamphetamine became a con-
g drugs on the side of secluded state
small shoebox on top of a nearby book-
rug paraphernalia he had confiscated

My Neighbor”

over the years. Most of the items were everything from plastic cups to a bear-

Matt reached into the box and pulled out a pen. He had found the pen after he suspected of using drugs. Matt had not looked into their car, but noticed that they left. Matt knew from his training to smoke meth. The user would put the lighter underneath, and use the ballpoint pen to light it. Matt said he could have pulled it out, but he knew it would have been nearly impossible. Since he did not find the pipe in the car, the actual methamphetamine, the prosecution wouldn't have even pursued the case.

The phone rang. Matt answered it, and the officer asked for paraphernalia. "Hey," he said casually. "I don't know about who wanted to know about me, but I'll get you that," he said with a laugh. Matt then hung up the phone later and hung up the phone.

"Tell me about what?" I asked.

Matt smiled sheepishly and began to tell me about the case. He had been doing his normal patrol in the forest when he noticed a truck parked in a clearing. He parked and approached the truck. When he got to the truck, he saw a man sitting in the truck by himself, smoking marijuana. Matt went back to the truck again, somewhat awkwardly, and shook the man out of the truck. Matt was even the first person I've caught doing that. About another man he had found like that, and using a "pocket pussy" to masturbate.

I returned Matt's sheepish smile, embarrassed that I had discovered. We sat in awkward silence for a moment. An officer came into the office. The DNR shared the information. The officer had come by to pick something up for his work. Matt flagged the officer down and told him the name was Gil McDonald. Like Matt, he was a DNR officer, and part of his work, including the same kind of work.

Gil was also seeing more of it in his area. He was involved in an undercover drug bust with

"It Could Be I"

re homemade pipes fashioned out of
shaped honey container.

led out the empty shaft of a ballpoint
opped two boys in a state park he sus-
found any drugs on the boys when he
the pen piece was on the ground after
that these pen pieces were often used
he meth on a piece of tin foil, hold a
oint pen “pipe” to smoke the meth as
rsued the two boys but didn’t because
ossible to bring charges against them.
ir possession and had not found any
tting attorney for the county probably

still holding the shoebox full of drug
y. “I’m talking to that guy I told you
th.” A small smile appeared on Matt’s
other end. “No, I didn’t tell him about
told the officer he would talk to him

telling me about a recent encounter.
through the back roads of the national
in a small clearing beneath a tree. Matt
hen he got there, he found a man sit-
meth and masturbating. Matt chuckled
ok his head in amazement. “That isn’t
that, either,” he said, telling me briefly
wise sitting in his truck smoking meth
ate.

barrassed both for him and the men he
ence for a moment until a state trooper
the building with the state police. The
up from his desk on his way home from
s he came in and introduced me. His
was increasingly encountering meth as
ds of remnants of meth lab production.
s patrol work. In fact, he had just been
with a person who was selling metham-

is desk and pulled out a small envelope unsealed the envelope and pulled out a small crystalline substance that resembled a small metal tube, roughly three inches long. "It had been in the metal tube on the person's desk, too, had undergone training about what to look for," he said proudly.

to illustrate how methamphetamine has cre- ated new forms of police work. The training they received was like that given to state road workers, which increased their awareness of meth and created new forms of work. It added the work of drug enforcement into the daily patrol work of DNR officers. As for Gil, Matt was given a much more significant role in the policing of state lands for signs of meth. To his own admission, he carried out these duties with hesitance and reluctance, seeking to fulfill his duties as a DNR officer without creating a financial and legal liability. Furthermore, his range of encounters with methamphetamine was part of the job for Matt. The fact that he had encountered suggested reluctance on the part of a drug enforcer. Nevertheless, by simply being involved with policing methamphetamine, he was involved in informal intervention.

By the late 1990s, federal, state, and local governments have expanded the range of indicators of methamphetamine. Increasing awareness of the signs of methamphetamine and conflicting professional knowledge could also provide new avenues for intervention. This is evident in the most significant methamphetamine lab discovery. The discovery of this meth lab took place as a result of the use of local knowledge in response to the discovery of methamphetamine. This was combined with a more professionally trained awareness of (often subtle) signs of meth production. This has created a more and more complex web of partici-

My Neighbor"

In the fall of 2004, a Department of Justice officer received an anonymous tip that someone had been processing the hides in the cellar that stood in a remote part of the county. According to the officer, he followed up on the call and met with the department to begin an investigation. The officer and the individuals after receiving the tip, were probably making methamphetamine. He was talking to those involved: they were walking in and out of the building and when they walked out, they rubbed their hands together. Additionally, there appeared to be some activity.

The deputy and the officer drove by the building in a vehicle so as not to be detected. They saw a lot of activity: people coming in and out of the building. They approached the building. There was a strong odor that was pouring out, which appeared to be coming from the door. On the grass they found coffee filters, a number of large jars and other containers. The vehicle had been disabled. Through the open door, they saw a four-gallon bucket. Inside the bucket, a large amount of material was visible.

Within five hours the officers made a search of the area. Barker, lived in one of the trailers and was in the cellar behind his brother. Larry Messinger, was one of the other suspects. Donnie Grate (the third suspect in the case) lived in a trailer next to Jimmy's. The officer went to the cellar that morning and stopped by the batteries, mixing something in a yellow jar. The officer's brother-in-law) to bring down the jar. The officer told Jimmy if Donnie had told him he was making meth. Jimmy replied, "I'm not real smart, but I can talk about how he could make meth."

The next day, a special unit of the department went in to collect the materials surrounding the building. A soda bottle that had been emitting the odor was found. An orangey-white paste (which later turned out to be meth) they collected the batteries, coffee filters, and other materials. They found a one-gallon can of Campbell's Soup, one Opener, one three-pound box of kosher salt, and a number of other items.

gallon of an unknown liquid, with coming through the spout (which tested glass jar with an unknown residue, and of this was collected as evidence.

Jimmy, Larry, and Donnie were all “Operating a Clandestine Drug Laboratory Offense Against the State of West Virginia” indictment and agreed to a plea agreement guilty to the conspiracy charge. In re During the presentence investigation, to the county probation officer:

I was arrested for conspiring to commit with my family. I know what I did was For the first time in my life I am trying and straighten up my life. I am trying After I was arrested I realized that I had been clean since the last time I was in give me a chance to continue to put me

Donnie was only twenty years old, supplied by his family members since he was he was engaged in “extreme methamphetamine, cocaine, crack, inhalants, and amphetamine private halfway house and undergo substance in Virginia. Because of this, he was sentence on probation, under the conditions to resolve his addiction and janitor and maintenance worker at a home

His was a fairly lenient sentence. At plea agreement. I later discovered that attorney gave me documents kept separate in these documents was the transcripts of the deputies and Donnie, who was account of the halfway house where he resided. months after Donnie’s initial arrest. Donnie ment, and this interview was obviously conducting the interview stated for the record “everything” as granted by the county’s probation

condensation on the side and smoke com-
positive for ammonia), a one-gallon
and the contents of the plastic bucket. All

l arrested on charges for two crimes,
atory” and “Conspiracy to Commit an
ginia.” Donnie waived his right to an
ement with the state in which he pled
return, the other charge was dropped.
Donnie made the following statement

nit a crime. I shared a recipe for meth
as wrong and I am sorry that I did it.
ng to get help with my drug problem
g to be a good father to my baby girl.
y life is really messed up and I have
n court. . . . I only hope the court will
ny life back together.

but claimed to have used drugs sup-
was twelve, and at the time of his arrest
metamine use.” He had used marijuana,
tamines. Donnie managed to enter a
ostance abuse and psychiatric counsel-
s allowed to serve his one-to-five-year
dition that he continued the therapeu-
and continue in his newfound job as a
ome for the mentally disabled.

first it seemed the product solely of his
e was another reason. The prosecuting
ate from Donnie’s public case file. Con-
script of an interview between two sher-
ompanied by his lawyer and the director
The interview took place roughly four
nie had already agreed to the plea agree-
one of its preconditions. The deputy con-
rd that Donnie had “full immunity from
rosecuting attorney.

My Neighbor”

In this interview, Donnie painted a picture of how he got involved in the drug trade leading up to his arrest with Jimmy and Larry. In 1985, Larry's father, Andy Messinger, had come to Donnie and gave him instructions on how to set up an operation. Donnie (presumably from a co-worker) at the time was working at a store where he worked. Donnie agreed to help Larry and Jimmy began gathering the ingredients.

Jimmy, Donnie said, developed a technique for getting the pills from local stores that carried it: grocery stores, pharmacies, etc. like. He would wear a camouflaged jacket with a hidden pocket, remove the pills from their boxes, and walk out with the pills in his jacket. Before long, Donnie was obtaining the anhydrous ammonia, which was used to produce the dairy farm in Virginia.

Donnie revealed that Jimmy's parents were involved in making meth, which they had done since the late 1970s. According to Donnie, there had been several arrests, but more than what was found by the police officers. The operation was in a lab, just a few hundred yards away. The operation was to sell to friends and acquaintances in the area and other places in "the community." A group of friends and relatives had made a lot of money from meth, which Donnie valued at between \$10,000 and \$20,000 and sold. Donnie recalled a summer when he was with his family, and they had bricks of methamphetamine.

Donnie had learned how to make methamphetamine from another small cluster of meth producers in the area who had moved to the area from Indiana. In addition to Donnie, his friends, neighbors, and acquaintances were also involved in the production and/or distribution of methamphetamine.

The Stanley family disappeared because of the police's arrest them. And in the years that had passed since those whom he'd named had been charged with the drug enforcement, the prosecuting attorney in the community complained extensively about the lack of evidence to arrest such people, despite the fact that "everybody knows they're selling drugs." Nevertheless, Donnie had an extensive network of local users and distributors, and they needed to make methamphetamine.

"It Could Be Forged"

different picture of the events that led to his version of the story, Larry Messinger came home one day with a meth recipe and operate a lab that he had obtained from the poultry processing plant in Virginia to show him how to make meth, while providing the necessary ingredients.

Technique to steal Sudafed from all the pharmacies, dollar stores, Wal-Mart, and the grocery store, stuff the boxes of pills in his inside pockets, and boxes in the bathroom of the store, and both Jimmy and Larry were involved in the process, which they took from a large tank on a

Donnie actually had a longer history of producing meth secretly for at least eight years. In fact, Donnie had significantly more meth in their trailer than any officer in their investigation of the meth labs. They made it for their own use, but also for sale at the poultry processing plants in the area. “Just two months earlier, this small trailer manufactured two to three ounces of meth worth between \$4,000 and \$6,000. This they used to sell when he had gone to visit Jimmy and Larry, who was just sitting in their trailer.

Donnie got meth from Jimmy’s family but also from other sources, the Stanley family, who had recently been arrested. In addition, Donnie named roughly a dozen other people that he knew personally were involved in the production of meth in the area.

Before law enforcement officers could identify anyone who had passed since Donnie’s arrest, none of them were charged with anything. Members of law enforcement, and numerous members of the community, knew how difficult it was to gain sufficient evidence to prove the fact that, as I often heard, “everybody has a secret.” Nevertheless, Donnie’s story revealed an extensive network of dealers who could obtain everything they needed to produce meth in the local community. Indeed,

Jimmy, Larry, and Donnie were each cooks; in this case even family ties can be a liability. From a law enforcement perspective, Donnie's knowledge of the methamphetamine threat and the lack of awareness about the chemicals used in clandestine labs were significant.

“Where Have All the Good People Gone?”

Policing methamphetamine through community-based efforts enabled the detection of the meth lab. In the past, the art of hunting out of season became, by virtue of the detection and disruption of a local methamphetamine lab, a more effective means of policing methamphetamine. However, the knowledge was never a straightforward one. The police police methamphetamine on state land, but the financial disincentives accompanying the detection of methamphetamine sites. Additionally, one might wonder why anyone would participate in the Adopt-A-Highway program if the program is proposed by methamphetamine. More significant is the fact that the signs of methamphetamine production are often subtle and existential burden. While it might be difficult to detect, it also changed their everyday life in fundamental ways.

I experienced this dilemma firsthand during an interview with a state trooper who spent two years with the Federal Drug Task Force in the area. My interest in the trooper was so the trooper was surprised to receive my call. I was suspicious of who I was and why I was calling. The trooper was particularly curious as to how I had obtained the information that I'd been given his name and contact information and answering a series of questions about the information I planned to do with the information, but only reluctantly, and with no sense of urgency. I was gonna run a background check on you, he said. I was gonna hear through the telephone (a statement that I was running a background check on me). I was gonna give you my name and affiliation, and I was gonna give you my identification to the interview because I was gonna see what some people will do to get some information.

n second-generation meth users and
carried criminal potential. Thus, from a
s account confirmed the insidiousness
thus legitimized efforts to raise aware-
clandestine methamphetamine production.

Where's Gone?

the signs of clandestine production
n Donnie's case, what began as a report
virtue of the DNR officer's training, the
meth lab. This case would seem to illus-
the signs of meth production provides
phetamine. Yet, the acquisition of such
rd operation. Matt Keezle's efforts to
ds, for instance, were complicated by
ng the cleanup of former meth produc-
der how willing citizens will be to par-
ram, once they know about the threats
nificantly, however, greater awareness
production was, for many, an epistemic
aid in the detection of illicit producers,
ndamental and challenging ways.

d while attempting to arrange an inter-
o-and-a-half years working as part of a
lost of this work had been undercover,
e my call. From the beginning he was
s interested in methamphetamine. He
had gotten his number. After explain-
number from another police officer,
out what I wanted to know and what
he eventually agreed to meet with me,
e that I'd eased his suspicions. "I'm not
," he said with an uneasy smile I could
ent that made me assume he would be
Nevertheless, he took great care writ-
d insisted that I bring two valid forms
use, as he put it, "you wouldn't believe
inside information."

My Neighbor

The officer was roughly my age, guarded during our conversation, signifying anything down and refusing to answer. Indeed, it was only months later, reading the book I discussed earlier, that I discovered he par-

The officer provided little in the way of answers during the interview I was ready to write off to the suspicion and secrecy required by his position. Out of his office, he began to make connections for me to his experiences with methamphetamine, the extremes to which people would go, and how he had had to come to terms with the extent of the problem in the community—the sheer numbers of people involved in making and selling it. He found all of this in the book. “You can’t try to lead a normal life outside of work if you’re out with your family. I can take you to the fields, including the dirt roads, and show you where the plants are. It makes you wonder, ‘Where have all the

I heard this as both an explanation of the situation in which he’d treated me. More than that, it was a reflection of the world we lived in, a world in which such an explanation was one I encountered a lot. Many of the people, including police officers, addiction counselors, and even themselves, frequently figured their experiences in terms of loss. What was being lost was their past, the life they had once imagined it, a vision in which the problems that came with it—was not a factor. “I was more naïve.” In this way, while knowledge was placed new responsibilities on citizens to act on their “poisonous knowledge” that residents ac-

Bearing this epistemic burden, how did the police handle the policing responsibilities that came with the rise in meth production. Anti-meth measures and enforcement were predicated on, and thus sought to identify, the signs of meth production and use. This was the case into the policing of methamphetamine. I drove away from my meeting with the officer, a small bag filled with what appeared to be garbage. I wondered, as I drove past, if it might not have

(early thirties) and was predictably making his discomfort with my writing clear on any but the most basic of questions. Reviewing the court files on the meth lab discredited in its cleanup.

of new information, and by the end of the encounter, attributing his disposition to his profession. But as he escorted me through the neighborhood, he made comments that connected his suspicions to methamphetamine. In addition to witnessing the devastation in order to satisfy their addiction, he expressed the pervasiveness of the problem in his community. "Who used the drug or were involved in this is very challenging, particularly as he said. "It's hard," he said, "especially when you go to any street anywhere in the area, and you see someone who's using or selling drugs. Where are the good people gone?"

of an apology for the suspicious way in which he operated. It seemed to be a lament for the fact that the exercise of suspicion was necessary. This was a common theme. Many people in the community, including police officers, concerned citizens, and even addicts, viewed their experience with methamphetamine as one of the defining characteristics of the local community as a whole. In which methamphetamine—and the problem it created. As the officer put it: "Sometimes I wish I had more knowledge of methamphetamine implicitly to police the problem, it was also a kind of strategy adopted reluctantly (Das 2000).

However, it did not obviate individuals from their role. With greater awareness of clandestine operations, as included in state and federal legislation, the need to raise public awareness about the problem, for in this way, citizens were drawn into the problem. Even I was not immune to this. As I walked with the officer, I noticed a plastic Wal-Mart shopping bag full of garbage on the side of the road. I wondered how it got there and what to do with meth.

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“You Can Always Tell Who’s Using Meth”

Late one evening in the spring, police arrested Burt Culler and Mandy Swift at their home in Bakerville. Over the past year numerous homes in the area had been burglarized throughout Bakerville. A local health clinic, from which someone had stolen thousands of dollars worth of cash, as well as thousands of dollars worth of medical supplies. Police came to believe that the couple, Burt and Mandy, two known meth users in the community, were the culprits.

The stolen items turned up periodically in the hands of unsuspecting workmen and contractors. One day, approached by a slightly scrawny twenty-something man, an equally scrawny twenty-something woman, and an unnamed local informant told the police that the couple; an unnamed local informant told the police that the couple;

Mandy and Burt had been living together in a small town where they were arrested. Mandy had moved in because her mother was dying of cancer. According to the community, Burt and Mandy had used their mother’s pain medication to use for their own use of methamphetamine.

Four police officers arrived at Burt and Mandy’s home and immediately taken to the police station. Burt was taken behind, searched the house for drugs and found a large amount of methamphetamine. Mandy was questioned for more than an hour, but she made no attempt to deny the allegations. She couldn’t recall a particular police officer that, although Burt had helped. They had walkie-talkies and she

ing of 2006, police officers set out to search their home on the outskirts of Mead-
nes, businesses, and construction sites
er County, including the local mental
d stolen a computer. From other sites
of dollars worth of tools and building
e burglaries were linked, and Burt and
community, were the primary suspects.
ically in pawnshops or in the hands
ractors. Each described having been
nty-something male, accompanied by
g female, who claimed to be “getting
information led police to search for a
old them it was Mandy and Burt.

together for just over a year when they
with Burt and his mother while his
ng to rumors that circulated through
been poor caretakers, stealing Burt’s
their own enjoyment and to trade for

and Mandy’s apartment and Burt was
n for questioning. Two officers stayed
(which they found), and questioned
ore than two hours, during which time
gations and even responded apologeti-
ular incident. Mandy explained to the
instigated the crimes, she had always
ne served as lookout while he commit-

ted the burglaries. Mandy was standing in to the mental health clinic to steal when, in the midst of the burglary, he the microwave to make a bowl of soup

The interview focused on establishing and the whereabouts of the stolen items into the motivation behind Burt's crime. asked, Mandy gave the same response and his need to constantly find quick that drove his criminality. This seemed did the meth found in Burt and Mandy who raised the possibility that Burt was course of the interview, culminating with

PO: Another thing to elaborate on t
ah, you made, you made a num
he is selling some of his stuff to
he's not only a user? Would you

MS: Yeah.

PO: How often does, how often are

MS: Daily.

PO: Daily. What, what type of narco
use?

MS: Um, what do you call it? Meth?

PO: And how, how many days, or h

MS: Um, Burt and I have been toget
approximately a year.

PS: And, and correct me if I'm wro
everyday since you've known h

MS: I can think of maybe three days

Methamphetamine users like Mar targets of enforcement efforts in Baker property crimes such as breaking and users were always the primary suspect U.S. drug control, this development with contemporary criminal justice is focus of decades of criminalizing illicit drug ated challenges for the criminal justice

g watch, for instance, when Burt broke
l the computer, remaining there even
went into the clinic's kitchen and used

ing Mandy's knowledge of the crimes
s. But periodically the officer inquired
riminal behavior. Each time the officer
; it was Burt's methamphetamine use,
sources of cash to pay for more meth,
l to confirm the officers' suspicions, as
dy's bedroom. It was the officer, then,
was an addict. This came out over the
with this exchange toward the end:

that would kind of help me out maybe,
ber of comments about that he [Burt],
obtain drugs. Ah, help me out on ah,
a, would you say that he's an addict?

you aware of him using narcotics?

otics, ah, or drugs or anything does he

Crank? Crank.¹

ow long have you known him?

ther since last September. So it's been

ng; you're saying that he used drugs
im?

s of that amount of time that he hasn't.

ndy and Burt were increasingly the
er County, particularly with regard to
d entering and burglary where drug
ts. Viewed within the wider history of
as hardly novel. Much of the work of
used on drug enforcement, the result
gs and their use. And while it has cre-
e system, such as addressing the medi-

Meth"

cal complications associated with addiction. Poorly suited to this purpose, it has also led members of the criminal justice system to develop new juridical techniques and resources.

One effect of the focus on drug offense has been the infusion of scientific knowledge about addiction into the criminal justice system. This has, in turn, provided the criminal justice system with new techniques and resources centered around the criminal justice practice around addiction has focused on three key areas: the explanation of crime, the prevention of crime, and the staging of interventions.

Knowledge of addiction has provided a new working theory of criminal behavior. A central concept in this theory is that addiction is a symptom of addiction: drug users are more likely to engage in acts of criminality in the constant and compulsive search for drugs. Crimes could include anything from possession of drugs to participation in the drug economy itself. Many crimes, however, fit neatly within this framework, given that the defendant is committed to his habitual use of methamphetamine. In one case, the police officer was led to conclude that the defendant's addiction to drugs was the explanation for his committing him as such provided the explanation for his behavior.

In addition to providing a means of explaining criminal behavior, addiction has also served as a resource for the criminal justice system. Members of the criminal justice system have used the physical and behavioral symptoms of addiction to read the criminal body and to address the criminal mind. As has called "[t]he chimeral obscurity of addiction" (137). The symptoms of methamphetamine addiction are a robust resource in this regard, given that the symptoms of amphetamine use can have on the body. These symptoms, from missing teeth to psychosis and paranoia, are a direct result of the drug itself. Using the symptoms of addiction as a resource has been a desire within the criminal justice system to utilize scientific insights for the purpose of addressing criminality on the very body of the criminal.

Finally, addiction has provided a new set of interventions aimed at addressing criminality. The range of interventions it supports. The criminal justice system, from arrest and punishment to treatment and rehabilitation.

dition in institutional environments
o provided a new grounding for mem-
rationalize their activities, generating
s in the process.

fenders has been the incorporation of
everyday routines of criminal justice
criminal justice system with new tech-
addiction. The reorientation of crimi-
has been the most pronounced in three
ne identification of criminals, and the

led the criminal justice system with a
According to this theory, criminality is
e driven by their addiction to commit
singular pursuit of more drugs. These
property crimes to forgery to participa-
dy's account of Burt's criminality fits
at she attributes all the crimes he com-
netamine. Thus it is not surprising that
that Burt was an addict, since identify-
ion and motivation for his crimes.

s of explaining crime, knowledge of
to assist in the identification of crimi-
system in Baker County often used the
addiction as a lens through which to
s what the sociologist David Garland
f criminal difference." (Garland 2002,
nine addiction provided a particularly
the striking effects that methamphet-
e included everything from scabs and
ia, even the "symptom" of criminality
a in this way fed into the long-standing
em—and popular culture more gener-
orensic purposes, to uncover the signs
criminal (Horn 2003; Valverde 2006).
medium for the staging of interven-
t. Addiction is notable for the diverse
ese include everything from investiga-
ent, education, and prevention, as well

as the broad array of practices aimed at the whole, these techniques and practices of the local drug enforcement apparatus, which are more concerned with addiction.

In this way, the profile of the methamphetamine user becomes a potent “figure of criminality” (Rafael 1999). Anthropologists have noted the importance of the making of contemporary social and political boundaries (Proff 2006; Parnell and Kane 2003; Rapp 2005). These figures often become the object of collective anxiety, the dangerous, the threatening, the unknown, the part of everyday life. The potency of these profiles of criminality to invoke law (they are, after all, *criminal* figures in themselves), but also because they test the limits of law, recognition and retaliation, as well as its authority, in the name of collective opinion (Rafael 1999). In this regard, they become the focus of collective action, and a common response may be carried out. The profiles of criminality in question vary from time to time, but seem nevertheless to be a common element in many contemporary political regimes. As Jean and John Comaroff (2006) write, “the figure of the archfelon, albeit culturally specific, has worked in many places, serving as the ground for the construction of the nation as a moral community governed by law, sustained, argued for, even demanded” (Comaroff and Comaroff 2006, 10).

The figure of the methamphetamine user, in this sense, was generally—was such a potent figure of criminality because of a dangerous conflation of moral, legal, and medical difference. The use of the drug that became both an immoral and an illegal act through the neurobiological condition of addiction, drove the individual in further illegality, driving them to further related criminal acts, eroding their personal and social process. The chronic character of addiction meant that the addict was viewed as perpetually dangerous, making him or her a constant threat (García 2006).

This stereotypical understanding of criminality in the popular representation of drugs as in the media is a fiction that elided the historical role played

at “offender management.” Taken as a
make up a significant portion of the
which is thus sustained by the common

amphetamine addict functioned as a
(1999) in the local juridical imaginary.
importance of such criminal figures in the
political orders (Comaroff and Coma-
rafael 1999; Siegel 1998). Such figures
anxieties, representing the intrusion of
known, or the unexpected into every-
derives not only from their capacity to
s, and thus products of the legal order
imits of law’s efficacy: it’s powers of rec-
claims to legitimacy and to act in the
99, 12–13; cf. Benjamin 1978). In this
ctive action, the locus around which a
Notably, although the specific outlines
ne to time and from place to place, they
ement in a diverse array of contempo-
n Comaroff have written, “In sum, the
y transposed, seems to be doing similar
ound on which a metaphysics of order,
guaranteed by the state, may be enter-
omaroff and Comaroff 2006, 279).

ne addict—and the drug addict more
f criminality because it represented a
and biological forms of deviance and
egan the addiction was construed as
at, in turn, set in motion the chronic,
n. The addiction, then, embroiled the
g them into continued drug use and
hysical and mental well-being in the
iction and high rates of relapse meant
ally inclined toward criminality, mak-
ia 2008).

f the addict’s life course fed into the
herently criminogenic—a representa-
ved by law in criminalizing drugs and

Meth”

drug use, thereby creating the condition of “drug addict” has been constituted in criminal justice. Ultimately, however, the targeting of members of the criminal justice system addresses perennial concerns, such as the explanation of criminals; and the retributive task of punishing future criminality. The emergence of contemporary narcopolitics.

The specific effects of targeting methamphetamine are addressed elsewhere in more detail. However, the pervasiveness of addiction discourse indicates ways that this discourse gave rise to a particular figure of the methamphetamine addict as a criminal figure in police practices in the process.

Pedagogies of Policing

Law enforcement’s understanding of addiction was most explicitly articulated in a series of lectures given by police officers to various groups. Officers regularly gave presentations on the topic. I viewed this pedagogical work as part of a broader effort at prevention, a sign of how contemporary police officers are “knowledge workers” (Ericson and Hagan). Officers combined materials they received from the police department with their own personal experience. The police officers’ use of newspaper coverage, allowing them to draw on local news, could indeed have a very tangible impact. For example, Daryl Montgomery’s account of how a local resident donated \$6,000 toward the purchase of a car for undercover investigations.

Frank Fields was an officer who regularly gave presentations on methamphetamine to community groups. His presentations were exclusively on drug cases. When I made a request, he offered to let me view his PowerPoint presentation. He tried to deflect attention away from the details of the case, somewhat reluctant to share with me. However, I noted that the PowerPoint presentation contained a great deal of information for understanding methamphetamine.

“You C

tions under which the figure of “the
nal terms (Acker 2002; Goode 2006).
methamphetamine addicts provided
n with a common medium to address
ation of criminality; the identification
of punishing past crimes and prevent-
e of this figure is thus a key feature of
hamphetamine offenders in this way is
ere, the focus is simply on showing the
n the criminal justice system, and the
particular construction of the metham-
, shaping policing and other juridical

the link between drugs, crime, and
ated during the public presentations
groups within the community. Offi-
the dangers of methamphetamine and
of their more general efforts at drug
ary police have been transformed into
ggerty 1997). In the presentations, the
eived during training seminars with
presentations frequently received local
to reach a broader audience, which
act on police. For instance, upon hear-
the methamphetamine problem, one
urchase of a microphone to be used in

regularly gave presentations on meth-
Frank was a state trooper who worked
le arrangements to interview Frank, he
presentation. This move was, in part,
tails of his police work, which he was
e, but it also reflected a sincere belief
tained the most relevant information

Frank's presentation, which he had organized, employed a largely neuroscience approach. He began by describing the effects of using methamphetamine and the effects of methamphetamine. Methamphetamine is a powerful central nervous system stimulant. He began, going on to describe the ease with which it can be used and the pleasurable feelings it produced, and the "subsequent violent behavior." He explained that these behaviors are caused by the release of very high levels of dopamine into areas of the brain that regulate feelings. He then moved on to describe the effects of methamphetamine in this vein, explaining the difficulty using methamphetamine and the resulting effects.

Frank said little as I clicked through the presentation. The slide titled "Physical Effects of Meth Use" said. The slide depicted the impact of methamphetamine using graphic images to illustrate the effects of short-term use. Short-term use was illustrated with images of open sores, the likely result of the person's use under their skin. Long-term use was illustrated with images depicting the physical decline of a woman in 1998 and grossly disfigured by 2000. She was gaunt and pale, and her body covered with sores.

These images were the prelude to a discussion of long-term methamphetamine abuse in which

Long-term methamphetamine abuse can lead to serious health problems including addiction. Addiction is a chronic condition characterized by compulsive drug-seeking and drug use. It is caused by structural and molecular changes in the brain. Methamphetamine, chronic methamphetamine use, and long-term methamphetamine use that can include violent behavior, and long-term methamphetamine use also can display a number of psychological effects including psychotic symptoms, auditory hallucinations, mood disturbances, and a sensation of insects creeping on the skin. The paranoia can result in homicidal and suicidal thoughts.

This was the first of three slides explaining the effects of long-term methamphetamine use. Each slide used images to illustrate the topic. On a slide picturing the effects of long-term methamphetamine use, the phenomenon of "tolerance" was

given to a variety of community orga-
scientific idiom to explain the experience
ventual onset of addiction. “Metham-
us system stimulant,” the presentation
h which meth could be made, the plea-
state of high agitation that in some indi-
another slide stated, “The rush and high
vels of the neurotransmitter dopamine
ngs of pleasure.” Later slides continued
ers experienced trying to stop their use
high likelihood of relapse.

gh the presentation, until I reached a
Use.” “This one’s pretty interesting,” he
f methamphetamine use on the body,
effects of both short-term and long-
ed by a picture of an arm with severe
son picking at imaginary “meth bugs”
illustrated with a series of mug shots
man who appeared relatively “normal”
02, her hair thin and greasy, her face
with scabs and sores.

a more detailed explanation of long-
h addiction was explicitly defined:

e results in many damaging effects,
ronic, relapsing disease, characterized
g use which is accompanied by func-
rain. In addition to being addicted to
phetamine abusers exhibit symptoms
xiety, confusion, and insomnia. They
ic features, including paranoia, audi-
ces, and delusions (for example, the
skin, which is called “formication”).
as well as suicidal thoughts.

plaining the long-term effects of meth-
ages of meth-ravaged bodies to illus-
he arms of a man with open, bloody
was discussed. It explained how exces-

Meth”

sive users must regularly increase their effects. Use quickly became “chronic behavior, characterized by intense paranoia, and extremely violent behavior.” A diagram of this process. The next slide showing most of its teeth (representing the further explained the symptoms that occur with meth, including “depression, anxiety, and intense craving for the drug.”

The rest of the presentation continued with such topics as why people begin using meth and the ways meth could be made. Meth was a recurring theme throughout:

Why is methamphetamine addictive?

All addictive drugs have two things in common: a pleasurable effect, followed by a rebound effect. Methamphetamine, through its stimulant effects, leaves a person feeling depressed. This depression leads to a production of dopamine, creating a cycle that eventually demands more of the drug to return to normal. This cycle leads to loss of control over the drug.

Though the presentation made frequent reference to the crimes associated with methamphetamine use, it was clear that the presentation explicitly addressed the issue of crime. One slide was simply titled “CRIME” and stated:

Meth labs along with the selling of the drug are associated with burglaries, thefts and even murder. Because of the high cost of the drug and who have no income to support themselves from their own homes or even to pay for their own food, there’s no telling what a person would do for the drug. A person would be killed for not owning up to a drug payment. This type of crime requires a government that has the funds for which a town may not have the funds.

This last slide gave legal meaning to the strictly clinical account of the onset, effects,

“You C

ir use of the drug to achieve the same abuse,” which “can lead to psychotic paranoia, visual and auditory hallucina-’ The man’s mangled arm was an illus-, showing a picture of a mouth miss- e condition known as “meth mouth”), occurred when someone stopped using fatigue, paranoia, aggression, and an ed in this vein, with slides addressing g methamphetamine, the signs of use, methamphetamine’s addictiveness was a

s in common: they produce an initial ound unpleasant effect. Methamphet- produces a positive feeling but later is is because it suppresses the normal chemical imbalance. The user physi- turn to normal. This pleasure/tension drug and addiction.

quent references to the negative effects e, it was not until the very last slide ssed the issue of the criminality. This tated the following:

the drug can breed crime, including both teenagers and adults addicted to o pay for their habit may steal valu- their friends’ homes. High on meth, d do if provoked—people have been yment or coming through on a trans-reat deal of attention from the police, nding or the resources to spare.

g to what had been up until then a effects, and symptoms of methamphet-

amine addiction. Rhetorically, the clinical account of meth-induced addiction with the former serving as the foundation for the latter locally that methamphetamine was a major cause of a majority of crimes were committed in the area. Moreover, it suggested that such addiction is a form of crime [that] requires a great deal of resources which a town may not have the funding to support. A detailed, neuroscientific account of methamphetamine was shared in support of more funding for research on the condition, given that such presentations played a role in the understanding of the methamphetamine addiction response.

Cognitive Models of Crime and Addiction

The police were not the only members of the community involved in drug education. Administrators at the prison were involved in a variety of pedagogical activities related to the use of methamphetamine. This educational work was part of a program that had established to address the high rates of drug use among the inmate population. Other techniques were used to make it common. Indeed, drug use was so extensive that drug education was now a standard component of the program for every inmate regardless of whether their crime was related to drugs.

Dealing with drug users on such a regular basis was a challenge relative to the signs of drug use in individuals. The signs of drug use, the effects, and those jail administrators who could tell who was using what based on their appearance. “You can tell who’s using meth,” said Bobby Livey, “how meth users often looked decades ago. They were agitated and aggressive, “practically always. When they went detox, they experienced nightmares about themselves. And they would beg for sleep or feel less anxious or depressed. They would beg for medication. According to Bobby, the signs of drug use were more of isolated detoxification before they were “ready” to join the general population of the prison.

ical framework served to connect the with the account of meth-related crime, for the latter. This slide stated unequivocally that drug addiction was the major source of crime, and that the order to appease the users' addiction. Addiction-induced criminality was a "type of attention from the police," but "for nothing or the resources to spare." Thus the methamphetamine addiction was marketed to the police. This is a significant conclusion that conveyed a large role in shaping the public's perception of the problem and sense of appropriate

Addiction

of the criminal justice system engaged in the regional jail were likewise involved in crime related to drugs, particularly methamphetamine. One technique that administrators used to address rates of drug use and addiction among inmates, such as detoxification, were more intensive among inmates that detoxification was part of the intake procedure for every new inmate. In fact, one was drug related.

On a regular basis, jail officials became attentive to the needs of inmates. Different drugs produced different symptoms, and officers with more experience could often identify a person's physical appearance. "You can always tell by looking at them," said the warden at the jail. He described inmates as "older than they actually were. They were always climbing the walls." As they underwent withdrawal, they would sweat, tremble, and dig at the walls. Jail officials would provide some kind of medication to help them manage their symptoms. It was jail policy to refuse any request for medication, so inmates could never be sure what the perils of a night overdose. It often took a week or more before meth users were deemed "medically stable" and released from the jail.

Meth

Shelly Carson, a licensed addiction treatment program, echoed Bob's problems at the jail and its deep ties to the community. Many were originally committed under the influence of the community, on common charges among women, for crimes such as fraud or writing bad checks. Shelly noted that these were crimes often committed to support their habit.

The treatment program at the jail had about eight inmates at any given time, a striking contrast to the facility designed to hold two hundred inmates. These inmates lived in a separate area from the general population. There was a waiting list to get into the program. Selection process was competitive. Jail administrators based on an individual inmate's demonstrated ability to complete the program. Inmates had to be recommended by jail administrators, attend twelve-step meetings, and Narcotics Anonymous (NA) meetings. They had to demonstrate a sincere willingness to take responsibility and change their behavior. Thus, to gain admission, inmates had to first conform to the behavioral expectations of the program.

Shelly's approach to addiction treatment was based on behavioral-therapy. She employed a curriculum that focused on individual's *behavior* by changing their thinking. "The big thing," Shelly explained. "Significantly, the inmate's situation was 'nobody's business.' The only person you blame is the person you see in the mirror."

The emphasis on "taking responsibility for the person you see in the mirror" was understood to be simple and efficacious. But it was also completely aligned with the aims of the institution, which likewise emphasized personal responsibility for previous actions. Notably, however, the responsibility of those in the program was given a new meaning from the perspective of the treatment program. Inmate responsibility for their actions could be used as a tool. This offered a unique way of conceptualizing personal responsibilities for direct intervention using the program to treat their addiction.

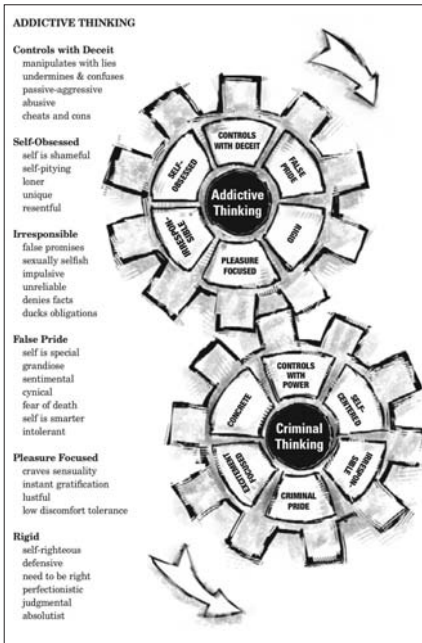
"You C

counselor in charge of the jail's addict-
by's sense of the prevalence of drug
criminality. "[Their] crimes [are] usu-
f something," Shelly stated. The most
instance, were money-related charges
"Basically drugs," she said, explaining
d by people in need of quick money to

that Shelly administered only served
ingly low figure given that the jail was
es and was typically at or over capac-
area of the jail, away from the general
o participate in the program, and the
administrators determined admission
nstrated desire and perceived ability to
o have their problem recognized for-
e weekly Alcoholics Anonymous (AA)
tings, remain well-behaved, and dem-
responsibility for their actions and to
mission into the program, inmates had
ctations set forth by the institution.

atment emphasized cognitive-behav-
lum developed by the Hazelden Foun-
Thinking." It focused on changing an
r *thinking*. "Taking responsibility's the
t emphasis was placed on the idea that
fault but their own." As Shelly put it,
erson you see in the mirror."

lity" and restricting blame to "the per-
stood to be therapeutically necessary
letely in line with the larger juridical
e emphasized taking responsibility for
is emphasis on the moral responsibil-
a neurobiological grounding. That is,
program, the addict's inability to take
be addressed as a cognitive problem.
alizing their criminality, as well as pos-
g a cognitive-behavioral approach to



According to Shelly, most of the inmates never set foot in the treatment program. “Addictive thinking.” The two were closely connected in the curriculum—the one, in fact, driving the other. The gears (see fig. above). The prevalence of these thoughts among the inmate population was not surprising. It is a score how detrimental the lack of addictive thinking was for the wider objectives of the institution.

Shelly explained the many ways in which these thinking were linked. For instance, thinking that would support your addiction—was a classic example of addictive thinking working in tandem. The two were often found in the program into sets of complementary thoughts. Addictive thinking “Controls with Deceit” and “Power.” Similarly, where addictive thinking is “Excitement Focused.” Both of these thinking curriculum, display a tendency to be “self-centered.”

Program participants were taught to recognize and challenge “criminal” and “addictive” thinking re-

CRIMINAL THINKING

Controls with Power

manipulates with threats
undermines & confuses
intimidates
abusive
cheats and cons

Self-Centered

self is nothing (zero)
self is victim
loner
unique
entitled

Irresponsible

lack of effort
sexually predatory
impulsive
unreliable
distorts facts
refuses obligations

Criminal Pride

self is good person
extremely high self-image
sentimental
cynical
fear of humiliation
self is tougher
quick temper

Excitement Focused

craves thrills
instant gratification
power hungry
low boredom tolerance

Concrete

self-righteous
close-minded
need to be on top
perfectionistic
all or nothing
absolutist

“How Criminal and Addictive Thinking Drive Each Other.” From: *A New Direction: A Cognitive Behavioral Treatment Curriculum Criminal and Addictive Thinking Longterm Workbook Parts 4-6* by The Minnesota Department of Corrections and the Hazelden Foundation. Used by permission.

mates at the jail, even those who would
n, displayed both “criminal and addic-
correlated according to the treatment
g the other like two perfectly aligned
f both criminal and addictive thinking
t surprising to Shelly, but it did under-
diction treatment resources in the jail
stitution.

which criminal and addictive think-
g about theft—stealing something to
c example of criminal and addictive
forms of thinking were broken down
ntary traits and sub-traits. Thus, where
ceit,” criminal thinking “Controls with
nking is “Pleasure Focused,” criminal
h forms of thinking, according to the
Irresponsible.”

o recognize the various ways in which
reinforced each other. They completed

Meth”

workbooks filled with tasks such as “List crimes you committed while drunk or high”; “List crimes you committed while on probation” and answered questions such as “Are there any crimes you would have committed if it weren’t for your probation?” The cumulative effect of such tasks was to disrupt and change their addictive thinking patterns. In addition to the more general “Thinking Report” that participants wrote at the end of the treatment experience.

Acknowledging and understanding the nature of addiction and addictive thinking was the center of the program. Given that jail administrators had no control over who stayed in the program (those decisions were made by the courts) the goal was simply to, as Bobby Jones put it, “get the message into them as possible and hope so.”

But the institutional significance of the program was not in providing treatment to addicts than in providing a way to explain criminal behavior, one that linked addiction and crime as a set of interlocking processes. Like Frank Fields’s PowerPoint presentation, the program took the experiential, discursive, and practical aspects of crime, and addiction, and modeled them as interconnected processes. Addiction and criminality were not separate; they blurred into one single (bio)behavioral process. The inmate’s addiction as the site of intervention was directly addressing the mechanism driving criminality.

Targeting drug use and addiction in the program was one in which the jail carried out its penal mandate of punishment and forced withdrawal as a key component. This was designed as a means of managing the inmate population, and as an initial intervention for those with a penchant for criminality. (One might argue that this was not intended by the individual inmate as he or she was not institutionally tolerable given that the program was a punishment.)

A select few were allowed to enter the program and underwent more intensive therapeutic intervention to continue to address their criminality through the program. Vice versa. The small size of the program was indicative of the state’s reluctance to invest in rehabilitation. But administrators

“You C

list some crimes you committed to get
mitted while you were drunk or high”;
here crimes you believe you might not
alcohol or drug use? List them.” The
o enable the inmate to start identify-
identifying these patterns was part of a
participants generated over the course

g this relationship between criminal
piece of the treatment curriculum. And
ontrol over the length of time inmates
as were made by judges and prosecu-
Lively put it, “pump as much informa-
me of it sticks.”

f the jail’s treatment program lay less
in creating an authoritative discourse
represented the relationship between
locking cognitive-behavioral processes.
tation, the jail’s treatment curriculum
political associations between drugs,
them as a set of cognitive-behavioral
were so closely aligned, in fact, that
avioral reality. Targeting the individu-
n in this context was thus a means of
ving the inmate’s criminal inclinations.
this way provided a key means through
date. Every inmate went through detox-
kind of barebones treatment protocol.
ing both the health and behavior of the
ervention into the individual inmate’s
also speculate that the suffering experi-
she underwent forced withdrawal was
erson was there to be punished).

r the treatment program where they
c work, the aim of which was to con-
ugh the medium of their addiction and
m, which jail administrators lamented,
to invest heavily in programs focused
made strategic use of the program’s

small size to further manage the behavior. For instance, the opportunity to was used as an incentive through which behavioral expectations. Thus targeting drug multiple levels to assist administrator ties of managing the inmate population options through which to pursue its mission criminal justice system.

Addiction as a Police Matter

Police officers were quick to cite meth crime in the county. They estimated that the crime they dealt with was somewhat included property crimes, passing bad economy itself, could all be traced back

The first police officer I interviewed a deputy in the sheriff's department. In Daryl had served for two years working Task Force focused on disrupting the Baker County and the Shenandoah Valley why methamphetamine was causing so "It's so addictive." He underscored meth marijuana, another common drug in gonna sit at home and eat chips or so fact, marijuana was of such little consequence decriminalized it: they spent no time dealers, nor did they suspect marijuana committed. While police did not ignore that it was not a focus of their work.³

The same could not be said about marijuana with crime was so strong that police were from it. Again, this link with criminal addictiveness, which, Daryl explained itself, as users turned to dealing to support them distinct from marijuana users, drawn into dealing or any other criminal

Deputy Casey Phillips expressed a sense of police duty in 2000 after a brief stint in

behavior of inmates in other, more indirect ways. Inmates who do not participate in the treatment program are more likely to attempt to induce compliance with behaviors through force. Substance abuse and addiction in the jail worked on inmates in dealing with the daily practicalities of life in prison. It also provided the institution with a more general penal mandate within the

context of methamphetamine as a major source of crime. In fact, it is estimated that anywhere from 50 to 90 percent of crimes in the area are now drug-related.² These crimes, which include possession, distribution, and participation in the drug trade, are largely a result of methamphetamine's addictiveness. One example (see chap. 1) was Daryl Montgomery, a police officer. In addition to his regular police duties, he worked as an undercover agent as part of a Federal Drug Enforcement Administration team that was tracking methamphetamine traffic between the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. When I asked Daryl why methamphetamine was so many problems, he replied quickly, "It's the addictiveness. It's addictiveness by contrasting it with marijuana in the area. 'With marijuana you're just getting high, something,' Daryl said with a smile. In contrast to the concern that local police had practically stopped trying to locate marijuana users or dealers, the focus was on methamphetamine when a criminal offense was committed. The illegality of marijuana altogether,

was a major problem with methamphetamine. Meth's association with crime and its work was virtually unimaginable apart from its addictiveness. The addictiveness was articulated in terms of meth's power. Methamphetamine was driving the local drug economy and was the primary reason why people support their addiction. This also made methamphetamine the primary reason why, according to Daryl, were rarely seen in the area. The primary activity to support their habit.

Daryl had a similar view. He had returned to active duty in the military and had since witnessed

Meth

the methamphetamine problem grew. It was attributed this to its addictiveness, as was to be made. The proof of meth's addictiveness was acceptable. "Meth is no respecter of persons," he said. "High status or low class, living in a nice house or a trailer."

Casey went on to describe how the police were policing in the community. As a small police department functioned as a "one-stop shop" of police services, from routine traffic patrol, the next day arrested for a crime, and the next carrying out a criminal sentence, the three once seemed largely unrelated, but not to Casey: methamphetamine. Routine traffic stops, arrests for methamphetamine or related paraphernalia, and even often meth-induced, and the vast majority of property crimes in particular, were ultimately linked to methamphetamine.

Rose Hinkle, the probation officer who had seen that drug offenders were a major focus of her work, said her reality was rooted in their addiction. Indeed, she saw the lengths to which people would go to avoid the commission of crimes. "They'll sit right there," she said, gesturing toward the chair across from her by probationers, the one in which I sat.

Rose saw the lack of viable treatment options as a major problem. The nearest inpatient treatment facility was far away. Being admitted as a patient was not an option (her son's case was deemed insufficiently serious for that, they had it) would not cover the cost. In addition to the classes and counseling at the community clinic, there were the AA and NA meetings. But none of this was adequate, in Rose's view. She needed inpatient treatment with constant supervision.

The closest thing to inpatient treatment in the criminal justice system was the program at the county jail, only eight inmates at a time, and access was limited. It lasted as long as the person was incarcerated. The institution always trumped the rehabilitation program. By the time they reached Rose as a probationer, they no longer participate in the program. And

"You C

w exponentially. Like Daryl, Casey well as to the ease with which it could eness was the fact that anyone was sus- on,” he said. “It doesn’t matter if you’re e house or a trailer.”

methamphetamine had transformed l department, they had always had to e work. One day they might be doing nswering a domestic disturbance call, al investigation. These activities had ow there was a common denomina- ic stops were increasingly producing ernalia, domestic disturbances were jority of the crimes they investigated, imately determined to be connected to

for Baker County, likewise stated that er work. In most cases, their criminal- eed, Rose was consistently amazed by o satiate their addiction, including the ht there and tell me about the urges,” cross from her desk typically occupied as I conducted the interview.

ent options in the area as part of the ment center was one hundred miles often difficult, either because the per- erious, or because their insurance (if This left most with outpatient options. ing offered at the local mental health ings that took place in the community. ’s view, given that most drug offenders ant care and supervision.

ment available to those ensnared in the ram at the regional jail, but it served ess was competitive. Moreover, it only cerated—the juridical rationale of the litative efforts contained within. Thus probationer, addicted inmates could no d all of this was overshadowed by the

sad fact that one had to be arrested in the program in the first place.

Rose was constantly frustrated by the system within the system. Yet what she found most depressing—was the sheer magnitude of the problem. “I had no clue what went on [in Berkeley],” she said, noting that many of the people on the list were from high school. “It’s really hard

Seeing the Addict Like a State

The field of vision of these state officials on methamphetamine addiction, its system, and its reality. In this section we will see how the addiction worked in practice through the lives of methamphetamine addicts became the central activity. In each case, state officials struggle to understand the criminality of those who are, by necessity, thin because they lack the individual’s subjectivity, and thus are limited by their lived experience.⁴

Case 1: Dwight

In the spring of 2007, Dwight Hopper, in his forties, pled guilty to four counts of Grand Larceny. In the months before his arrest, Dwight had committed numerous burglaries over the course of the previous year. His arrest was his theft of the contents of a store, everything from the coffee maker to the tools which he used to haul the bigger items. He was charged with grand larceny to which Dwight pleaded guilty. He was also charged with the crimes for which he had been indicted. As part of his plea agreement with the state, he agreed to the total number of crimes he was arrested on for a time. Indeed, this was not Dwight’s first arrest. He had charges of breaking and entering and burglary.

Dwight was arrested after the owner of the store returned around his own home. A state trooper

order to gain access to the treatment

these contradictions and inadequacies most challenging—one might even say of drug use and crime in the commu- [Maker County] until I got this job,” Rose on probation were former classmates of to see people I know on drugs.”

als was narrowed through the focus symptoms, and its links with criminal- state’s targeting of methamphetamine an examination of two cases in which the focus of the state’s response to crimi- als invoked the discourse of addiction e they arrested. The accounts that fol- y reflect the state’s perspective on these largely inattentive to broader aspects of

a white working class man in his early grand Larceny. According to court doc- rous acts of breaking and entering and ous year. The event that brought about s of a retired couple’s summer home, ne washer and dryer to the old tractor, s out of the house. The four counts of guilty accounted for less than half of dicted, all of which were dismissed as ate, and represented only a fraction of sumed to have committed in his life- rst arrest but his third, each time on ourgary.

r of the house saw him riding her trac- oper came to investigate, and Dwight

Meth”

made no effort to deny what he had stolen the property and signed a written confession. When the state trooper asked why he had done this, he replied obliquely, "I got in a bind, a financial bind, to make some money."

Awaiting sentencing at the regional court, he was taken to the county probation officer:

I was breaking into places to support my habit of meth everyday. I got to the point I didn't know the guy I was getting my meth from was the same guy I was bringing him. . . . It started out with little things and it got worse. I wish I could turn back time. I'm not the same person when I'm not on meth.

Dwight's "drug habit" was commonly known in the community, including members of the court. The secretary in the circuit clerk's office, who I asked to see Dwight's files. She told me that Dwight's mother, a resident, had grown up with Dwight and was also known for her use of drugs.

That Dwight's criminality was the result of his drug addiction was acknowledged in the court proceedings. The prosecutor mentioned it repeatedly during her presentation of evidence during the conviction and sentencing of Dwight (see also Dwight's written confession). Both the prosecutor and the judge affirmed his need for treatment for "severe drug addiction."

At no point, however, was Dwight's drug addiction used to justify his crimes. Nor was it seen to justify an alternative sentence. In fact, contrary to Dwight's "severe drug addiction" defense, the judge affirmed his incarceration and deny consideration of any other options (other than those he might receive which would be a result of his drug addiction) in her final report before Dwight's sentencing.

In talking with the Defendant regarding his drug addiction, he appears remorseful for his actions and is accepting responsibility for his drug problem. He also appears to understand that his drug use has caused himself, his family, and the community harm.

"You C

done. He openly admitted to having
ten confession attesting to the crimes.
e had committed the crimes, Dwight
financial bind. Picked a dumb way to try
jail, he elaborated on this explanation

at my drug habit. I was using crystal
I don't have anymore [*sic*] money. So the
trading me Meth for anything I could
the things and with time, my drug habit
me and stay away from the drugs. . . .
t on drugs.⁵

n knowledge in Baker County. In cit-
he simply made explicit what those in
of the criminal justice system, already
k's office shook her head in pity when
me that her husband, another lifetime
and that he'd (Dwight) always struggled

e result of his drug habit was widely
gs as well: the probation officer men-
tence investigation, as did the judge
hearings (largely perfunctory in light
referred to Dwight as having a "severe
for treatment.

's drug addiction taken to excuse his
ternative to incarceration. On the con-
was cited specifically as reason to expe-
eration of any therapeutic alternatives
le incarcerated). The probation officer,
encing hearing, stated this explicitly:

ding his crime he genuinely appears
pting [of] the fact that he has a severe
nderstand what a problem his drug
nd his friends. . . . [T]he Defendant

acknowledges that he needs some treatment and is willing to accept treatment. But the undersigned believes that the Defendant is not able to do this at this time due to his inability to control his addiction. The undersigned believes that the Defendant will not be able to do the standard terms of probation [emphasis added].

Acknowledging Dwight's "severe drug addiction," the probation officer recommended in his report that Dwight's addiction made him a poor candidate for the programs, which were outpatient programs, of probation. This was because they require a high degree of self-control that Dwight, as an addict, did not have. In particular, his inability to control his addiction to violate the key requirements of probation, such as finding full employment, abstaining from any use of alcohol, refraining from any further criminal acts, and associating with criminals.

Dwight had successfully completed previous probation terms. But this had apparently been insufficient to prevent further criminality. Thus in Dwight's case, addiction was the motivation for his crimes, yet it was not the reason for his incarceration, rather than a reason for alternative sentencing. He was given a four- to forty-day sentence to the regional jail.

Dwight was paradigmatic of the addict who is desperate to obtain money for drugs—was a man whose addiction with addiction in the local juridical system. The character of both his addiction and his criminality. After his arrest for committing property crimes, Dwight was a talented carpenter and a hard worker. He perceived power of the addiction to drugs as a major factor that Dwight had had to steal to buy drugs. Third, no amount of treatment or punishment had been effective in preventing him from relapsing into cocaine or committing more drug-related crimes. The reasons in Dwight's case: the recalcitrance toward treatment and the addiction toward criminality. The same then

type of treatment for his drug abuse based upon [this] information . . . , *the defendant is not a good candidate for probation to keep clean from drugs. The defendant would not be able to comply with the conditions [that have] been added*].

“drug problem” and need for treatment, and incarceration. Ironically, the severity of his addiction made him a poor candidate for the available treatment programs administered in the context of probation, which required a degree of self-monitoring and discipline that he was seen to be incapable of managing. His desire for meth made him likely to relapse: obtaining and maintaining gainful employment, abstaining from intoxicating substances including alcohol, maintaining sobriety, and disassociation from other

and probation for his previous conviction were not sufficient to prevent him from engaging in criminal activity. In this case, his addiction was recognized as a significant factor, and was then cited as a further justification for a longer sentence. Reason to consider any therapeutic alternative was not given, and a 12-month sentence and immediately taken

into effect. Eddie Curtis is a convicted criminal. First, his crime—stealing—was the most common offense associated with methamphetamine use. Second, the chronic criminality was affirmed by his repeated arrests for theft to obtain money to buy drugs. Notably, Eddie Curtis was able to find employment for an hour. This simply reinforced the tendency of many individuals into criminality, given the high cost of drugs even though he had a regular job. Punishment (such as were available) had no effect on either continuing to use methamphetamine or committing crimes. Thus we see what the state does to the addict and his chronic inclinations to relapse recur in the case of Eddie Curtis.

Meth”

Case 2: Eddie

Eddie Curtis was in his mid-twenties in 2005 on multiple counts of breaking and entering. In an interview with police, Eddie admitted to breaking into a local insurance company twice, and in each case he took whatever cash he could get. In the process of breaking into these homes, Eddie involved kicking down a back door or window, causing close to \$4,000 in damage. Police phoned the businesses thrown into complete disarray by the cash.

Based on information provided to the informant, Eddie was taken into custody and taken to the Sheriff's Department. The informant mentioned specifically about the places he had broken into, like Dwight, he admitted to committing the crime. The informant asked Eddie, "What did you do with the cash?" Eddie gave an answer that linked his criminality to the use of methamphetamine."

After obtaining a detailed confession from Eddie, covering that Eddie had spent all of the cash on drugs, police queried Eddie about the motivation for his actions.

"Why did you break into all these places?"

"For cash to buy drugs," Eddie replied. The informant asked into Eddie's drug use, in which he admitted to using. And though he did not name names, Eddie provided a dealer, providing directions to the trailer where he worked.

Eddie's case bears a striking resemblance to the case of a man who had committed a series of property crimes, including breaking into homes and stealing drugs." Additionally, these acts were linked to Eddie's suspected criminality, much of which was related to his drug use. Though this was his first felony, Eddie had a history of misdemeanors, including charges for domestic violence and methamphetamine. Eddie was not incarcerated, but received numerous fines.

Eddie, too, was seen to be a poor candidate for a job. The informant wrote a letter to Eddie's court-appointed attorney in which he stated, "The State would like to see you in a job."

"You C

when he was arrested in the winter of 2008 on charges of burglary and entering and burglary. During his arrest, he was found breaking into a dentist's office once, and two private cabins multiple times. In the dentist's office, he could find, a sum totaling around \$1,400. Eddie had broken into homes and businesses, which typically involved breaking through a window, he caused damage. Photographs revealed homes and businesses that had been searched by Eddie's apparently frantic search for

the police by an unnamed confidential source. Officers picked him up at his house and took him to the station for questioning. Eddie was questioned about the money he was suspected of burglarizing, and he admitted to each crime. The police repeatedly asked, "Where did the money come from?" Each time, Eddie provided an answer back to his drug use, "I spent it on

methamphetamine for each of the burglaries, and I used this money on methamphetamine, the reason for my crimes.

"Where did you get the money from?" Deputy Ted Thomas asked.

Eddie replied. This led to an extended inquiry into Eddie's admitted to a \$300-a-week meth habit. Eddie also revealed the location of his home in a residential park where he lived.

Eddie's situation was similar to Dwight's. Like Dwight, Eddie committed crimes in order to obtain "cash to buy drugs." This was part of a long history of proven and unproven crimes that could be linked to chronic drug use. Eddie had been arrested on several misdemeanor charges of domestic violence and possession of methamphetamine but had incurred

no conviction. Eddie was a candidate for probation. Daniel Gardner, Eddie's defense attorney, negotiated a plea agreement. Eddie's attorney will strongly oppose any probation or

reconsideration of any sentence. It is [Eddie Curtis] go to prison.” He conclu

I have dealt with the Defendant for a
ous cases which he has failed to pay
\$6,500.00 to clear those cases. He wa
obtain employment and honor his re
tiative in the past. Therefore, the State
any leniency.

As a result of the plea agreement Ed
sentence. But Eddie was not satisfied w
letters to the judge requesting a new a
row account of his subjectivity. Each l
of his sentence. Of the four he wrote, o
“I know Also [*sic*] that I had a proble
treatment.” Notably, Eddie made this s
the lack of treatment and other rehabili
jail (due to overcrowding in the state p
the regional jail well beyond the time
For Eddie, the lack of treatment servi
justified a reconsideration of his sente
tion) that would allow him greater opp

Letters such as these were familia
justice system. These officials, howeve
regard. Most saw them as insincere att
to gain sympathy or convince those in
these efforts were rarely taken seriousl
no effect on the judge, who never recor
tory of domestic violence, combined
his pleas to be released from prison for

Dwight and Eddie’s cases illustrate i
on arresting meth offenders. Both were
sion, committed a series of property c
arresting them, the police saw themse
that had been committed but also p
place, thereby fulfilling two fundame
The opportunity to have such a broad i
the incentive to focus on meth offend

the State's intent that the Defendant
wrote the letter this way:

number of years. . . . He has numer-
ous. In fact, he would owe in excess of
has told many times that he needed to
responsibilities. He has shown no ini-
tiative does not find him to be suitable for

Eddie received a two- to twenty-five-year
sentence with the outcome. He wrote a series of
letters to his attorney and contesting the state's nar-
rative. The letter also asked for a reconsideration
of his sentence, mentioning only one mentioned drug use, stating,
"I am aware of drug abuse, and realize I do need
assistance. I made a statement in a letter complaining about
the limited rehabilitative services available at the regional
penitentiary system, Eddie remained at
the facility (where he was scheduled to be transferred).
I am seeking assistance for a well-acknowledged problem
of substance abuse and reassignment (such as proba-
tion or opportunity to seek treatment).

Similar to administrators in the criminal
justice system, Eddie tended to hold such efforts in low
regard. He made attempts to avoid punishment by trying
to use his power that they had changed. As such,
his efforts were in vain. Not surprisingly, Eddie's letters had
not been considered his sentence. Eddie's long his-
tory with his criminal history, likely made
the situation for the sake of his family ring hollow.

In part why police focused their efforts
on meth users who, by their own admis-
sion, committed crimes in support of a drug habit. By
viewing themselves as not only responding to crimes
but also preventing future crimes from taking
place, police performed multiple functions simultaneously.
The impact through single arrests increased
for many users. Similarly during prosecution, the

prosecuting attorney (acting on behalf of Eddie's addiction as reason to incarcerate rather than pursue more rehabilitative alternatives (such as probation). This was the dual objective of punishing crimes through deterrence, rehabilitation or prevention of future crimes. Thus there were strong connections between methamphetamine users throughout the

A Body on Drugs

The strong connection between drugs, crime, and the contexts surveyed thus far put a new emphasis on drug users in police work. But it also revealed that, as was told repeatedly, meth's addictiveness blurred the lines between those old markers of difference like race and class. New methods and techniques for identifying and tracking offenders were needed.

In my interview with Deputy Casey, he described how to tell who was using methamphetamine. Casey said that police would look for symptoms associated with addiction and would identify a meth user based on their physical appearance. Casey said that on the street occasionally he would see someone who had lost a lot of weight and ask them if they were using methamphetamine. Casey said that if they admitted to using it, some even requested to be taken to a detox so they could detox and try to beat the charges. Casey said that if they refused to do so, or some other significant scab or wound (a sign of methamphetamine use) on the face of the person, police would have "reasonable suspicion" to pull the person over. Casey said that if they were also driving as though they were high (e.g., swerving, etc.). According to Casey, methamphetamine paraphernalia on them.

Daryl Montgomery painted a similar picture of the street. He said that he would identify street people who displayed the symptoms of addiction. "They'll have open sores from digging their nails into their skin," he said. "They'll be digging out." Daryl explained that police would identify someone in that condition and try to "bluff" them by telling them that they had a warrant if they cooperated. This was part of a more general strategy of targeting drug users with penal sanctions in order to

"You C

half of “the State”) cited Dwight and
ate them rather than pursue therapeu-
his allowed the state to likewise fulfill
s committed and preventing (whether
r incapacitation) the commission of
g institutional incentives for targeting
he criminal justice system.

addiction, and crime evident in all of
new premium on the identification of
added a new complication. For if, as I
ess meant that anyone was susceptible,
ng associated with drug use and crim-
d class) were of little use (Musto 1999).
ntifying drug users and other criminal

y Phillips, I asked him how he could
. Casey made reference to the physical
nd explained how easy it was to spot a
pearance. He would see people on the
f weight or just looked high. He’d stop
 (“Are you on the shit?”). Many admit-
o be taken to jail, according to Casey,
eir addiction. Similarly, seeing a crater
nd (another common physical sign of
f a driver would provide enough “rea-
ver and perform a search, particularly
y were intoxicated (speeding, weaving,
most were found to have drugs or drug

imilar picture. He regularly encoun-
toms of methamphetamine addiction.
at ‘meth bugs,’ their teeth will be fall-
ould at times approach people in this
threatening to arrest them unless they
general tactic of threatening low-level
der to “flip” them and turn them into

A BODY O



"Meth mouth" is a term used to describe damage to the mouth caused by smoking methamphetamine, evidenced by gum disease, broken and cracked teeth, and extensive and rapid tooth decay. The vapors of methamphetamine contain several harsh chemicals, and stop the production of saliva and reduce the supply of blood to the gums. Without the protective flushing of saliva decay causing bacteria grow rapidly, reaching levels of ten times those found in a normal mouth. The rapid tooth decay is increased even more when the addict consumes sweet carbonated soft drinks to get rid of the cotton mouth caused by loss of saliva.

Illicit drugs interfere with normal brain activity. Brain scans shown are those of a drug addict, a cocaine abuser who has not used the drug for 30 days, and a cocaine abuser who has not used the drug for 90 days. These rainbow spectrum scans show the activity of the three brains, with red being the most active and blue the least active. The meth addict's brain activity is significantly reduced in the cocaine abuser's brain days after last using the drug.



Before and after photos of meth users. Compiled by Deputy Bret King of the Multnomah County Detention Center. The mugshots show how severely and rapidly methamphetamine use can degenerate the body. The sores on a meth user's face are often called "speed bumps", are caused in part by the toxic waste created by the drug being excreted through the skin. She had used cocaine for five years and claimed to have had bugs under the skin for the same length of time. In a separate case, three doctors explained the situation to her, she continued to believe the bugs were real. She collected what she thought were the bugs, but which were actually her flesh and scabs, in jars of water (above right).



Due to repeated injections, the veins of addicts scar and harden making injections more difficult. These scarred and hardened veins, often called "tracks", cause the user to inject in different parts of the same vein (above left) or in different veins on other parts of the body. Infections often occur at the injection sites due to unsanitary conditions and contaminants in drugs, causing abscesses and inflammation (above right).

"A Body on Drugs." ©Amera-Chem, Inc. U

confidential informants to aid in criminal investigations of drug users and dealers. In this way, the symptoms of drug use are read by police officers as signs of criminal behavior. These signs make arrests and/or coerce drug users into providing information.

As I concluded my interview with the informant, I returned back to the sheriff's office. The office walls were free of any decoration, except for a poster at the entrance. The poster was large and covered the wall with images. The text was tiny and impossible to read.

ON DRUGS



Many dangerous and toxic chemicals are used to produce illegal drugs. The hands of these two men were injured by chemicals used in the production of methamphetamine the drug in 100 days. These rainbow spectrum scans show the metabolic activity of the three brains, with red being the most active and blue the least active. The metabolic activity is significantly reduced in the cocaine abusers, even 100 days after last using the drug.

activity. The three
free individual, a
drug for 10 days,
the drug in 100
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ing the most ac-
bolic activity is
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Illicit drugs interfere with normal brain activity. The three brain scans shown are those of a drug free individual, a cocaine abuser who has not used the drug for 10 days, and a cocaine abuser who has not used the drug in 100 days. These rainbow spectrum scans show the metabolic activity of the three brains, with red being the most active and blue the least active. The metabolic activity is significantly reduced in the cocaine abusers, even 100 days after last using the drug. The drug in 100 days. These rainbow spectrum scans show the metabolic activity of the three brains, with red being the most active and blue the least active. The metabolic activity is significantly reduced



Like that which occurs with methamphetamine use, cocaine users can also experience a drug induced sensation that bugs are crawling under the skin, and the user will pick at the skin in an attempt to remove the hallucinatory bugs. These "coke bugs" or "snow bugs" were first documented among cocaine abusers in the late 1800s by the French neurologist Valentine Magnon. Shown is a cocaine user who had open wounds and scarring resulting from picking at the skin to remove the bugs (above left). The user reported that at one time the open wounds extended to the bone. She had used cocaine for five years and claimed to have had bugs under the skin for the same length of time. In spite of the fact that three doctors explained the situation to her, she continued to believe the bugs were real. She collected what she believed were the bugs, but which were actually her flesh and scabs, in jars of water (above right).



Most cases of abscesses and infections caused by injecting heroin can be treated with incision, drainage and antibiotics. Serious complication occur when bacteria attach to the lining and valves of the heart (endocarditis) or a bacterial infection develops in the blood (sepsis). Pictured is a heroin addict with severely abscessed skin caused by repeated injections.

Used by permission.

inal investigations of other drug users
s of methamphetamine addiction were
riminal involvement, and were used to
to cooperate with police operations.

Daryl and Casey, I walked with them
was small, and the gray cinder-block
cept for a poster taped to the wall next
e, white, and cluttered with text and
sible to read from a distance, and the

"Meth"

images were likewise difficult to make revealed it to be composed of pictures mouths, faces, and even brains—in v decay. The arms and legs had open so daged, the mouth was missing teeth, tion, and the faces were prematurely a the poster stated its theme: a body on

Here were all of the physical marke erty had just been describing. They we whose pictures had been taken while i the poster did not reveal their partic obviously mug shots, but those of the tualizing details or explanations. What crimes, it seemed, but that drugs had a same way. In this way, the poster serv sic “Wanted” poster. Rather than draw wanted for particular crimes, this pos criminal and the signs by which they the criminal body was made possible appearance and their criminality as sym

In its focus on the features of the c cent of the catalogs of criminals from nologist Cesare Lombroso sought to c genetal criminality (Horn 2003). Thou physical markers of criminality, the p a different reading of the criminal bod the individuals pictured were “born cr focus on the sudden and progressive c concomitant slide into criminality unc the opposite message: these were “nor cal and social deterioration had been their use of and inevitable addiction to

This was particularly striking in the after” images bore witness to the socia cal deterioration of the body in the c the space between the two images wa descent into both addiction and crimi facial expression, increasingly compr fact that the police had multiple copie

“You C

out from far away. Closer inspection of parts of bodies—arms, legs, hands, various states of sickness, injury, and so on, the hands were scabbed and bandaged, the brains showed signs of malfunction. Small capital letters at the top of the posters read “METHAMPHETAMINE” (See fig. on facing page).

As a result of drug use and addiction the depictions were displayed on bodies of individuals in the custody of law enforcement, but not for individual crimes. The facial portraits were the only other body parts carried no context. What was important was not their specific details but how they affected each of these individuals in the past. The posters served the opposite function of the classic mugshot, drawing attention to an individual criminal rather than a generic *type* of criminal. The posters could be identified. Such a reading of the posters is possible by understanding both their physical details and the symptoms of their addiction.

As a criminal body, the poster was reminiscent of the mugshot, which the nineteenth-century criminologists used to discern the distinctive features of convicts. The poster, though sharing this concern with general appearance, was not a mugshot. The poster in the sheriff's office portrayed a man who had deteriorated. In no way did it suggest that any of the men were “criminals.” On the contrary, through its depiction of the deterioration of the subject's body and the influence of drugs, it conveyed a sense of “normal” people, whose progressive physical decline was set in motion by nothing other than their addiction to methamphetamine.

The pictures of the faces—the “before and after” pictures—showed the physical decline that accompanied the physical course of the individual's addiction. In each picture there is an implied narrative of ever-deeper physical decline evidenced by the person's deteriorated physical appearance, and the reason for their picture because of repeated

police bookings.⁷ Through these images of imagining the temporality of the road and criminality. It was through such photographs implied, that drug users could be identified served a deterrent function, using the message to encourage members of the community.

But in its emphasis on the progressive influence of drugs, the poster conveyed a significant message, namely, that even though these signs like were the most obvious markers of addiction appeared only after an extended period of use were much more subtle or even nonexistent. The individuals looked very “normal.” The meth use displayed by the poster promoting, it also suggested that anyone could be using, it also suggested that anyone could be using these physical signs were present. This was a common anti-drug media campaigns for a long time, a level of overtness in the case of meth.⁸

The poster was a topic of much discussion during the Substance Abuse Prevention meeting. I went up to the sheriff's office to pay your taxes. I was in her forties, whom I would later learn was a recovering addict. “There's a poster up there that shows a person who is addicted to meth.” The woman went on to talk about a young girl who was also looking for help. She recounted their conversation: “She said, ‘they don't look like that.’ I looked at her and said, ‘This brief exchange was a testimonial to the fact that it conveyed a particular vision of the relationship between drug use and addiction, one that was progressive.”

The guidance counselor went on to say that the posters were a part. Apparently, the sheriff's office had the posters and was planning on putting them out in the community, including the high school. The hope was that the posters would help to identify users of methamphetamine use and that this would help the community recognize drug users and keep them from using.

The group saw the poster campaign as a positive step, particularly as they often complained that the

s the poster provided a concrete means relationship between drugs, addiction, physical signs and symptoms, the poster identified as criminals. In this way it also meth users' grotesque physical appearance community not to use drugs.

ve deterioration of the body under the d a more subtle but also more significant scabs, scars, missing teeth, and the of methamphetamine addiction, these od of drug use. Until then, the signs istent; as shown in the earlier pictures, " Thus, though the physical signs of ovided leads to determining who was ould be a user, regardless of whether is theme has not only been a part of g time, but it has been taken to a new

ussion the following week at the meet- n Coalition. "Have any of you all been taxes?" asked a brown-haired woman rn was the school guidance counselor. s what happens to you when you get n to describe an encounter she had had g at the poster. With a knowing smile said, 'I know people who use meth and er and said, 'Yeah, *not yet* they don't.'" to the poster's effectiveness, indicating ne temporality of drug use, criminality, e, deteriorative, and inevitable.

o describe the program of which the eriff's office had ordered a number of ng them up in various places through- spital, the factories, and the schools. make people more aware of the signs s, in turn, would enable them to both om drug use themselves.

n as a positive development, particu- y police were not doing enough to deal

Meth"

with the methamphetamine problem. 7
tions, arguing that the extensiveness of
to address it. Without more funding or
of doing more than containing it. This
problem exceeding their capacity to ac
tion-centered approach. For instance
of methamphetamine addiction help
also suggested a high propensity for r
recalcitrance of the addict in the face o
ment and rehabilitation suggested tha
address the problem.

These feelings of inadequacy reveal
ability of the criminal justice system
address drug problems through the p
offender population. They also poin
addicted criminals the target of poli
criminals did provide a certain cohere
County, it also threatened to undermi
seem greater than state's abilities to ma

The next chapter examines efforts t
mal domains of the criminal justice sy
and particularly in schools. Drug tests
tests were able to address the problem
were specific physical signs associat
addiction, addiction often set in befor
Even an enhanced understanding of t
tee that addicts would be identifiable
sophisticated technologies of drug d
from the surface of the body to the neu
it, and from the symptoms of drug use

The police were aware of these perceptions of the problem exceeded their capacity for more officers they stood little chance of a sense of being overwhelmed, of the address it, was due in part to the addiction, though focusing on the symptoms and in the identification of criminals, it relapse/reoffending. Furthermore, the of the existing technologies of punishment the state's efforts were inadequate to

led an underlying lack of faith in the nation—and the state more generally—to punitive management of the addicted related to the consequences of making crime activity. While targeting addicted violence to criminal justice work in Baker's line that work by making the problem manageable it.

to identify drug users beyond the forensic system, including in families, factories, played a key role in this context. These men noted above that, even though there were associated with methamphetamine use and even these physical signs become evident. The signs of addiction did not guarantee within the general population. More detection were necessary that moved from biochemical processes going on within the body to the drug itself.

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“The People You’d Ne

Emily Stevens was in chemistry class at the high school for drugs. Word spread that an officer arrived with the drug dog to do a search. She hid the marijuana she had with her in a sink. Unfortunately, the sink did not actually work. She tried to plug the drain and hope the police would not find it.

The police came through the classroom. Emily thought she was safe. But the next day she was in office. An officer was waiting for her when she returned to the school and found the officer. Emily doubted the officer had discovered the little marijuana he recovered (she confirmed it on her cell phone). Rather, she suspected the officer had told the police about the marijuana.

But Emily’s drug of choice at the time was methamphetamine. Her cousin introduced her to it and she hooked. Describing what it was like to use, she said: “It was great.” Methamphetamine gave her the best rush.” It also made her extremely productive in her classes, doing her homework at times that were immaculate. Late at night, unable to sleep, she did small tasks such as counting her change. She wrote a story she wrote about the experience, “The Best of her life” in methamphetamine.

Emily’s story had a profound effect on the community in Baker County. It legitimized a fear that was in the media that white, middle-class youth were using methamphetamine.² Emily fit this profile exactly. She was from the “good families.” She was an honor student and a variety of school activities, including

“Never Suspect”

every class the day police came to search and quickly among students when the search. In a panic, Emily tried to throw one of the sinks in the lab. Unfortunately, so all she could do was stuff it down and not find it.

room and left without incident, so she may she was called into the principal's office when she arrived. He claimed to have found marijuana she'd hidden in the drain. He showed it on his own, however, given how he compared it with the head of the antenna that he had tested another student, not the drug dog, said. "Someone narced me out," she said.¹ At the time was not marijuana but methamphetamine. By her second use she was hooked on it, and by her second use she was hooked to use meth, Emily was unequivocally hooked. It gave her "amazing energy" and "the ability to be very productive. She was ahead in all of her assignments weeks in advance. Her room was always clean. When she would go to sleep, she would focus obsessively on organizing her socks. In a short time, Emily spoke of having "found the love

It was on perceptions of the meth problem that she was then traveling through the national drug war. She was uniquely vulnerable to methamphetamine. She was one of the "good kids" on the honor roll student who participated in the Student Council, 4-H, and the swim

team. Emily's social standing was affected by her use of methamphetamine as she channeled it toward her academic success as well in school and cleaning her room. Her behavior, however, that were not so sanctioned began to manifest themselves in dramatic weight loss, mood swings, and erratic behavior. It was reputed to be drug dealers that it became a local legend.

Nor was Emily's an isolated experience. In fact, so common was the incident to have been detected by a police officer at the school, Emily entered an intervention program with four other students from the high school. The fact that Emily and others had become methamphetamine users on the ground confirmed the fears of many in the community. It was taken as proof that with methamphetamine, "anyone is a suspect" to be using drugs who were, in fact, not. These were not the stereotypical users. These were not the stereotypical users of a more general inclination toward drug use that were most likely to be involved with the problem.

This representation of the typical user, the "rhetoric of drugs" in Baker County (Dunn 2006) experience, drug use had to be decoupled from the local imaginary. This was significant in a community where drug use was a concern but where people no longer rely on their "stereotypic knowledge" in the identification of drug users (Silverman 2003). Appearance, academic performance, and home life—all of which remain key indicators of status—were not the same as the ones used across a range of institutions. The "typical user" where—could no longer be taken as such. The fact that among the local youth were using drugs was a fact, particularly given that she had been caught without immediately raising the suspicion.

This theme—the prevalence of methamphetamine as a "suspect"—came up time and again in the community as a substitute for the discussion of drug use. It was the community to articulate their fears about the use of drugs in middle-class families. In and of itself, the fear that a particular drug is creeping into the community. *Newsweek* article on methamphetamine and the history of U.S. drug scares (Goode 2006)

ually reflected in her use of metham-
such socially sanctioned ends as doing
It was not until other symptoms of use
manifest themselves, such as insomnia,
and increasing involvement with boys
me problematic.

nce, even though she was the only stu-
ce drug search. Shortly after the inci-
inpatient treatment program where
ool were already enrolled. The fact that
ddicts despite their middle-class back-
a the community. In local terms, it was
amine, it was “the people you’d never
paradoxically, those most likely to be
l “bad kids,” whose drug use was part
deviance, but rather the “good kids”
th the drug.

methamphetamine user altered the
(Ferrida 2003). To make sense of Emily’s
led from other types of deviance in the
not only for administrators at institu-
ut also for parents, because they could
nowledge” of drugs and deviance to aid
(Verstein 2004). That is, an adolescent’s
socioeconomic background, family
ey sites of surveillance and risk assess-
al contexts in Baker County and else-
fficient measures for determining who
gs. Emily’s case was a testament to this
ecome addicted to methamphetamine
ions of her parents or the school.

th use among “the people you’d never
my interviews. It was used discursively
ugs and class, and allowed members of
s about methamphetamine’s impact on
this was not particularly remarkable.
ng “up the socioeconomic ladder,” as a
e put it, is a recurring trope in the his-
. Fears about the vulnerability of mid-

dle-class youth specifically have been (Moore and Moore 2008). Thus what was remarkable in this case was not the vulnerability itself, but the institutional response.

The decoupling of drug use from the traditional sense of a felt need among administrators to tighten discipline at the school, a move that was hardly new in the history of the school system (Devine 1996). The logic was that for the typical methamphetamine user, traditional forms of punishment and surveillance were unreliable. New techniques were needed; and the general consensus was that activists, teachers, administrators, and police were not the technologies (such as the drug dog and the metal detector) were vital for meeting this need. These technologies were effective in drugs in places like pockets, bodies, lockers, and cars, typically been resistant to traditional forms of discipline, temporal, or legal obstacles. It was these technologies that administrators felt should be at the center of this new approach.

The focus on drug detection technologies was a shift away from the exercise of police power with the school. The debate was between three institutions: the police, the school, and the state. All of these institutions had different capabilities with regard to the exercise of power in the policing of youth. Following Foucault's (1977) view these institutions as pieces of a larger system of punishment—a unified surveillance apparatus through which disciplinary power through which subjects were controlled. But contrary to the unified system described by Foucault, the surveillance system, then in formation, was full of breaks and fissures. Institutionally specific practices, especially in law, politics, bureaucracy, culture, and education, expand the use of drug-detection technologies and create a new institutional system of drug surveillance.

This produced a striated, “nervous” system, the effect of which, ultimately, was to create a new class of users—particularly those of the middle class. The force of legal sanction and the force of law were weakened by the exercise of police power (Moore and Moore 2008) in the local drug surveillance system. The result was a new and repetition of deeper divisions in the system.

a particularly pronounced (Schneider
his case was not the fear of middle-class
l response that this fear generated.

As other indices of deviance increased the
thickened the system of surveillance within
level in the context of the U.S. public
was that if Emily was representative of
then traditional practices of risk assess-
the means of drug detection. New tech-
consensus among parents, community
and police was that drug detection tech-
the drug test) carried the greatest poten-
ologies held out the promise of locating
trucks, cars, and other spaces that have
forms of surveillance by dint of spatial,
these technologies, then, that administra-
new system of drug surveillance.

These technologies set in motion a deeper debate
respect to drug use in the community.
Institutions: the family, the uniformed police,
which carry particular powers and respon-
of police power, specifically regarding
Foucault (1995), it has become common to
a more general system of discipline and
apparatus for the administration of dis-
As subjects move over the course of their life.
As described by Foucault, the drug-centered
in Baker County, was laden with
specific anxieties, which were rooted vari-
culture, and class, stymied any effort to
incorporate these technologies into a common, transinstitu-

” (Taussig 1992) form of policing, the
to create a system in which certain meth-
the middle class—were shielded from the threat
while others were subject to the public
(Haggerty 2001). Thus the disjunctures
were complicit with the reproduction
of the community. And although there

were debates over a variety of drug-c... will be on that surrounding the imple... the school.

“It Doesn’t Take a Long Time for ...”

In August 2007 I attended my first me... tion Coalition. This group was compo... tion, mental health, and social servic... local mental health clinic received a gra... for dealing with drug use in the area. C... group.

Roughly twenty-five people were a... a round of introductions. There were... and psychologists, as well as addiction... agencies such as the Department of H... mothers with daughters who were ad... senior at the local high school, had acc... After the introductions, which were m... the group were all well known to each... son to speak. Marjorie was one of tw... mental health clinic. She spoke about... phetamine use was having on the clin... Marjorie had worked with adolescents... ees at the poultry processing plant. The... bad, so bad in fact that every employe... they could be hired. This was in additi... carried out every two weeks. Just that... a result of testing for meth.³

Joan Staley, a social worker, spoke n... amphetamine use among the people sh... the high school students. Of the twen... she estimated that methamphetamine... them. Joan was troubled to hear how e... and speculated that most had learned h... a normal means of “coping” in the fam...

Nancy Daniels, the guidance couns... touched on “the heart of the matter.”... home as a component of “coping pa...

detection technologies, the focus here
implementation of a drug testing program at

Good Kids to Go Bad

meeting of the Substance Abuse Preven-
posed of professionals from the educa-
ce fields. They had formed when the
ant from the state to develop strategies
Glenda Hutchins was hired to lead the

at the meeting, and Glenda suggested
social workers, guidance counselors,
counselors, representatives from state
health and Human Resources, and two
dicted to meth. One of these girls, a
accompanied her mother to the meeting.
made for my benefit, as the members of
other, Glenda asked Marjorie Thomp-
o addiction counselors on staff at the
the impact that the spike in metham-
ic. It seemed to be affecting everyone.
s at the high school as well as employ-
e problem at the plant was particularly
ee now had to pass a drug test before
on to the random drug tests that were
week, the plant lost four employees as

ext. She had also seen a spike in meth-
ne served. This was particularly true of
ty-six referrals she received that year,
was a factor in at least 80 percent of
extensive drug use was in their homes,
now to use drugs from their parents, as
ily.

counselor at the high school, said Joan had
She, too, saw that drug use began at
atterns”—an accepted but destructive

way to deal with family dynamics. At
ing something different with regard to
ple you'd never suspect were on it," she
"preps" were heavier users than the low
clean-cut kid had earned the nickname
most notorious dealers of methamph
the nicknames for meth). Nancy conc
"doesn't take a long time for good kids

I had heard this before. Three mon
similar group composed of local profes
I met Joan Bennett, a psychologist who
at the high school. Half-jokingly she to
using meth, I should go to a meeting o
an organization, as the name implied,
the "good" families: the cheerleaders,
and prom kings, all of whom were e
church. For some reason, which neithe
out, these were the people most likely t

Carla Smith, the head of the Depart
in the area, echoed these sentiment
wouldn't suspect as drug users" were
with methamphetamine. In a phone
was changing her work. It was no long
seeking information about the signs of
ing what they needed to look for in th
parents that she would not have thou
dren using drugs. Carla herself had b
of methamphetamine. One day as sh
stopped at a stoplight and noticed that
her was visibly agitated, in a way that s

But this ability to detect adolesce
informed observation was a skill with
the community. This was precisely be
suspect as drug users," as Carla put it
The experience of Emily's mother, Na
Nancy in part blamed herself for what
had not noticed the signs of her meth
though Nancy had been aware that Em
ing much, she had been slow to attribu

the same time, however, she was seen using methamphetamine. “A lot of the people said. At the high school, most of the lower-class kids. For instance, a popular, well-known kid called “Ice Man” because he was one of the kids who used methamphetamine in the area (“ice” being one of the slang terms for the drug). I concluded that, with methamphetamine, it was bound to go bad.”

Months earlier I attended the meeting of a Fellowship of Christian Athletes, a group made up of all the “good” kids from the area—football players, homecoming queens, and other equally active members of their local churches. Neither Joan nor her colleagues could figure out how to be using methamphetamine.

A representative from the Department of Health and Human Resources, stating that the “people who you would least expect are often the most likely to be involved in drug use,” during the interview she emphasized how this was not just health-care workers that came to mind, but parents asking about drug use in children, but parents asking about their kids. Until recently, these were the people who might be needed to worry about their children. It was only when she became more aware of the prevalence of drug use that she was heading home from work, she noticed the teenager driving the truck behind her. She suggested he was probably on meth.

Prevalent drug use through simple acts of neglect and a waning utility, according to those in the area, because the “people who you wouldn’t expect” were the most likely users of meth. Nancy Stevens, drove this point home. She had happened with Emily because she had used methamphetamine use soon enough. And because her family had lost weight and was not sleeping, she attributed this to drug use.

Emily, for her part, was more self-aware. She assumed she was at least partially aware of her behavior before the event at the school. I asked her about her mother's suspicions. "I was bitchy, nervous, and the guys I was dating had a reputation that was good for me, [but] bad for them." Indeed, she had a "VIP" marked in Emily's cell phone, a list of names of drug dealers. Thus Emily felt her body was being used, in the same way that it was "objectified" at the high school ("the people who look good for a few days"). At the same time, it took a while for her daughter's changed appearance and behavior to be noticed.

When Nancy did eventually confront Emily with drug tests, which she had access to through the Department of Health and Human Resources (eventually purchased them at the local drug store), she was ready to go out Nancy said, "I'm testing myself tonight. I planned on using that night. Instead, she took a random drug test (which she passed) and then she failed the next morning Nancy greeted Emily accordingly."

Emily and Nancy's experience reveals how the demand for greater use of drug testing in schools begins with a lament that she did not know her daughter's drug use soon enough, and an acknowledgment of the idea that Emily even had a problem with drugs. It acted on them in part by her use of drug testing as a behavior. In this case, the drug test was a tool that held out the promise of remaking the daughter who had been threatened by drugs. For Nancy, it was a tool for her own inability to fully recognize the problem.

Development of a Drug Detection System

A system of drug detection was already in place at the school. Methamphetamine became a serious problem for the school, including the hospital, the poultry facility, and the jail. Drug detection was part of the standard practice in these institutions, albeit at different levels and with different practices of drug detection varied from

sitive to her mother's suspicions and aware that something was going on even if Emily what she thought caused her weight at home, was down to 105 pounds, and her behavior for being drug dealers, [which was] a sign, of the more than twelve numbers that, eventually, Nancy discovered, were signs of drug use and behavior made it "obvious" she was using drugs. "Obvious" who the other meth users were and how they looked like they've been up for two straight days before Emily's mother considered that her daughter's behavior might be signs of drug use. When Emily, she began by threatening her mother to quit through her job at the Department of Health even though she could have just as easily quit (she did). One night as Emily was getting ready to go to work, she said, "I'm going to see you when you get back." Emily had waited until she got home, took the car, and did the meth in her room. Still, the mother, suspiciously, "Your car smells like meth." This incident reveals some of the motivations that were behind the drug detection in the school. Nancy's mother did not pick up on the signs of her daughter's knowledge of her own resistance to her mother's demands. Once she did develop suspicions, she used drug tests as a way to control her daughter's behavior. This is not simply a surveillance technology. It is a tie between parent and child, a tie that, in Nancy's case, it seemed capable of compensating for the absence of the signs of drug use in her child.

1 System

already in place in Baker County before the incident. It was rooted in institutions, the school, the courthouse, and the regional standard operating procedures of these institutions and in different ways.⁴ In addition, the system moved from institution to institution, involving

the combination of drug education, drug testing, and drug testing in site-specific configurations. A particular example of this was the use of one technology, the drug test, for drug surveillance in the community:

- At the poultry factory, workers had drug education and were subjected to drug testing.
- At the obstetrician's office, drug tests were administered to expectant mothers who arrived late to appointments and were suspected of drug use.
- At the courthouse, anyone charged with a crime had a drug test on days they appeared in court. Drug testing was also a component of probation for convicted individuals.
- At the mental health clinic, drug tests were administered to patients in treatment programs, particularly those who were court-ordered.
- At the class for DUI offenders, participants had drug tests before each class meeting. Police officers also used drug tests during the class. This included the administration of drug tests as well as the mounting of electronic monitoring devices on the vehicles of offenders. The offenders had to use a drug analyzer before operating the vehicle.
- At the hospital, drug tests were administered to patients with suspicious injuries or symptoms.

The presence of this vast and varied network of drug testing was a backdrop to the discussions that took place between administrators, community activists, and the public. The combination of drug searches and drug testing was a central theme in the debates worked in professions such as law enforcement and social justice where drug surveillance was used as a key to responding to crime. The familiarity with this system as a standard part of life in the institutions where they worked. The focus was not on creating a new system, but of extending a system.

The presence of such a robust drug testing system reflects the more general increase in the use of drug testing in the

drug testing, and the use of drug dogs
a list of the various ways institutions
provides a sense of the extensiveness of

and to pass a drug test as part of the appli-
to regular random testing.

tests were part of prenatal care for any
e in her pregnancy or was otherwise sus-

and with a crime was subjected to a drug
test, regardless of whether they had been
. Regular and random drug testing was
all offenders.

tests were often incorporated into outpa-
ticularly if participation in the program was

participation in which was typically man-
d to pass a Breathalyzer test before each
used Breathalyzers to police drunk driv-
tion of Breathalyzer tests during stops,
onically monitored Breathalyzers in the
r was required to blow into the Breatha-

administered to anyone who arrived with

ied drug surveillance system formed
ook place between parents, teachers,
and police regarding the implementa-
in the school. Many of those involved
uch as health, social services, or crimi-
s commonplace. The emphasis on drug
o methamphetamine was rooted in the
ard component of daily operations at
us it was not a matter of implementing
m already in place to new contexts.

ng-detection system in Baker County
he use of drug-detection technologies

in the United States that has taken place in the last century. The most ubiquitous of these tests is the urinalysis test (Tunnell 2004). Until the 1960s, testing was used almost exclusively in clinical settings. Urinalysis technology had spread. The military was one of the first. American soldiers in Vietnam were being tested for drugs. As soldiers returned from Vietnam, the military developed drug-testing programs to identify addicts.

By the late 1970s, police agencies had begun to use not to identify addicts for treatment but to identify the use of their incarcerated population. Drug testing in the military did not take place until the early 1980s. The use and refinement of relatively inexpensive testing technology could detect a large number of drugs in a single test. As part of his more general escalation of drug testing, Reagan extended the military's drug-testing program to government employees, further urging that "drug testing be done both in and out of the government. To make sure that Reagan and Vice President George Bush took the issue seriously, with seventy-eight senior White House staff members.

This was the prelude to the executive order that called for testing for broad testing of the government workforce. As part of Reagan's mandate to establish a drug-free workplace, \$56 million was earmarked for the first year of the program. It stipulated that employees in sensitive positions who tested positive for illegal drugs; refusal to be tested; or possession of drugs. This was one of several acts, which created a "drug-free" workplace. In 1987 the level of drug testing doubled. It spread from the military to local police and fire departments, and to federal agencies, attorneys as well.⁵

The rise in popularity of testing led to a dramatic increase in laboratories. Between 1980 and 1985 the number of laboratories grew from \$25 to \$73 million, a rate of 22 percent per year. They were processing between 15 and 20 million tests annually between private corporations and prison drug testing programs (Ackerman 1991).

Drug testing remains widespread in the United States. In the military, health services, government agencies, and

Since the last quarter of the twentieth century, one of the most significant drug-testing technologies is the urine-based drug testing. Urine testing for drugs was a technique used by the military for decades, but by the late 1960s the technology was being adopted by the general public. In 1967, the first to adopt it amid reports that soldiers were becoming addicted to heroin and other drugs. In 1968, the Department of Defense developed a program to identify and treat heroin addicts and treat them.

The military had begun using urine testing in jails, but to control and monitor the drug problem in the general public (Simon 1993). Mass screening in the early 1980s, enabled by the development of simple and efficient testing techniques that could be done in a single urine specimen. In 1986, as part of the War on Drugs, President Ronald Reagan established a drug-testing program to nonmilitary government employees. "voluntary" drug testing be considered mandatory. To underscore the point, President Reagan and his staff themselves underwent urinalysis along with the rest of the staff.

Reagan's executive order signed two months later called for a "drug free federal workplace," and required testing of all federal employees. The first year of the program alone. The rules were strict: employees could be fired if they tested positive. A positive test was grounds enough to be fired. The program created federal mandates for maintaining drug-free workplaces. With the new policy in place, by 1987, drug testing spread from federal agencies to state and local governments, with calls for the testing of judges and law enforcement.

The program led to a boom in the country's testing industry. Sales of drug-testing equipment grew by 20 percent a year. By 1988 laboratories were performing 100 million drug tests annually, evenly split between the military, police, and public drug-treatment centers.

The program spread throughout industry, government, education, and criminal justice,

and is used for a variety of purposes. Penalties and range from denial of employment to exclusion from school or extracurricular activities. Drug-testing kits are now available at the store and marketed toward parents—particularly parents of children (Moore and Haggerty 2001). This is due in part to the fact that it is a distinctive modern problem of drugs. As the crime

The drug-testing industry is the quintessential example of profound faith in technology; its undoubted ability to process large numbers of people makes it a means of social control—each suggesting a different way for addressing complex social issues.

This brief history explains, in part, the development of drug testing apparatus in Baker County as a concern. It also suggests why attempts to address the initial response to meth. However, the methamphetamine problem in Baker County is not just about tests and other drug detection technologies. Efforts to expand the drug testing program are the result of social, political, and legal concerns. Schools are reluctant to aggressively increase drug testing because of social order and the power relations that are more evident than in the school system.

The School: Drug Testing and the

Although every institution felt besieged, the school was the place where an increase in drug testing was most desired but also where their implementation was most difficult. Administrators at the high school were particularly concerned. One strategy was to continue the emphasis on drug testing. It was what Wendell Albright, the school principal, did when he brought the DEA officer from the state about methamphetamine. The officer was not there for the students, but the real focus was on the parents. It was assumed the students were

penalties for testing positive vary widely from a fine or worker's compensation to expulsion from school to incarceration. In addition, the local drug store and are increasingly popular among middle-class parents—to use on their children. The popularity of drug testing may be a distinctly modern solution to the distinctly modern problem. Sociologist Kenneth D. Tunnell writes:

...the quintessential example of modernity. Its underlying philosophy of surveillance; its reliance on technology; and its confidence in science as the best means to address modern strategies and ideologies (Tunnell 2004, 55)

...that, the presence of a relatively robust apparatus before methamphetamine became widespread. Efforts to expand this apparatus were part of a larger trend, as we will see, the complexity of the problem in Baltimore County exceeded the capacity of drug testing technologies to serve successfully as a panacea. Efforts to expand the drug testing apparatus were stymied by a range of factors. Institutional administrators became increasingly reluctant to expand drug testing for fear of upsetting the local community that sustained it. This was nowhere more true than in Baltimore.

Will (Not to) Know

...led by increased levels of drug use, the rapid expansion of drug-detection technologies was not the only response. Implementation was most contentious. Schools and law enforcement were dealing with this in different ways. Some emphasized on drug education. Education officials, like the school guidance counselor, had in mind a program that would bring them from Baltimore to the school to speak. The program did a presentation during the school year. The focus was on educating teachers and parents. Many parents were already aware of most of what the

officer would be telling them regarding the effects of its use.

Connie Dixon, a teacher at the high officer's presentation, which made her examine use. This was helpful because to report students they suspected of drug guidance counselor would then address parents. Identifying students who were a challenge. But after the DEA agents' presentation, students, particularly to see if they were she would see kids who, over the course of a significant amount of weight, or whose face would comment, "Have you seen so-and

Education alone, however, was insufficient according to school officials. Despite this, Connie was certain that most student drug searches were handled by school officials. This created the sense that there were additional strategies that did not rely so heavily on students.

A key strategy here was to have the search conducted with the drug dog. Wendell explained that without warning to either students or teachers, the officer would come over the school intercom and announce a search. Teachers would then lock the doors of their classrooms and the drug dog, focusing particularly on the hallway. The drug dog was then taken to every classroom and students were to leave all of their belongings in the classroom. The drug dog and the officer would go through the rooms.

Drug searches like these typically happened very infrequently, frustratingly infrequent for Wendell, who had been under the impression when he was a student that there would be conducting a drug search without warning. "It was a search that had not happened, and he was not aware of it," he said. All they had to do was get the students into the classrooms. This was done to prevent a search but also because, as he understood, the drug dogs didn't want any of the kids.

Not only were the searches too infrequent, but they were often undermined when students got wind of them.

g methamphetamine's prevalence and
a school, vividly remembered the DEA
r aware of the signs of methamphet-
teachers at the school were expected to
g use to the guidance counselor. The
s the issue with those students and their
e using drugs had always been a chal-
tation, Connie knew what to look for in
e using methamphetamine. Sometimes
e of a year or more, would lose a signifi-
would start sinking in. All the teachers
d-so? They're not looking so good."
fficient to address drugs in the school,
her own increased awareness, Con-
g use took place unbeknown to school
e school needed to incorporate addi-
avily on teachers' direct observation of
e police search the school periodically
that this was done randomly and with-
ners. The principle would simply come
ce a "Code Red." The teachers would
as the police officer did a "sweep" with
n the lockers that lined the halls. The
n; the students, who were required to
sroom, would file out into the hallway,
oom and their belongings with the dog.
appened once or twice a year. This was
who was a former probation officer. He
the school year began that the police
with the dog at least once a month, but
t sure why. "They have an open invita-
ive the school enough notice to get all
s was not just for the purposes of the
ood it, the drug dogs were also attack
ids to get hurt.
requent for administrators, they were
nd of what was happening. One teacher

complained that officers were not careful to do a search. She mentioned an incident at a popular local restaurant in town, to graduates passing by Annie's on their way to work which says "K9 Unit" on the side, and by the way to the school. This frustrated school principal one teacher commented, "don't stop at the door. Half of the town is gonna see you and so

A similar incident occurred earlier in the town. A person, who was a student at the high school, was caught. She suggested that he not go to school with his friends, thereby eliminating the element of surprise in the search's effectiveness. This was even more so if the parents were colluding with students to prevent the school to detect drugs and users. She said that why a parent—and one involved with the school—would as to tell her child not to go to school was a disservice to them that she was enabling his drug use. She said that actions like these that caused many in the town to have a drug problem on the parents themselves. She said that he thought should be done about the matter. She said that she at me with a half-smile and said, "Make sure you're not enabling children." Similarly, the sheriff of Baker County, in an idyllic rural environment of his youth, said that he never got into drugs; I was too busy working.

Wendell felt that having police officers at the school was necessary because he assumed that the teachers were not doing drugs, or at least not enough to know. He said that he recalled an incident in which a teacher was caught and had no idea what it was—a fact which was embarrassing and disheartening. This was why the school needed police to speak, primarily so the teachers would not be caught. It was necessary because the school had both a duty to maintain a drug-free environment. Dr. Wendell said that the best means of meeting this obligation was to have police.

I asked Wendell if the school performed well. He said that it was completely out of the question. For example, he said that But even if it were not, there would be so many problems that the program could not last long. Pa

ful enough when going to the school to
in which the officer stopped at Annie's,
get coffee before doing the search. Stu-
to school saw the officer's patrol vehicle,
egan to suspect that he might be on his
l officials. "If you're gonna do a search,"
Annie's on your way there to get coffee.
o everyone will know."

that year when a 911 operator told her
ool, that the drug search was going to
to school. He, of course, told many of
ment of surprise that was crucial to the
more frustrating for teachers, because
to thwart the efforts of the police and
School officials could not understand
n the police at that—would go so far
ol the day of the search. It seemed to
se (if he was in fact a drug user). It was
n the community to blame the rising
res. When I asked a police officer what
methamphetamine problem, he looked
e people take IQ tests before they have
r County, Michael Sheerer, evoked the
when he stated, "I didn't have time to
on the farm."

cers in the schools was absolutely nec-
eachers did not know anything about
y what to look for in the students. He
er found a "bag of dope" on the floor
which Wendell found both reassuring
peaker from the DEA had been invited
uld become more informed. This was
th a legal and moral responsibility to
oing drug searches with the dogs was
on.

med drug tests on students. He told me
or one, he was pretty sure it was illegal.⁶
uch protests from students and parents
art of the protest would be rooted in the

invasion of privacy. But more deeply, Wendell *did not want to know* the truth about what they were doing. This was another parent who had warned her son about the impending danger of the indicated teachers in this will-not-to-know program. He said, “we don’t want to know what they are doing, they know.” His experience as a guidance counselor. He continued to be shocked by the abilities of the children’s behaviors, thinking either that they were on drugs or that if they were, it was just a matter of time.

“Does that mean that parents don’t want to know?”

“Absolutely not,” he said. Their desire to control their children’s behavior, was indicative of their care about their children, to the point where they would do anything to get their child out of harm’s way than to let them be at risk. “Parents hate to feel inadequate, they don’t want to believe that their children are doing something wrong.”

This explained, in part, the low turnout at the “info night” for parents the evening of the presentation. About thirty parents attended the program. The incentives to students, such as homework help and a presentation. And at least twenty of the students were identified as “low risk kids”—low academic achievement, low school and extracurricular activities, and low attendance. The “high risk” kids were those whose parents were not in their lives, and who were, in fact, the focus of the DEA agent’s information session. “But I didn’t know that Emily’s mother had that information,” said Connie. “I thought that Emily herself was a “low risk kid.” It was only after the search of the school for meth, and only the search of the school that she found out.

Reasonable Suspicions

Despite Wendell’s reservations, the school board decided on developing a drug program for the school. Dana Matthews, to draft a policy that would apply to students and/or employees. Dana agreed, and contacted the National Education Association for guidance. In a meeting with the staff attorney Greg Casterman met with

Wendell felt that parents and others act-
out their children, what they knew, or
an explanation as to why the 911 operator
the search of the school. Wendell impli-
ed, as well. "As parents and educators," he
[students and children] know, or that
the counselor had driven this point home.
ty of parents to deny or rationalize their
that their kids were not really involved
st a phase and would pass.

care?" I asked.

re not to know, or to deny or rational-
cative of the degree to which they *did*
t that they would rather imagine that
confront the fact that they might actu-
adequate and love their kids too much
bad things."

rnout when the DEA agent offered an
f his presentation at the school. Only
gram, even though the school offered
ork passes, if their parents attended the
ose who attended were parents of what
r risk because the kids were involved in
nd parents were involved in their lives.
parents were not particularly involved
e least likely to attend an event like the
then there's Emily's case." Connie said.
d always been involved in her life, and
Nevertheless, she had become addicted
ool by police had detected her use.

hool board maintained an interest in
hool. They asked the board president,
t would govern the testing of students
turned to the West Virginia Educa-
meeting chronicled by local media, the
h the local school board to discuss the

legality and advisability of various drug testing programs. The discussion was focused on the institutional risks associated with each option.

Greg addressed three possibilities: random drug testing, random drug testing by name indicated, and situation-based drug testing. Random drug testing, by name indicated, involved randomly selecting employees to submit to a drug test. The possibility that random drug testing might seem equitable and provided a general deterrent to drug use. However, Greg strongly discouraged the school from implementing this. This was not because such a program would be difficult to implement, but inevitably require long-time and well-funded implementation. A random drug test would be an embarrassment to the school, and might generate public questions about the legitimacy of the program. "I just think it's not fair to impose random drug testing on a school system."

Greg saw greater potential in situation-based drug testing. In this approach, any person about whom there was a concern could be tested. Such a program could be used to test students. And virtually anything could prompt a test, such as direct observation of a person using a substance, or behavioral symptoms associated with drug use.

But even this approach carried potential risks. For example, an employee who holds a position of trust could turn them in for "suspicious activity." This could create a lot of suspicion in a community; people are often suspicious in every community; it's just the way it is. A false accusation based on minimal, subjective evidence could potentially amplify interpersonal tensions in the school. There was also the issue of false positives. For example, with poppy seeds, those poppy seeds could be mistaken for drugs. This meant that nondrug users could be tested. In this situation a second, more rigorous test would be required to determine whether the initial test was positive. Sometimes legal proceedings were necessary to resolve the issue, which could become very costly for the school and the community.

A third option was to make drug testing a requirement for new hires. This was incorporated into the application process for new hires, and was also required for current employees involved in the hiring process.

drug-testing options. His presentation associated with drug testing.

random drug testing, suspicion-based testing. Random drug testing, as the selecting students and employees to submit anyone might be tested made the test a deterrent for the entire school. How school board from taking this approach. was strictly illegal, but because it would well-respected employees to undergo a assessment to both the person tested and outrage, which would undermine the rank it's legally dangerous for a governing testing on its employees," Greg stated. suspicion-based drug testing, specifically of "reasonable suspicion."⁷ In this there was a reasonable suspicion of drug could be used for both teachers and students provide reasonable suspicion, including a drug, the exhibition of physical and drug use, and/or displays of abnormal

potential risks. Greg gave the hypothetical grudge against another employee and Greg stated, "You and I know there's a people like to talk. There's people like that it is." By providing a formal system of evidence, the drug-testing program avoid conflicts and create problems for the positives. "If you eat a lemon muffin give a false positive for opium," Greg tests could potentially return a positive reliable (and more expensive) test was initial test gave a false positive. Some- try to settle the issue. All of this could the county government that funded it. tests situational. Tests could be incorporated for prospective employees, for instance, involved in accidents. Such an approach

was legally sound and very effective in the eyes of the law, according to Greg. Testing prospective students through a random procedure was particularly effective. Dana stated, “99 percent pure.”⁸ Dana Matthei required bus drivers to submit to a drug test after an accident, and hypothesized that the policy would be effective. He urged the school board to pursue such a policy [for] anyone who is involved with the transportation of students.

One board member asked Greg about testing students involved in athletics and other extracurricular activities. He advised caution, less because of privacy concerns than of the social and political risks should a policy be implemented. Like testing employees, randomly testing students is an endeavor, involving the same serious risk to the reputation of upstanding students and their families. The principle of “reasonable suspicion” as the basis for testing a student involved in drugs, or, more broadly, “evidence of [drug] abuse,” then the drug-test results are used to minimize social risk. Dana concluded that the policy was a good idea. Greg and saying that he had given the school board the go-ahead to work with.”

Greg’s legal advice encouraged school systems of risk profiling, rather than a policy of random testing. Implementing drug testing for students would inevitably shield some students and expose others. Furthermore, it created incentives to continue developing the abilities of teachers to identify drug users within the school population through a randomized drug-testing program would be a program based on the principle of “reasonable suspicion,” reducing the possibility that a student would be tested. Incorporating drug tests into admission procedures and post-accident investigations would target individuals who either did not or had not been involved in an incident requiring a drug test.

This created a paradox: while it was intended to protect middle-class students that had, in part, led to the implementation of drug testing in the school, Greg

in keeping drug users out of schools, the employees as part of the application. "It makes you Ivory Soap safe," Greg Lewis mentioned that the school already had a drug test if they were involved in an accident. The policy could be expanded to include anyone in a school-owned vehicle. Greg encouraged an expansion of the policy, "Especially for the transportation of students."

about a program that only tested those involved in other extracurricular activities. Again, the concern was potential legal problems than because of the "wrong people" be subjected to a drug test. The main reason for not drug-testing students was a fraught risk of false positives and resentments from families. Greg advised using the principle of least intrusion as a guide. Some evidence that the student was using drugs. Concretely, "if you have an indication of drug use, the requirement was legally sound and the school should hold the meeting on a high note, thanking the administration "some wonderful tools

for school administrators to use tacit systems. A completely randomized approach, to test all students and employees. This approach would protect all employees from scrutiny while targeting those with the greatest incentives for school administrators to investigate. Encouraging teachers and students to identify drug use through education and other means. A targeted approach would have been more equitable, but a "reasonable suspicion" was less politically palatable. The "wrong people" would be subject to more intrusive administrative functions, such as application of random drug inquiries, held even greater potential as they had not yet worked for the school or who had not been under investigation.

As the fear of drug use among white, middle-class parents, driven the demand for the expansion of the policy advocated for a drug testing program

designed to shield such students from
followed Greg's advice, they would be li
about whom there was a "reasonable s
difficult in the case of methamphetami
amine users were thought to be "the p
on Greg's advice, I was reminded of a
made with regard to the challenge of c
wants rules," he said, "until it falls on th

From DARE to LEAD: "Giving P

While the school board sought legal ac
for its students and employees, anothe
cussion. This was LEAD, an acronym
Against Drugs *and* for Local Educat
program developed by the company
private, for-profit company based in M
providing drug-testing services to the
use them in their everyday operations.
police departments, businesses, constr
their Web site, the company develop
sultation with law enforcement officers

Though originally conceived and m
the focus was always on controlling d
gram was not designed to help law e
drug users but, rather, to transfer this
program actually brokers an exchange
the threat of formal legal sanction is
Moore and Kevin Haggerty have draw
rary drug testing programs. "In excha
the anti-drug campaign," they write, "
their child from the state's official sys
Haggerty 2001, 61). This is a key sellin
explicitly in the program's mission stat

Law Enforcement Against Drugs prov
a comprehensive program that emp
drug-free by offering information a
alcohol tests. These tests produce im

scrutiny. If school administrators fol-
limited to drug testing those students
suspicion” of drug use, which would be
ne, given that the typical methamphet-
people you’d never suspect.” Reflecting
a comment that Wendell Albright had
drug testing in the schools: “Everyone
their kid’s neck.”

Parents the Power”

advice in devising a drug-testing policy
er program went ahead with little dis-
standing for both Law Enforcement
ors Against Drugs. It was a national
Total Diagnostic Services, or TDS, a
Michigan. The company specialized in
increasing number of institutions that
s, including addiction centers, courts,
uction sites and schools. According to
d the LEAD program in 1999 in con-
s. The program was launched in 2000.
marketed for law enforcement officers,
drug use in schools. Notably, the pro-
enforcement officers detect and arrest
s responsibility to parents. The LEAD
e between parents and police in which
s removed. The criminologists Dawn
n attention to this aspect of contempo-
nge for becoming deputized agents in
white, middle-class parents can divert
stem of drug-regulation” (Moore and
ng point of the program and is stated
ement:

vides law enforcement agencies with
owers parents to keep their children
nd convenient, affordable drug and
mediate results in the privacy of the

home. In the event of a positive result, the program connects families to appropriate community resources.⁹

Even though it was initially marketed as a home-based program, it quickly expanded to formally include school-based testing. This branch of LEAD, referred to by the school district as Local Educators Against Drugs, is virtually identical to the LEAD program:

Local Educators Against Drugs provides parents and guardians with a comprehensive program designed to keep children drug-free by offering information, support, and drug and alcohol tests. These tests provide a safe and private environment for the privacy of the home. In the event of a positive result, the program connects families to appropriate community resources.¹⁰

Despite being targeted toward educators, “the focus is again on encouraging parents to do the work,” (the program is marketed as “empowering”) parents to do the work. The program is marketed away, of course, from the eyes of the parents. The program is marketed in the more lengthy description of the program, the point is that the tests can be conducted in the home. This enables parents to avoid the stigma of a child test positive for drugs in a public setting. The program encourages them to handle their child’s drug use as a private matter, a matter of the intervention of either the school or the legal system. The program provides given information on local drug treatment programs. In the program’s state, “It sends the clear message that we do not want to witness their children repeatedly coming to school with drug use. Middle-class parents should not, and should not be expected to, and respond to their child’s drug use. This is not the strategy in the war on drugs—criminal justice is not a desirable, or appropriate way to govern.”

The test is also marketed as a strategy to protect American family life, which the LEAD program claims is mentally unmanageable. They appeal to parents’ sense of powerment, particularly in the area of drug use. The frustration they experience with their children’s drug use is rooted in drug and alcohol use. It states

it, LEAD directs them to appropriate

ed toward police, the LEAD program
schools. The mission statement for this
same acronym but standing for Local
synonymous with that for the original

des educators and community coali-
that empowers parents to keep their
rmation and convenient, affordable
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positive result, LEAD directs them to

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ng (or, from the program’s perspective,
of monitoring their child’s drug use—
police. In both of these mission state-
tion of the LEAD program, the selling
privately, by the child’s parents and in
oid the embarrassment of having their
space such as the school. It also allows
s they prefer, without the public inter-
al system. At their request, parents are
ment options. As Moore and Haggerty
while poor, minority parents continue
ming into conflict with the law, white,
need not, rely on the state to monitor
Furthermore, it implies that the state’s
nalization—is not the most effective,
this population of offenders” (ibid.).

ategic intervention into contemporary
D program literature depicts as funda-
to parents’ purported sense of disem-
f raising children, suggesting that the
children may be (unbeknown to them)
s:

YOU'RE NOT ALONE

You're not alone; raising teenagers is a challenge for even the most stable of families. At their wits' end trying to interpret the behavior of their children, often they misinterpret it. A problem is far more serious than they would expect. The most common problem is drug and alcohol use. The shock of finding out young people use an illegal substance is often overwhelming. LEAD, your school empowers parents to identify a potential problem with anonymity before it becomes a crisis.

The program literature then provides information on behavioral changes that parents might notice, suggesting the likelihood that these changes are related to drug use.

HAVE YOU NOTICED A CHANGE?

Maybe you've noticed a change in your child's appearance or choice of friends. Maybe your child is depressed, no longer interested in favorite activities, or more aggressive, hostile to you or others. There certainly could be another explanation, but these characteristics which often indicate drug use.

Finally, the program literature encourages parents who already have that their child is involved in a situation with a sense of helplessness that they can do something. It does this by providing parents with information to address their suspicions in the privacy and security of their homes.

DO YOU SUSPECT A PROBLEM?

If you do suspect a problem, you need a way to confirm your suspicions. This is precisely why the LEAD program was developed. LEAD gives parents the necessary information in the privacy and security of their homes. If alcohol or drug use is confirmed, resources if alcohol or drug use is confirmed. Urine tests give almost instantaneous results are available. If the problem is drugs or alcohol, one can get accurate results within three to eight hours.

s in today's world has become a challenge. At times, parents find themselves confused by the different moods and behaviors of their children. They see the signs that their child's problem is something they never have suspected. Often the shocking truth is that over sixty percent of children are using drugs before leaving high school. Through the LEAD program by providing a simple way to detect drug use at home before it becomes a police matter.

The program includes a list of suspicious or frustrating behaviors that parents have observed in their child, again emphasizing that these changes are related to unrecognized drug use.

It also addresses your child's school performance, or lack thereof. Perhaps they are more withdrawn or less interested in their favorite activities. Your child may even be having conflicts with other members of the family. While the reasons for these changes are many, these are some of the same signs associated with drug or alcohol use.

The LEAD program encourages parents to act on any suspicions they have about their child's involvement in drugs, combining this suspicion with the LEAD program is poised to remedy. The program provides the "necessary tools to confirm their suspicions at the comfort of the home."

Parents may not know where to turn for help. The LEAD program was created. Through local educational agencies, the necessary tools to confirm their suspicions are provided at home and directs them to appropriate resources if a problem is discovered. Easy-to-use test kits that are simple and available for a nominal fee. Whether it's a simple urine or saliva test provides results in just a few minutes. The LEAD tests can also

reduce peer pressure by providing kids with a test that might get tested.”)¹¹

The person who was working most closely with the program in Baker County was a school resource deputy who worked as the “resource officer” for the school. He learned of the program at a conference in 1998. A police officer, Lester Bottoms, who began implementing the program in 1998,

Lester lauded the program as providing a means of protecting students and children. In an interview with the author in 2010, he said, “In the past, parents have asked to have their kids tested to make it easier for them.” He continued, “The LEAD program practically verbatim. “[LEAD] was developed to prove to their parents that there was a way to deal with peer pressure when they were talking to them an out because they can say, ‘I can’t do that.’” Thus, from Lester’s perspective, the LEAD program was a means of keeping their children off drugs by providing a means of avoiding a drug test. “The LEAD program use the threat of the test as a reason not to use the test. It provided a less legally contentious avenue for a drug-testing program because it was performed by the police. In this regard, the LEAD program allowed the law or police to intervene in the school setting of restoring a social relationship—that is, the “proper” balance, countering the negative effects of drug and alcohol use).

The LEAD program marked a departure from the traditional drug testing administered by law enforcement in Baker County. From the Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE) program until that point, the primary anti-drug program in the schools, and one that had been implemented in the area. As one police officer put it, “The LEAD program is for those that will never do drugs; those that are already doing drugs; and those that could go either way. The best way to deal with those is to get those in the middle before they start doing drugs.”

Developed and run by the non-profit organization, the LEAD program is now a ubiquitous component of the curriculum: DARE programs are currently im-

kids with an “out” (“I can’t because I

diligently to bring the LEAD program
ty was Ronnie McKinney, a sheriff’s
officer” in the school system. Ronnie
e, and he brought the idea to another
plementing it in the school.

ding drug control options to both par-
n a local reporter, Lester stated, “In the
kids tested [by the police], and this will
d, repeating the information from the
] is also good for kids who want to get
they’re not on drugs, and will aid them
they’re at places like a party. It can give
an’t drink because I might get tested.”
EAD program offered parents a means
y threatening them with a test, and it
lcohol and drug use, allowing them to
ot to drink or use drugs if pressured. It
nue for implementing a school-based,
parents, and not the school, that per-
by eliminating the necessity of either
situation, it also held out the promise
at between parent and child—into its
ative effects of modern life (including

arture from other anti-drug programs
schools. It was particularly different
ation, or DARE, program, which was,
g program that police officers imple-
d had little effect on the drug problem
it: “You’ve got three kinds of people:
that will do drugs no matter what; and
st we can hope for with education is to
rt using.”

profit DARE America, the DARE pro-
t of the American education curricu-
plemented in 75 percent of American

school districts.¹² Like LEAD, DARE was created in 1983 by police officers in Los Angeles who recruited law enforcement officers into schools to teach about drug use—physical, social, legal—and to provide students with tools for avoiding drug use. The program's approach and curriculum: re-imagining law enforcement as educators rather than teachers; underscoring the “scientific” nature of the program through an emphasis on “research-based” information and neuroimaging technologies that show the effects of drugs; expanding the curriculum beyond drug use to include domestic violence to terrorism. Nonetheless, the program relies on law enforcement officers as teachers drawn from their regular duties to provide students with information that will help them avoid drug use.

Although LEAD resembles DARE in its focus on students, education is not seen as the primary means to achieve this end, nor are law enforcement officers the most qualified to implement the program. The program's educational component, largely limited to teaching about drug use, providing them with rudimentary information about drugs of abuse (including alcohol), and referring students to drug treatment programs in their area.

But none of this information is figured as “scientific” because it is a kind of technical knowledge not based on the scientific tests provided by law enforcement that are used to identify drugs, whereas DARE is a nonprofit organization. By encouraging police departments and schools to use Diagnostic Services has created a market for the program. Police departments have chosen to sponsor the tests for free, and others have found ways to fund the program (all strategies encouraged by the program) available to parents and/or students for a fee. For example, a single substance were five dollars and tests for multiple substances were ten dollars. Thus, the LEAD program was successful because it allowed them to implement a program that avoided both the legal pitfalls surrounding drug searches and the financial pitfalls involved with drug searches. More significantly, it was successful because it diminished the role of police in drug enforcement. Police made the tests available and students chase and use them.

is a national program. It was started in Los Angeles. The DARE program sends law enforcement officers to educate students about the perils of drugs and to provide them with reasons and strategies to resist. LEAD has recently revamped its approach, positioning law enforcement officers as “coaches” rather than “authorities” on the “scientific” foundation of their curriculum. LEAD focuses on “resistance refusal strategies” and the use of role-playing to illustrate the effects of drugs on the brain; and it encourages law enforcement officers to include everything from school visits to community events. The goal remains a pedagogical one: law enforcement officers, drawing on their unique expertise to provide information and support, will prevent them from using drugs.¹³

LEAD is in its emphasis on prevention and education, and is often seen as the primary tool through which law enforcement officers are positioned as those who educate. LEAD has only a small educational component, including informing parents about the signs of drug use and providing elementary information about common drugs, and alerting them to resources such as

LEAD is often cited as useful in its own right. Rather, it is seen as necessary for effectively using the drug testing program through the LEAD program. Moreover, LEAD is a for-profit enterprise. To encourage schools to adopt its program, Total Drug Services (TDS) markets its drug tests. Although some schools purchase the program themselves and distribute the tests, many schools and community organizations to pay for the tests (often by TDS), most simply make the tests available for a fee. In Baker County, tests for a single substance for multiple substances were thirteen dollars. LEAD is attractive to law enforcement officers because it provides a drug-testing program in the school district. LEAD, surrounding school-based drug testing programs, is often seen as relying on the drug dog to perform the tests. LEAD as a program in which police played a significant role was available; it was up to parents to pur-

Here, too, the two programs differ. In one, it is the school administration that is doing the surveillance, but the parents of the children are the ones who want to find out if their child is using drugs. Conversely, law enforcement and schools share the responsibility of keeping schools free from drugs, but the work themselves. In this way, the same issues raised by drug testing, law enforcement, and resources on other areas, and parents' desire to police their children. This is significant because the household was identified as the key

A primary concern with methamphetamine was it was appearing in those places and areas that were not "suspect" of using drugs. This perception of where drugs themselves and fueled the desire for more detection technologies in institutions, just as at the same time, legal officials—from state attorneys general to caution in the institutional use of drug testing. In the case of the LEAD program, attempting to expand such drug-detection work to other institutions.

But while this was going on, there were other drug control programs at work as well. At the time of the Abuse Prevention Coalition I attended, the focus on meth seemed to affect "the people you would never suspect—rednecks who go to jail"—a point she was making to the only two people in the room. This was a reflection of the way class structured the fates of those who use drugs: the "good kids" like Emily going to college (and both financial and emotional, to her father's disapproval) without a felony term for poor whites) without such consequences in the criminal justice system. Thus, while the same issues raised by drug testing, law enforcement, and resources on other areas, and parents' desire to police their children. This is significant because the household was identified as the key

in the LEAD program it is not the police doing the work of either education or surveillance. Indeed, a key selling point of the tests is that parents are involved. Parents have the ability to act without having the public know about it. School officials are relieved from part of the burden of drugs by encouraging parents to do the work. Schools avoid many of the thorny legal questions that enforcement officers can focus their efforts on. Parents are re-saddled with the responsibility of drug detection, given the frequency with which drugs are located at the location of the drug problem.

One concern was that unlike other drugs, methamphetamine was that unlike other drugs, among those people “you wouldn’t suspect.” There was no concern over the presence of the drug in the home or for an increased presence of drug use in the home, particularly in the local schools. At the meeting, attorneys to local police—were advising on the use of drug-detection technologies or, in the case of methamphetamine, transfer responsibility for performing drug tests to institutions, particularly the family.

There were indicators that older dynamics of drug use were at the end of the meeting of the Substance Abuse Committee, Glenda mentioned that even though “you would never suspect,” it was still “only the police who would whisper to me even though we were not.” Her comment revealed a tacit perception of the stigma of those who became involved with drug use, going to a treatment facility (at great cost, often involving the family), and the “rednecks” (a derogatory term which means becoming enmeshed in the drug culture). The cultural representation of methamphetamine use was to expand the use of drug-detection technologies so without necessarily altering the focus of the program which tended to focus on those without the resources to pay for treatment.

“Against the Peace and Dignity of the State”

There was a sense of excitement when Johnson was arrested. David was one of the people who was selling drugs. In 2003 he was a regular gas station attendant, and a meth user. He had bought meth from local dealers but was selling larger amounts. It was not long before he started buying himself, using part of the meth he purchased.

David's business grew quickly. After several (and before high-profile) purchases, rumors spread that he was doing more than just working at the gas station. He had an all-terrain vehicle (ATV), or four-wheeler, and had bought a new pickup truck. It was not uncommon for him to be in town in his truck, four-wheeler in the back, and a ride around.

This caught the attention of the other officers. One officer put it:

You've got people here who've worked for years and bought a truck and a four-wheeler, but they just don't have it. You've got this kid, been working a part-time job, and suddenly he's got two new vehicles? I

The police began receiving telephone calls about David's arrest. The police told them that they needed before an arrest could be made. This in turn angered the police, who were concerned that the community was involved with the police. On the other hand, when police officers were looking

ad

ment in Baker County the day David
of those people that “everybody knew”
cent high school graduate, a part-time
David began by buying small amounts
soon driving to Virginia to purchase
David decided to go into business for
chased and selling the rest.

r he made two high-priced (and there-
began to circulate that he might be
gas station. The first purchase was an
eler; a few months later, he purchased
mmon to see David driving through
back, heading up the mountain to go

er residents, and it did not sit well. As

d hard all their life. They’d like a new
ust don’t have the money. And here
part time job for less than a year, and
think that made a lot of people mad.

hone calls from people demanding
that more convincing evidence was
le, and this angered the callers, which
constantly frustrated with the way the
icing of the drug problem. On the one
ng for information on a suspect they

could rarely find anyone willing to prove enough (because of the fact that “events were extremely reluctant to give back to them. On the other hand, when events it was in the form of demands that arrested because “everybody knows the

This attitude bothered law enforcement they felt was an inaccurate view about sheriff’s deputy with significant experience told me in an interview:

People don’t understand that the law is true that this individual is selling drugs they are. But that doesn’t mean that I get proof that they are doing it. We have to take time and a lot of work. But people accuse someone because “everybody knows” it than that.

The opportunity to arrest David Johnson became involved. A Federal Drug area, the purpose of which was to disrupt traffic coming into West Virginia from the exact route David Johnson was using. Task Force employed members of the as well as state police. David was one of the

Members of the Task Force made a purchase of methamphetamine from David using a confidential informant. The person who made the buys was a friend of David’s who had known for most of his life. This person had a large quantity of methamphetamine and had provided evidence to convict David in exchange for a life sentence. After making three separate purchases from a confidential informant, members of the Task Force arrested David Johnson.

The Task Force’s efforts produced few arrests whose significance in any case was limited. The only individual was prosecuted on federal charges. The incident was covered by accident when a deputy sheriff

provide it. The fear of reprisal was strong (“everybody knows everybody”) that resisted any information that could be traced to the police did receive calls from residents that a particular person be immediately arrested if they’re selling drugs.”

ment officers deeply, as it reflected what they knew about how the law actually worked. As a result of his experience working on methamphetamine

just doesn’t work that way. It may be that I know for a fact that I can just go arrest them. We have to have to catch them in the act. And that’s why people still think that we can just arrest them if they’re selling drugs. There’s more to

Johnson did not come until federal anti-drug Task Force was established in the late 1980s to disrupt the interstate methamphetamine trade in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia—aimed at maintaining his supply of meth. The Baker County Sheriff’s Department was among the first people they targeted.

A series of controlled buys of methamphetamine using a confidential informant. The individual who was used, someone he had sold to before and whose name had himself been arrested for possession, had agreed to assist the police in obtaining evidence in exchange for the possibility of a lighter sentence. The controlled buys of methamphetamine using the confidential informant were conducted by the Baker County Sheriff’s Department

few “big time” arrests other than David, who was limited to Baker County; and only one person was charged, a longtime meth cook. The sheriff responded to a domestic distur-

bance call. The Task Force did, however, arrest individuals for methamphetamine-related crimes in Baker County, roughly a dozen crimes. This was a significant number, given that there were only a few criminal indictments over the course of the year.

Those who were arrested and prosecuted were mostly dealers. Most worked in low-paying jobs and were poor. They were methamphetamine users themselves, usually with family and friends in order to support the family and supplement their income. Some of these individuals were using methamphetamine in this way for years. The involvement with methamphetamine was a direct result of the efforts of the Federal Drug Task Force in the state in a way they would not have been otherwise. According to local residents, methamphetamine use (and more so) then. Indeed, by the mid-1990s, Baker County, had already earned the nickname "Crank County" for its prevalence of amphetamine use in the area. The circulation at the time was "crank," a type of amphetamine.

The prosecution of crimes and the enforcement of laws are the most basic political functions performed by the state. One means through which the state seeks to enforce its claim to act in the name of collective justice. In the United States, the state's efforts in this regard are often carried out through the prosecution of drug offenses. This is the case of the War on Drugs (see chap. 1). This chapter is working to legitimize its authority when it comes to the politics of crime and punishment?

The focus in this chapter is on three cases from the Drug Task Force's operation in the area. The individuals arrested and indicted for illegally selling and distributing are referred to in legal terminology as "possession with intent to deliver," but known more commonly as "possession." Instances of how the state's prosecutive authority is legitimized because the only recognized victim. Whereas in other kinds of criminal offenses, such as assault, etc.—there is usually a citizen/victim (or a group of citizens purportedly) acting, in cases where the state is the victim, it is the state alone that is the victim.

er, enable the indictment of dozens of
ated crimes throughout the region. In
inal indictments were handed down.
hat there were rarely more than thirty
of a typical year in Baker County.

cuted were, like David, local users and
jobs or were unemployed. Most were
ers who sold periodically to their fam-
ir own habit or to generate a minimal
individuals had been using and sell-
r close to ten years. For others, their
was more recent. In either case, the
e made these individuals visible to the
en just five years earlier, even though,
phetamine was just as prevalent (if not
os, Meadville, the county seat of Baker
ame “Speedville” owing to the preva-
The most common form of “speed” in
ype of methamphetamine.

e meting out of punishment is one of
rformed by the state. It is also a key
to establish its legitimacy, particularly
ve opinion (Greenhouse 2003). In the
regard have been pursued increasingly
ders, particularly since the declaration
is raises the question: How is the state
en drug offenders are at the center of

e cases that resulted from the Federal
ea. The individuals in each case were
lling methamphetamine. Such cases,
ssession of a controlled substance with
mmonly as “drug dealing,” are notable
rial practices perform to establish its
d victim in the case is “the state” itself.
cases—murder, theft, assault, fraud,
on whose behalf the state is (at least
e sole crime is drug dealing or posses-
im.

The very language used in the proceedings underscores this point. Prosecutions properly is at the heart of criminal law. The role in the wider semiotics of statecraft is that these documents are kept in a file, which is not a folder. Much of the work of prosecution is the filing of work. Each file has a cover page that lists the accused individual has been charged. The title of the crime, which ends with the phrase "in violation of the State," as in one of the charges leveled against them. This is how their indictment on the charge of 61-10-31, "Conspiracy To Commit A Crime Against the State," was recorded in their official court file.

THE GRAND JURY CHARGES:

That on or about the _____ day of _____, 2011, in the County of _____, Virginia, JUSTIN STOKES and CHRISTOPHER BAKER, the defendants, in violation of the offense of "Conspiracy To Commit A Crime Against the State" by feloniously, knowingly, and intentionally conspiring with each other to commit the offense of "Possession of a Controlled Substance" in Baker County, Virginia, in furtherance of said conspiracy committed a conspiracy, to-wit: they delivered methamphetamine, a Controlled Substance, to Randy Reynolds, a co-defendant, when they were not authorized to do so, in violation of the *dignity of the State* (italics added).

In this way, "the state" takes on a legal personality in the proceedings. The state becomes present in the proceedings through the violation of its "peace and dignity" which is attributed to the state by such legal documents. The state, of course, that carries out this mission through its bureaucratic machinery and things performing various tasks and functions. The adjudication of criminal law is a part of work in this context, enabling "the state" to be seen in the world as an empirical entity.

But it is not simply through the bureaucratic practices that the state maintains its power. The use of violence to punish those found guilty of a crime is a key element of the state's power.

ments that accompany the court processing and maintaining these documents in the court's official procedure and plays a significant role in the process (Riles 2006; Hull 2003, 2008). These documents are managed by officials at the courthouse. In this case, it is a matter of filing the proper paperwork. The indictment lists the various crimes with which the defendant is charged. For every count there is a description of the crime. The first charge reads: "Against the peace and dignity of the State of West Virginia, CHRISTIE and JUSTIN STOKES, charged with violating West Virginia Code § 18-2-1, Offense Against The State of West Virginia, Court file:

On or about _____ 2003, in Baker County, West Virginia, CHRISTIE STOKES, committed the crime of an Offense Against The State of West Virginia, intentionally and unlawfully conspired with JUSTIN STOKES, in the commission of the crime of "Delivery Of A Schedule II Substance," in Baker County, West Virginia, and did in furtherance of the crime an overt act to effect the object of the crime, to wit: the delivery of methamphetamine, a Schedule II Controlled Substance, for which they received remuneration, in violation of the law to do so, *against the peace and*

and dignity of its own in the context of court proceedings. The action taken to redress the crime is a process (anthropomorphic properties attribution and proceedings). It is not "the redressive work, but people, practices, and duties as part of a wider bureaucratic system of criminality performs a particular kind of work that is to be known and knowable in the

context of the semiotics of adjudication and other legal processes. It makes itself known. It is also through the process of the law and to have violated the law. The pros-

the State"

ecution of drug offenses provides a un
drug offense is a possession offense. 7
detailed how the prosecution of poss
tactic of the contemporary U.S. crimin
have been far-reaching. Dubber argues
has transformed the practice of crimin
it into a “police regime” whose objecti
actively police threats. “Policing huma
persons,” Dubber writes. “A police reg
nate threats if possible, and to minim
ishing, a police regime disposes. It re
hazardous waste more than it does the
2001, 833).

In the cases that follow, there is evid
posal” approach Dubber describes in
offenders. In each case, those who we
as “drug dealers” who posed an immi
figuration of local meth dealers and us
a significant role in their prosecution.
tion for public support of the state’s ef
judge’s sentencing decisions.

The extent to which those prosecut
as threatening depended in part on th
community before their prosecution. Those
tion (by dint of their family ties, for ins
characterization of them as threats (a
in an adversarial system like that of the
ily prevent them from being prosecuted
state power during sentencing and he
community after their incarceration. Those
ties were better able to make a case fo
ishment they had “learned their lesson
community. David Johnson was the m
in this position. In David’s case, there
have been released earlier than he wa
question the state’s judgment if not its

Those who were already living on
tion, however, found themselves muc
depiction of them as threatening. No

unique resource in this regard as well. A
The legal scholar Markus Dubber has
possession offenses has become a favored
criminal justice system, the effects of which
is that the focus on possession offenses
criminal justice in the United States, turning
the focus is not to redress harms but to pro-
hibit threats is different from punishing
a crime doesn't punish. It seeks to elimi-
nate them if necessary. Instead of pun-
ishing, it resembles environmental regulations of
the "criminal law of punishment" (Dubber

the presence of the state taking the "waste dis-
posal" as its prosecution of methamphetamine
offenses were prosecuted were figured abstractly
as an imminent threat to "the community." This
viewers as categorically threatening played
a central role. In most cases it provided the founda-
tion for the efforts and the guiding rationale for the

those who were able to escape being depicted
in the position they occupied in the com-
munity (those who occupied a more favorable posi-
tion) were able to challenge the state's
use of this key component of criminal procedure
(in the United States). This did not necessar-
ily succeed, but it did provide a partial check on
the state's help with their reentry into the com-
munity. Individuals with stronger community
ties or themselves that through their pun-
ishment "and no longer posed a threat to the
community" most prominent of those few who were
there was even a sentiment that he could
be a threat, a sentiment that subtly called into
question the state's legitimacy.

those at the margins even before their convic-
tion were less capable to challenge the state's
action. Not only did their cases not go to trial

(they were settled, instead, by plea agreements that marginalized them. For these individuals, the state engage in its work without a second-guessed the state's prosecution or the length of time they spent incarcerated. The time spent incarcerated was insufficient. The community wrote letters thanking me for their work. In this way, the state succeeded by targeting those marginal members of the community who were probably involved with the local drug economy consistently by both members of the community and the public as the appropriate recipients of their work.

At Court

The sheriff was serving as bailiff the day I was in court in the County. Taking my seat on a bench in the courtroom, I was approached me to ask who I was. I explained my role and showed a business card to make it seem more legitimate. He said, ambivalently, "We just like to know who you are."

Several clusters of people sat in nearby benches around me as lawyers, police, clerks, and others ran around the courthouse trying to get to court and meet briefly to address the participants in the case that day. The suits and uniforms of the courtroom contrasted with the appearance of the accused who were wearing old shirts, blue jeans, boots, sweatshirts, and caps. A police officer appeared at one of the benches from the regional jail dressed in orange jumpsuits and handcuffed at the ankles.

An older woman who appeared to be a defendant was accompanied by a couple in their twenties. I tried to guess who the confidential informant was who had been (allegedly) purchasing methamphetamine from her.

"Somebody's running their mouth about this," she said the elderly woman, visibly agitated.

"We'll see who it was," the young man next to her replied. The man next to her just stared at her.

reement), but their prosecution further equals, the public seemed content to let question or oversight. Indeed, no one of these individuals, their sentences, generated (except, perhaps, to claim that sufficient). On the contrary, many in the members of the criminal justice system seemed to be establishing its legitimacy of the community who were demon- economy. Such individuals were figured criminal justice system and the wider the state's punitive powers.

The first day I attended court in Baker outside the main doors, he promptly explained my presence, even producing a legitimate. "You've got a right to sit in," keep track of who's here."

near silence on the benches and chairs social workers, probation officers, and ng to locate clients, obtain paperwork, ulars of those cases on the docket for ese officials stood in stark contrast to re dressed in work or casual clothes— ts, and weathered camouflage baseball e point escorting three men from the suits with cuffs around their wrists and

to be in her seventies sat next to me venties. They began angrily trying to t was that had "worn a wire" while ine from one of their relatives.

about something that didn't happen," ed.

ng woman with bleached-blond hair ed blankly ahead and said nothing.

the State"

“That’s hearsay. That don’t mean s

“I’ll catch him. I might go to jail, but I

Baker County was like the rest of the
cases ended not with a trial but with a
and usually at the pretrial hearing, the
accused with the evidence against them
receive if found guilty for their crimes, a
commend if they would take a plea agree
police officers, there was deep resentment
to trial. Police officers viewed the plea a
ers to admit their guilt and “take resp
wanna be a butthole about it” and take th
the prosecutors would typically “get the

There were other pressures that en
defender whose practice included Bake
tive place on earth.” He disliked taking
sided with the state. There was a genera
attorney said it, it must be true,” which
of the state. Not surprisingly, most case
admission of guilt on the part of the acc

Once plea agreements were reached,
the accused was expected to stand up
remorse for his or her crimes. This all
process, at a time when the specifics of
judge having no formal obligation to a
made between the accused and the sta
the court was by no means compelled
attorney had offered, and could in fact

The accused invariably maintained
derment in the courtroom throughout
became particularly acute during this p
and uncertainty seemed to pervade th
them, some showed expressions that i
their predicament, while for others, the
hension, rather they turned each time
who provided them with the proper re

One man, accused and ultimately co
methamphetamine with intent to deliv

“Against t

hit,” the elderly woman continued. “I’ll catch him.”

the United States in that most criminal plea agreement. After being indicted, prosecuting attorney would present the charges, the maximum penalty he or she could seek, and the reduced sentence he would recommend instead of going to trial. Among the reasons for the trend toward anyone who took their case to trial, as one officer put it, then “if they go to trial, as one officer put it, then they are responsible for everything to the fullest extent.” The judge encouraged plea agreements. A public defender in a county called it, “the most conservative cases there because juries so willingly accept a guilty plea. The feeling there that, “if the prosecuting attorney made it difficult to contest the claims, the case ended with a plea agreement and the defendant was spared the courtroom setting.

At the end of the trial, there was a concluding event in which the defendant would confess his or her guilt, and express remorse. This occurred before the formal sentencing hearing. If the sentence remained undecided, the defendant was bound to abide by the terms of the arrangement. Indeed, the judge emphasized that the defendant had to accept the plea that the prosecuting attorney would not institute a harsher penalty.

The defendant had a look of shock, shame and/or bewilderment during the proceedings, but these sentiments were not unusual in this procedure. Chronic self-consciousness was evident in their every move. As the judge spoke to the defendant, their faces indicated no sense of comprehension. The questions they were addressed to their attorney were answered in response to the judge’s questions.

The defendant, convicted on one count of possession of a firearm, only once demonstrated an under-

standing of what was happening during the trial. He was saying that as part of his plea he would serve a sentence of up to five years in jail. The first time the judge asked if he understood, the man gave a slight nod. In response to the previous questions, conveying only that he was being asked of him, but no indication of understanding. The judge, suspicious, explained again in plain language to which he was preparing to plead guilty. The man refused to accompany it. Suddenly it became clear that the man would serve at least one year of his life in jail—in this case, for the benefit of his nephew who was actually working with the judge.

The man turned pleadingly to his attorney, who had a look of betrayal on his face. The attorney told the man that the man should answer yes to the judge's question. The judge told the man. He was admitting to being guilty of the crime as such. During the procedure a social worker came to his head. "He's just a dumb old boy that doesn't know any better," he said. "The judge is sitting there that they can't catch, so they're just punishing them anything. His whole family's like that." I looked around the courtroom I realized that I'd overheard talking earlier that morning.

The social worker went on to say that the man was an "Appalachian" with a reputation for violence. The man's mother—who'd described the man as "a dumb old boy" that "didn't mean shit"—reacted violently. She left the courthouse that she was going to come back and shoot the people responsible. The man was back next session, after stern warnings from the judge and the court.

The Cases

The cases considered here were all the result of a court decision in 2003 when a Federal Drug Task Force enforcement, targeted individuals involved in the cocaine trade in Baker County. In each case the man's name is known in law enforcement parlance.

the proceedings. The judge was explaining a minimum of one year in jail and could not believe the judge told him this and asked for a wide-eyed vacant nod as he had to each time. In the most basic sense that something was wrong and that he comprehended what that was. In more straightforward terms the crime was illegal sale and the possible penalties that would be imposed on the man that he would be spending at least a year in jail, for selling methamphetamine to his neighbors and the police.

The attorney at this point, a sense of shock and disbelief, simply nodded her head, indicating she understood the question. Suddenly all became clear. The man was a criminal and was going to be treated as such. A worker sitting beside me just shook his head and said, "That lives out here on the mountain and there's somebody running a meth lab out there. They're just arresting people to see if they'll tell on them. I've known them a long time." As the man said that his family included the people who were being arrested.

That the man and his family were "real good people." The police were, in fact, scared of the man without being heavily armed. The woman who provided the evidence against her son as "hearsay" came to the proceedings, yelling as she was being taken to go home, retrieve her gun, and was held responsible for her son's prosecution. At the time she was in police, she made a public apology to the community.

As a result of arrests made during an operation by the Task Force, in conjunction with local law enforcement, involved in the illegal sale of methamphetamine, an informant was used to make what was known as a "controlled buy," a purchase of a

“controlled substance” such as methamphetamine officers using a “confidential informant.”

A different informant was used in a similar operation. The procedure followed was roughly the same. The person used was given a concealed recording device. Then, when the informant approached someone they knew (the target of the operation) to make a purchase, the informant then returned the money to the overseeing officer(s). These materials (including the audio recording from the informant during the operation), then became the basis for cases to prosecute the person accused of the crime. Confidential informants in each case were not prosecuted. They were arrested on drug or alcohol charges (usually “possession” or DUI) and agreed to work for the police. The arrest of others in exchange for a reduced sentence. The police used this fact to call into question their

David

The biggest arrest that came from the informant was that of David Johnson. As mentioned earlier, he lived in Adams County, and he and his parents were very successful. He had a small construction company that did remodeling and building houses in the area. His mother was a very successful. She estimated that half of the town ate at least once a week at one of David’s residence turned up more than 100 pounds of a substance, which laboratory analysis confirmed was methamphetamine.

This was the first major drug arrest in Adams County. It brought a strong reaction from the community. The courthouse containing more than 100 people. The judge gave a harsh sentence:

We the undersigned on the matter of David Johnson, who has been found guilty of either selling or manufacturing, fees and costs. He has been given due process of law, tried, and convicted. He shall be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. He is a hazard to the community, which can

“Against i

methamphetamine overseen by law enforcement informant.”

In each case, but the procedure they followed was given money and outfitted with a vehicle while being monitored by the officers, the informant knew to be a seller of methamphetamine and to make a purchase. Having made the purchase, the informant used and the substance purchased was recorded on the materials, plus the informant’s testimony and the concealed recording device worn by the informant were the key pieces of evidence used in the prosecution of selling the illicit substance. The informant was individuals who had themselves been convicted of usually minor offenses such as “simple possession” and work with law enforcement officials in the past to receive a reduced sentence. Defense attorneys often challenge the informant’s credibility as witnesses.

The Drug Task Force’s work in the area was not limited to earlier, David had grown up in Baker County, Oregon, well known locally. His father owned a business that did much of the work building and repair of vehicles and worked at Annie’s, where one resident would eat one meal on a daily basis. A search of the home revealed more than \$10,000 in cash in a small safe, and several clear plastic bags containing a white substance that was determined to be methamphetamine.

The informant lived in Baker County, and the news of the case spread in the community. A petition was presented at a public meeting with one hundred signatures demanding a

ban on the sale of illegal drugs (controlled substances) and that any defendant that has been convicted by a jury of his peers should be held accountable to the law. This type of behavior creates a precedent that cannot and will not be tolerated!

The judge also received numerous letters. The Board of Education echoed the sentiment expressed in the letters:

The Baker County Board of Education is deeply concerned about drug abuse and supports the efforts to address this problem. We are committed to providing information and education that will allow our students to make informed choices. The Board believes that those who use drugs are harming themselves and those who deal in drugs that can do so should suffer the consequences of their actions.

The courtroom was “standing room only.” David’s court-appointed attorney raised several questions about the evidence that was gathered. Did the police have the right to use his property to stage the buys? Did the police know he was hiding in the vehicle? The lawyer also asked if the sheriff was a drug user and dealer himself. Was the sheriff’s department a reliable witness?

The county prosecutor maintained that the way the evidence was gathered, and that the police were trying to get the case thrown out of court, “showed that he knew” David was a drug dealer. As a drug dealer, he was a danger to the community, and the community (represented by the prosecutor and the judge) had a right in judging him guilty and imposing a harsh punishment for the specific crimes committed and as a warning to others.

In his closing argument, the defense attorney argued that the way in which the evidence was gathered (and the involvement of local law enforcement officers involved in the investigation) (a local boy who had also been involved in the investigation) against someone he had known and trusted was a betrayal of the community against the state by reminding the jury of their responsibility to prove David’s guilt.

The prosecuting attorney countered that the importance of the jury’s decision for the community. The jury, he said, was in fact acting on behalf of the community. A “not guilty” verdict would be to betray the trust of the members of the sheriff’s department) and the community (David):

letters. A formal letter from the Board expressed in the petition:

... shares the community's concerns
... Law Enforcement officials in their
... accept the challenge to provide infor-
... our students to make good decisions.
... use illegal drugs need treatment, while
... destroy the lives of our young people
... their behavior.

... only" on the day David's trial began.
... ed questions about the way in which
... police get the permission of the owner
... Was it lawful for one of the officers to
... attempted to discredit the informant:
... lf who had made a deal with the sher-

... that there was nothing wrong with the
... men charged that the defense attorney
... on legal technicalities when "everyone
... rug dealer he was a threat to the com-
... ed by the jury) as well as the state (rep-
... lge) had to protect themselves by find-
... penalty, both as a punishment for the
... rning to other drug dealers in the area.
... e attorney again questioned the way in
... d by implication the federal, state, and
... d) and the reliability of the informant
... ved in dealing drugs and had turned
... rusted all his life). He also pitted the
... nding the jury that it was the state's

... d these arguments by emphasizing the
... the protection of the community. The
... half of the community, and to return a
... the work of the good citizens (like the
... and reward the bad (drug dealers like

the State"

This is an important case, ladies and gentlemen, because when we leave here today, it's going to make a difference as to whether or not that difference is going to be for the better or worse. And we're going to know whether or not there is evidence of this Defendant, who can be let off with that evidence . . . can be let off with that evidence. This is an important case, ladies and gentlemen. [The defense attorney] gets up here and tries to do a good job. They were laying in the streets, they were hid in a vehicle, who were doing drugs on the streets. Keep this money that should be used for money and other things that's important. The purchase of \$900.00 worth of methamphetamine.

The jury returned a guilty verdict. David had been indicted: two felony charges, possession of a controlled substance, and possession of a firearm. Each of the felony convictions carried a maximum sentence up to \$15,000.

David was not sentenced for another year. He was required to undergo a sixty-day probation, the probation officer for the county court conducted an investigation. On the day of the sentencing, the attorney requested a probated sentence, based on the investigation, as well as his client's willingness to undergo anger-management training:

I believe he has sincerely learned from his mistakes. I would tell the Court what he told me. He was convicted that after two or three days in jail, he can't stand why anyone would ever want to be in jail. That was sufficient for him to not do it again.

The attorney asked further that if the court granted probation, David be sent to a prison that could provide him with a job.

The county prosecutor replied by saying, "I'm from the Board of Education saying, 'We need community support for stiff punishment for drug offenses.'"

"Against the Odds"

gentlemen of the jury, very important, you're going to make a difference. What happens out in this community is either the better or it's going to be for the worse when we leave here . . . whether or not this man came in here with the drug money, the evidence against him. It is an important, . . . You've heard the evidence and [the jury] has the right to chastise these officers, who did what they did. . . . He leaves in the middle of the night, who knows what it takes to keep this stuff off the streets. . . . It can be used to take care of kids for lunch money. . . . It's important, keep it from being used for purchasing methamphetamine.

On three of the five counts for which David was charged with delivery of a Schedule II controlled substance, a misdemeanor. . . . The judge sentenced him to a one-to-five-year sentence and a fine of

three months, during which time David would have to undergo a psychological evaluation. In addition, the judge ordered that the county had to conduct her own pre-sentence investigation. . . . At the sentencing hearing, David's attorney argued that the time served and the sixty-day evaluation were sufficient. . . . He asked that David undergo drug abuse counseling and

that David be released from his conviction and incarceration. I . . . remember at one point . . . before he was convicted, he was in the regional jail he could not understand why he had to break a law, another law or any law. . . . He never wanted to go back there.

The court decided against granting probation. . . . The judge could provide him with counseling. . . . After submitting the petition and the letter of recommendation I filed that to show that there is community support for these types of offenses."

Your Honor, I think the Court's aware has had with methamphetamine in the has been able to see that in the recent and the Court's well aware of the effect. And the effect is you have individuals amphetamine from an individual like in—because of the high price and the some of it and sells it to somebody in. So it's a pyramid, Your Honor, and it's on and on and due to the fact that it's to do it. You either sell to support your type of criminal offense to support your

David was at the top of the pyramid, in other cases that had come before the school. He also questioned David's claim at the time of his arrest, noting the absence claim, and added that “working people

And . . . he's going to be in here with I've learned my lesson, I want probation Judge, that the Court hears in every case at . . . the significance of this case and

The judge then turned to David and would like to say “on his own behalf”.

Other than what my attorney's mentioned I've learned—out of these five months learned a lot. I want to change—change lesson. Would be—would like to have

“Anything further?” the judge asked.

“No, Your Honor,” David replied.

Then David's mother asked the judge and asked her to come forward.

I'm David's mother and I feel that David this . . . [H]e knowed [sic] he has made

of the problem that this community
the past few years. . . . And the Court
at cases that's come before the Court;
fect that we've had as a result of that.
like [the informant] who buys meth-
the Defendant in this case and then
the fact that it's so addictive—he keeps
in order to pay and support his habit.
s a pyramid that keeps going on and
very expensive there's only two ways
ur habit or you have to commit some
our habit.

he said, supplying individuals involved
court, as well as to “children” in the high
him that he was legitimately employed
ence of any documents to support the
don't have \$10,000 in a safe.”

. . . the same type of argument. “Well
on” That's the type of argument,
ase, but the Court needs to take a look
impose a harsh penalty, it's called for.

nd asked him if he had anything he
“Not really,” he replied.

oned. Yeah. I do not—I mean, I've—
as [the time he had spent in jail] I've
nge a lot of things and I've learnt my
e a second chance.
ed.

ge if she could speak. The judge agreed

vid has learned a valuable lesson from
de a mistake and he has wrote and he

he State”

has told me that he's made a mistake. . . .
if he would get a chance he would get

She went on to cast doubt on the
prosecuting attorney. She noted that the
been accused of selling drugs to had
off the high school sign; that she had
tests, too (although she admitted that
the confidential informant who made
thing . . . to save his own skin because [
by suggesting that the police spend t
instead of "trying to make my son lo
wasn't my son who was just doing that

Then David's father spoke. He, too
attorney, specifically addressing his cl
had been working two jobs at the time
David's mother had done, he pledged
how he would contribute to his rehabi
full-time employment:

Judge, I would just say that my son has
been a . . . a bad person. He's had . . . he
wrong. He knows he messed up and I
good. I know that he'll do what's right fr
me. I don't . . . [the prosecuting attorney
the amount where . . . where he's work
and I've got full-time employment for
show him weekly payroll slips or what
the work. So I think he deserves a char
person and that's . . . he deserves a seco

The judge thanked David's parents
Johnson, once again you've now heard
your mother and dad and I would ask
that you'd like to say?"

David replied, "Nothing further, Yo

The judge began the sentencing by
in the case both for and against Davi

"Against i

That he took the wrong road and that
a lot better.

testimony that had been given by the
the “child” at the high school David had
been suspended for stealing the letters
heard he might even have failed drug
that could just be hearsay); and that
the buys off of David would “tell any-
[he] was convicted too.” She concluded
their time finding more drug dealers
ok really bad . . . because I’m sure it
[i.e., selling drugs]”

o, leveled a retort to the prosecuting
aim that David had no proof that he
of his arrest. And, in the same way as
his support for his son and described
titation by providing him with steady,

s not had a bad upbringing. He has not
e’s been brought up to know right from
know that he’ll . . . I know that he’ll do
rom here on out; and he has worked for
y] said that he had not seen nothing for
ked for me, but he has worked for me;
him and I would be more than glad to
ever it’s going to take because he needs
nce at probation. He . . . he is not a bad
nd chance. Thank you, your Honor.

and then turned back to David. “Mr.
not only from your counsel, but from
k you again, Is there anything further
ur Honor.”

r acknowledging the strong sentiment
d. Those against him were those who

knew him only as a “drug dealer” in the
of the money he was so obviously spe
punish him with a harsh prison sente
personally and, in the judge’s words, ha
relatives, and friends, and his employe
probation so that he could be returned
His father offered to look after him an
offered to provide him with a home an
control. After commenting on the divi
judge stated that he based the sentenc
the offense, (2) the pre-sentence inve
and (4) “the defendant’s response, or la
mately it was David’s lack of personal
guilt and express his remorse before t
the deciding factor:

My concern through this, this whole m
and probably more important than t
you. . . . You made a limited stateme
hear. . . . I can’t take a vote on these
people are for and how many people a

David was given consecutive one-to
convictions, and a six-month sentenc
served concurrently. No fine was imp
been confiscated.

The initial response to the decisio
The judge received several letters com
case was handled. With time, however,
thoughts. Annie’s was the scene of man
the year the court was presented with
by David’s mother. It had roughly thre
of the previous petition, and include
the earlier document demanding the
tion began with a paragraph summar
indicted, those for which he was foun
tion officer’s pre-sentence investigatio
which recommended probation rathe
that David had served 350 days of his s

the abstract, or who were angry because of the sentencing. They demanded that the state provide a sentence. Those supporting him knew him and had “trust and faith” in him: his parents, his friends, and the community. They wanted the state to grant him probation and place him under the supervision of the community. They wanted the state to provide him with a job; his mother wanted to keep him out of trouble and under the supervision of the community, the judge was divided on four things: (1) the seriousness of the offense, (2) the lack of response during the trial. Ultimately, the judge sentenced him to a year in prison—his inability to confess his guilt to the court and the community that was

the matter is the magnitude of the offense that, the lack of responsiveness from the defendant, but it’s not what I was hoping to see. The judge weighed the pros and cons, and weigh how many were against you.

Two- to five-year sentences for the two felony convictions, and the possession conviction, to be reduced because of the \$10,000 that had

been paid from the community was positive. The judge commended him for the way in which the case was handled, the community began to have secondary conversations about the case. Within a few weeks, another petition. This one was started by a group of about a hundred signatures, three times that of the first petition. It demanded the harshest possible sentence. The petitionizing the crimes for which David was found guilty, and the results of the probation and sixty-day evaluation, both of which were in favor of probation over further incarceration. Noting the judge’s sentence, the petition concluded:

the State”

We the undersigned feel that David Johnson deserves a fair trial and a fair sentence for his crimes and request that the undersigned request that David Johnson be sentenced to life in prison concurrently giving David Johnson a chance to make him eligible for parole after 10 years.

We base the request on the following:

1. This was his first offense and he has no prior record.
2. He has served almost 1 year in prison and has a chance;
3. We do not believe he is a threat to the community.

Having first demanded that the state officials involved in the case against this individual, this “drug dealer” be sentenced to life in prison, the community members now demanded that the original petition and letters never be signed by anyone who had no abstract references such as “any defense attorney” or “any of his peers” or simply “the drug dealer” who raised him as a child, in particular a son, a nephew, or a friend, who has “learned his lesson” and, because of his crime, should not make the same mistakes again. The petition was signed with the last name in every sentence, a total of 100 signatures, and the “drug dealer” into a person locatable in the community and his relationships with others. *David Johnson*.

The petition failed to bring about the desired result (i.e., those state officials involved in the case were not given significant public support). David ultimately was sentenced to 10 years in jail before being released on parole. However, since the time of this writing has managed to successfully reintegrate into the community. He has taken up the offers made to him at his hearing: he is working for his father’s business, living with his mother and, so far, “staying out of trouble.”

David’s trial has been presented in the media as a case of local but because it was unique. Of all the cases handled by the Drug Task Force’s efforts, only David’s case has received significant public attention. Only David’s case has involved, to feel as though they had a voice in the proceedings. Thus, in addition to being the highest profile case in the county, it was the only one to gain significant attention from state authority in the community. It was the only case to gain significant public support.

“Against the Odds”

Johnson has served the appropriate sentence and his sentence be modified. We the defendant's sentences be modified to run a sentence of one-to-five years, which is less than serving one year of incarceration.

ing:

He is a young man;

He is in jail and we believe he deserves a second

to our community and Baker County

harshes possible sentence be given
"larger," an even larger number of com-
he be released. It is worth noting that
r used David's name but rather used
"defendant tried and convicted by a jury of
peers." The second petition characterizes
a member of the community, someone
under the guidance of his family's guidance, will likely
The second petition uses David's first and
last name twelve times. He is transformed from a
threat to the community by his name, his age,
and his status as "not a threat" to the community.

There is a change in the sentence (one which
we were always quick to say began with
David having previously served two years in the regional
prison. He completed his parole in 2007, and as
a result, he is able to fully reintegrate himself into the com-
munity. He is supported by his parents during his sentencing
and is employed at a construction company, living at home
and out of trouble."

In some detail not because it was typi-
cal of the cases that resulted from the Federal
prison. Only David's garnered
David's prompted the public to become
a stake in the outcome of the proceed-
ing. This is the highest profile methamphetamine case
to generate debate regarding the exercise
of the power of the state. In the rest of the cases, including the

next two to be discussed, there was no trial there. The cases were settled by plea deals. The defendants were sentenced amid neither praise nor

Mike and Wanda

Like David Johnson, Mike Auerbach held several jobs in and outside of the poultry industry in the region. This was an era of rapid growth in the poultry industry that led to the opening of several processing plants in a ten-year period. That was the case, but only when a plant closure caused him to look for work.

Mike's primary occupation was driving a truck. It was while working as a truck driver that he began to sell meth. He met Wanda, who was also divorced and had two children who were addicted to methamphetamine. In the early 1990s, Mike and Wanda moved to Virginia to supply them with enough methamphetamine to live on, not only enough to meet their living expenses but also to pay for their family connections in the county, and to pay for their own. They lived alone and isolated and used meth.

Wanda did most of the selling. They had a list of personal acquaintances. Mike occasionally assisted in other ways at their home. During the time he worked for the sheriff's department, Mike offered the methamphetamine contained the meth. When the buyer came to the door, Mike, on the other hand, put a twist tie around it, and gave it to the buyer. Mike was an accomplice, and he, like Wanda, was arrested and sentenced to deliver.

Wanda and Mike opted for a plea deal. They agreed to plead guilty to two counts of Possession of a Controlled Substance. In exchange, the recommended sentence, of course, was left up to the court.

The sentencing hearing took place in the county jail. A plea agreement was reached. During this time, Mike and Wanda had to demonstrate to the court that they were not a danger to the community and their lives. Within a month of their arraignment, they were released, attending the local Seventh Day Adventist church.

to such public involvement. Nor were there plea agreements; and the individuals were not protesting from the public.

Mike had grown up in Baker County. He had worked in the county, but had trouble finding steady employment, largely due to cycles in the regional economy and closing of three different projects. Because he had never left a job voluntarily, he was often laid off.

Mike was driving trucks, and it was while he was driving that he began using meth. He was divorced when Wanda was young, and they began living together. Both Mike and Wanda, like David, used their contacts in the trucking industry to both use and sell, but they sold meth to support their habits. They were arrested after their arrest. Mike had few remaining contacts, but Wanda, who was from Virginia, had contacts, except for those with whom they sold

Mike's customers consisted of a small group of people who occasionally drove Wanda to the sales and purchases. During one of the buys arranged by the buyer, the buyer a twist tie for the baggie that Mike had accepted, Mike took the bag from his car and gave it back to him. This made him an indicted for possession with intent to

plea agreement rather than going to trial. The counts of Delivery of a Schedule II Controlled Substance and remaining charges were dropped. Sentenced to prison.

Within roughly six months after the plea agreement, the two did everything they could to change their lives. They were trying to make changes in their lives. When they were married. They began attending Baptist Church and became increasingly

involved in its activities. Both attended Narcotics Anonymous meetings on a regular basis and sought substance-abuse treatment at the local level.

Their efforts yielded letters of support from friends and family who were working with them. Mike's pastor and a church counselor both wrote brief letters describing their church programs, emphasizing his willingness to make a positive change in his life. Wanda's pastor and Mike attended also wrote a letter to the judge. Some religious leaders in the area were extremely reluctant to take an explicit role in dealing with drug-related issues. However, this reluctance, emphasizing that his goal was to get away from drugs and drug dealers, largely by attending church and drug users and dealers in prison. However, this was a unique opportunity that justified making a statement.

As the pastor of three congregations based on promoting a healthy lifestyle free from drugs, alcohol, and tobacco, I can be among the first to suggest locking up drug dealers and users of my parishioners or anyone in the community. However, I see a great opportunity to help Mike [and Mike's] own personal desires to be drug-free and avoid a jail and governmental threat (probation) if they do not. If drug users manage to become freed from the streets, it is a valuable to our efforts to educate and prevent the use of such devastating chemicals.

The crowd at Mike and Wanda's sentencing was much smaller than at David's. Since neither had a lawyer on their behalf, the burden fell on Mike's pastor to request a more lenient sentence. In their statement, they spoke from their pastor and counselors. The judge's decision, which they both struggled with, was based on the fact that to the significant progress they had made in their lives and NA participation, as well as their remorse. However, if David had too little to say at the time of his sentencing, I had too much, offering an overly "extended" statement of my experience since being arrested. Her response was brief and extensive:

"Against t

d Alcoholics Anonymous and Narcot-
ar basis. Mike even began outpatient
mental health clinic.

port written to the judge from those
e's AA sponsor and substance-abuse
cribing how well he had done in their
s to take responsibility for his crimes
life. The pastor of the church Wanda
. This was particularly noteworthy, as
emely reluctant to embrace any active
related issues. The pastor's letter noted
role was to protect his congregation
by supporting the state's efforts to put
ever, he felt Mike and Wanda provided
aking an exception in their case:

elonging to a church which promotes
cohol and tobacco products, I would
g up people who would influence any
community to use illegal substances.
r to take advantage of [Wanda and
ug-free backed up by church support
. As only a small percentage of meth
their addiction, those that do are quite
d empower people to remain free of

sentencing hearing was substantially
ad any family or friends there to speak
ke and Wanda themselves to argue for
ments they noted the letters of support
y emphasized that the addiction with
oot of their crimes, and drew attention
ade toward recovery through their AA
r newfound religious conviction. And
ne of his sentencing, it appears Wanda
ravagant" (Boon 1999) account of her
remarks to the judge were impassioned

While I was first incarcerated . . . I . . . written by a guy named Steve Box "Equals Sorcery, Know the Truth." He went through so many of the same . . . book was almost a reflection of myself . . . tant this book was too. I contacted the . . . get this book through Books-A-Million . . . get it—so finally I contacted the author . . . me them twenty at a time. I have had . . . left. I've handed out two to the public . . . school library, two to the counselors at . . . Office, one to the Probation Office here . . . ahead and let my attorneys take this . . . book is to further anyone else who needs . . . This book has been one of the first steps . . .

She continued her statement for several minutes, played by her involvement in a twelve-step transformation:

At first I thought the twelve-step program was done with it. You get through those twelve steps and you're cured. Well it's not the fact. The twelve-step program, is a way of life. I intend from this day forward and on to live the twelve-step program.

Although the themes were somewhat different from the arguments parents used in his defense, the emphasis on the twelve-step program served its purpose, and the proper action was taken and the defendant released to the care and instruction of the court.

The prosecuting attorney, however, made strong arguments, and his response was significant. He reminded the court of the original offense and stated that, "When people sell methamphetamine, it's the same, whether it's to support their family or to support their habit, and most of the time it is to support their habit." The view often expressed by sheriff's deputies is that the subject of treatment versus incarceration is a matter of

got ahold of this book. This book is from Missouri. The title is, "Meth and me himself was addicted to meth and things I went through. To read this in the mirror. I realized how important the author directly and at first I tried to own. They—three months they couldn't do for himself, who then started shipping and handed out thirty-six. I still have four in my library here in town, two to the high school, one to the Sheriff's office, one at the courthouse. I'm going to go to the court, that's how important I think this may be in my situation in the future. Stepping-stones to my recovery.

Some time, coming at last to the role of the twelve-step program in her personal

program would be steps you do and be the twelve steps and you're healed and the fact of the matter is that NA, the Twelve Steps are a way of life and one day at a time to live my life as a

that different than those which David's emphasis was still the same: the law has been broken at this point is for the accused to be in nonlegal institutional domains.

He was reluctant to acknowledge such a significantly more concise. He simply said that he had been committed, noting that he had been bought and the result's habit or whether it's for financial gain; "people's habits." This statement echoed the words of deputies and police officers on the subject in the case of methamphetamine use.

the State"

For most the question was irrelevant in the eyes of the law the crime's the same: the difference."

After questioning the relevance of the process, the prosecutor then went on to Wanda's confession, saying that she had used amphetamine three years earlier in another case. When revealed either to the court, the state or the public, the heated response from Wanda's attorneys was the first time they had heard this information in the matter at hand, which was focused on the present state. One attorney went on to criticize the state: "ought to be locked up."

But the attorneys' efforts, as well as Wanda's personal transformation through religious faith, was ultimately to no avail. The judge pointed out that Wanda had not revealed her previous offenses, and her current efforts, both had admitted to using amphetamine. That offense required punishment, summarizing the reasoning behind the sentence:

The nature of the offense, the pervasiveness of the *protection of our society*; and I would like to quote here today—and I think important to you—her, then so be it. But I would say to you that you've incarcerated, but yet he was free and so what you've done, don't say that you're responsible, responsibility goes further than that. I think what the sentence is to be for someone like you have and *I'm just enforcing the state's*

Mike received the same prison sentence as Wanda, year terms, to run consecutively. Wanda received a longer sentence.

Ties to the community had much less weight for David Johnson. The only members mentioned the court on their behalf were his own personal efforts, and they were people who had their own special place in the

"Against t

because, as one deputy put it, “In the motivation behind it doesn’t make a

Wanda’s addiction to the sentencing to call into question the sincerity of had pled guilty to possession of meth- other state, a charge which she had not for her attorneys. This prompted a long, eys, in which they stated that this was ormation and that it was irrelevant to d on more recent charges in a differ- icize the state’s position as “everybody

s Wanda and Mike’s own work at per- us, familial, and psychological means put significant weight on the fact that s charge and that, irrespective of their e being guilty of selling methamphet- ent. He denied the request for proba- nd the sentence in this way:

siveness of drugs in our society, and uld also say, since the Bible has been properly—if I am throwing stones at you that Paul [the apostle] was incar- en you say that you’re responsible for e responsible “if I get probation.” The . The Statute by our legislature indi- omeone who commits the crime that *atute*. (emphasis added)

ence that David did—two one-to-five- la, because of her previous conviction,

less impact for Mike and Wanda than s of the community that wrote or peti- e those they sought out through their oessional people and religious leaders e local culture. The judge had no com-

munity sentiment to take into account concern about meth use. He chose to law (“I’m just enforcing the statute”) and by methamphetamine to the community, and the protection of our society, and the protection of our society. I can’t pass judgment on whether Mike and Wanda would change their lives, or would be able to change their lives, or would be able to change their lives. I’m just an instrument of the impersonal state, and the community watching carefully to see if they’re doing it right.

While the results of the two legal cases were not what the community wanted, the post-incarceration stories are not. Under the guidance of a social network to lean on as they attempted to rebuild their lives, Mike was eventually released on probation. He had to make to the probation officer at the time, and he had a degree of respect from those who worked with him on his addiction and the difficulties it presented. He had a work—both religious and therapeutic—through which he learned to live with it. Thus it was only after having served time for his addiction after having served time for his addiction, he was able to begin to make a place for himself in the community, and the desirability of occupying that place—a place that was as small as Baker County and as large as the world.

Wanda’s future was even more uncertain. She was released on probation, and planned to move back to Baker County with Mike. She, like Mike, remained deeply committed to the community, and secure a place for her in the community.

Justin and Christie

The same themes run through a third case. Christie and Justin were both in their late 20s when they were charged for possession of methamphetamine. Like Mike and Wanda, it was Justin who was the primary user. Christie was a user and essentially took care of the house. As part of the same Federal Drug Task Force that was working with Mike, and Wanda. As with the other cases, Justin wore a wire and made a series of controlled buys for the informant. Justin. During one of the buys, Christie was seen handing meth to the informant, thereby implicating her in the crime.

in this instance except for the general
make his decision on the basis of the
and his perception of the threat posed
ity (“the pervasiveness of drugs in our
society”). He therefore did not have to
Wanda were sincere in their efforts to
do so. He was merely the dispassionate
and there was no crowd of people from
second-guess his decision.

proceedings appear to be similar, the
like David, Mike and Wanda had no
tempted to put their lives back together.
tion. In the regular appearances he had
courthouse he slowly gained a certain
ked there. He continued to emphasize
ented, but also the significant personal
—in which he remained engaged as he
y through a full identification with his
the crimes related to it that Mike was
nself in the community. However, the
an ex-convict and a drug addict—in a
remains an open question.

ncertain. She hoped to eventually be
o return to Baker County to live with
religious. Whether this was enough to
y was difficult to predict.

case, that of Justin and Christie Stokes.
late twenties when they were arrested
with intent to deliver. As with Wanda
o was selling methamphetamine, while
cit accomplice. They were arrested as
orce operation that had netted David,
r two cases, a confidential informant
olled buys of methamphetamine from
tie handed the baggie containing the
cating her directly in the crime. They

co-defendants. They were charged with possession of methamphetamine with intent to deliver, and one count of assault against the state of West Virginia. Justin was Christie's cousin.

Justin grew up in a tight-knit community. She was born in Virginia. Her mother, who moved frequently, grew up in Maryland with her mother when she was young. Justin married Justin, an old friend from high school, her first and third significant relationship. At the age of 25, she had two children with her first husband, and two with a second husband but never married.

Justin was using methamphetamine regularly for many years. When his age, Justin worked in the poultry processing industry, a common employment opportunity in the area. He worked on the "live hang" floor where (in the past) chickens were hung down by their feet on a conveyor belt-machine that slaughtered them; in the past, the chickens were partially cooked so they could be sold as "pre-cooked"; and as a truck driver, making trips to various processing centers in the area. It was in the course of his long hours at tasks that were often dull and unpleasant, that Justin was introduced to

Justin, who was using meth at work, described the experience to her. Most of the people with whom Justin worked and meth was particularly popular. Justin was one of those who would "turn tricks" in the factory when a manager caught him using but he would give Justin a share with him. According to Justin, the use of meth was a way to cope with the monotony of how prevalent drugs were at the time. Justin described the initial attractiveness of the drug use—particularly methamphetamine—because, in that situation, it actually increased his energy, making him alert and energetic, able to work extra hours. At the same time, the pleasurable sensation of the drug was a distraction from the feelings of boredom and monotony of work at the plant, while also masking the frequent performance of repetitive, dif-

Like many users of methamphetamine with its distribution and circulation. Justin earned extra income to offset the cost of his work at the poultry processing plant where he worked. On his own, Justin began selling on a small scale to the people he knew in Virginia and West Virginia, his friends primarily. In this way Justin was able to make money while likewise providing a service to his community.

Justin continued using and selling methamphetamine. As selling methamphetamine was now his primary income, Justin was able to keep his car and house with Justin. Like Mike Auerbach, she was able to run a small scale operation. And much of this was done in cooperation with Justin and was often around the house. It was precisely what happened the night that Justin and Christie to make what would become their fortune that led to their arrest and prosecution.

The confidential informant in this case was Randy Unbeknown to either Justin or Christie, he was charged, his second. This carried a mirror image of the charge. To avoid being incarcerated, Randy provided evidence against his methamphetamine operation. Following standard procedure Randy was arrested and met with Christie and Justin, and provided evidence of methamphetamine.

On their own, Justin and Christie were able to make money, and their marriage only seemed to grow stronger. and his family were longtime residents of the area (his common last name in the area), their family was respected. Justin attributed this to the fact that he and his family were poor, known to be heavy drinkers, and their trade only served to further alienate them from the community. Justin was, by his own account, such a source of pride and the central character in the community.

Christie had no close family connections. Her mother, with whom she no longer had contact, was one of whom aided the police in her investigation. and ultimately dropped out to get married.

mine, Justin quickly became involved. This he did as a means of generating his own habit. From contacts he made in the neighborhood, as well as by making it on his own scale. Most of the selling he did was to people in Virginia—family members and close friends. He was able to cut the cost of his own use, and he sold to his close acquaintances.

Justin did this in this manner for a number of years. However, over his primary means of generating income, the operation small. Christie began using Justin, who only tacitly colluded in Justin's small-scale operation simply because she shared an apartment with him when he would make sales. This is how the confidential informant met up with Justin, who would ultimately come to be the purchase agent.

In this case was Christie's cousin, Randy. Before Christie, he had been arrested on a DUI and received a minimum sentence of six months in jail. Christie agreed to assist police in gathering evidence on a cocaine dealer (in this case, Justin). Following the purchase of the concealed recording device, Christie purchased an incriminating amount of cocaine.

Christie and Justin were already outsiders in the community, and they sought to reinforce this status. While Justin was not of the community ("Stokes" is a community name) was not well regarded. Justin and his family were "colored," one of the few African American families in the community. The fact that they were relatively unknown and rumored to be involved in the drug trade was not to their benefit. Moreover, it belied the fact that Justin was a hard worker, a point that was a great source of pride in his own sense of self.

Christie had connections in the community beyond her immediate family and a relationship, and distant cousins, who were not arrested. She had trouble in high school and was not married to her first husband. She had

known Justin at the time, but the two of them had a child together. Christie's two other relationships ended in the custody of the children, the one moving to California and the other moving to Virginia with the children. Christie was in California when she married Justin, with all of her family in California other than her mother living in other parts of the country.

As with Wanda and Mike, no one was there to help Christie's behalf. The poor light in which they were viewed, more liabilities than assets in the context of the legal system, afford bond, both went to the regional jail for the duration of their trial. During this time they had no support other than the weekly AA meeting. In the regional jail, they were unable to make the kind of connections with church groups or counseling facilities that they had before. Thus as they went to trial, they had no support for themselves in the context of the community. Christie's state's attempts to define them as criminals. Justin was a reliable worker at the poultry plant was a good father, but that his use of methamphetamine had led to this.

Both Justin and Christie agreed to plead guilty to possession of methamphetamine with intent to sell. Justin's conspiracy charge was dropped. Both returned to the regional jail six months before being transferred to district court for obtaining probation, Christie's lawyer was not there from Justin, stating that this would be a problem for a white and he was black bothered people. Justin's lawyer could make a pretty good case that Justin was a good father whereas she was just there. Divorcing Justin was trying to distance herself from district court. Justin with the psychological evaluation carried out by the court concluded: "We believe [Christie's] chance of success remains in a relationship with her husband."

For these and other reasons Christie was in the regional jail six months into her sentence. Her probation was granted after she had served six months of her sentence. In an interview, Christie said she was pleased when she told him that she had divorced Justin and no longer carried the last name of Stokes. Justin was on probation for his sentence on probation.

"Against t

o did not become involved until after
d. The men in each case obtained cus-
to Texas with the two older children,
two younger. Thus Christie was alone
her immediate family members other
of the country.

wrote letters on either Justin or Chris-
their families were viewed made them
ext of the court proceedings. Unable to
jail where they remained for the dura-
y had no access to treatment resources
carcerated and in different parts of the
ls of institutional connections, such as
ilities, that Mike and Wanda were able
nothing with which to identify them-
ty that would stand in the way of the
inals. Even Justin's status as a hard and
s compromised because it was at work
begun.

o plead guilty to one count of posses-
t to deliver. In exchange, the conspir-
ed to the regional jail for a number of
fferent state prisons. Working toward
recommended that she get a divorce
help her case. The fact that she was
ple, according to the lawyer. Plus, she
tin was the one doing all of the selling
Justin would thus also show that she
rugs. This recommendation resonated
ried out at the regional jail that con-
e of success on probation is poor if she
band."

e filed for divorce from Justin from the
nce. Ultimately her request for proba-
l nine months of her one-to-five-year
d she remembered the judge seeming
d gotten a divorce from Justin and no
Christie successfully served the rest of

Justin was also eventually released and anger that Christie had filed for divorce he continued to work in the poultry industry as possible, just as before. And though he no longer sold methamphetamine since he was among employees at the courthouse, he was using again, largely because Justin had been since his release from prison. Justin was telling them off saying that his weight loss was a style he had adopted where he drank only yogurt. Also the fact that he worked at the courthouse helped. “You can drop a lot of weight like

Justin and Christie were extending their marginal place in the community, a stigma of having been convicted of a crime possible and rarely left the house he lived in. Christie developed a relationship with him together, first in a trailer and then in a house. Her criminal record made it nearly impossible to want to hire someone who had been incarcerated, especially on a drug violation working at the poultry plant—one of the ex-convicts—but were not significant with the state. She earned money by working economy cleaning houses and performing. She was also taking classes on-line to get her GED while incarcerated). Ironically, from a major in criminal justice.

The three cases considered here demonstrate the de-legitimation of methamphetamine offenders and their own legitimacy. The reactions to David's case showed strong negative feelings toward “drug dealers” in the community. When David's case was framed as a drug dealer, it enjoyed significant public sympathy. Local ties cast a shadow over the prosecution, the means through which to challenge the legitimacy of its authority.

The prosecution of Wanda and Mitchell Stokes did not spark the same kind of

on probation. He expressed sadness
vorce while they were both in jail. Still,
dustry in the area. He worked as much
n he claimed that he had neither used
was arrested, there was deep suspicion
as well as with Christie, that he was
d lost a significant amount of weight
as aware of these rumors, but shrugged
as just the result of a new healthy life-
nly water or tea, and ate only salads or
all the time and lifted weights at home
like that,” he told me.

g significant effort to return to their
situation that was hardly improved by
of a crime. Justin worked as much as
ved in by himself on top of the moun-
p with a new man. They began living
a house in another part of the county.
impossible to find work, as no one
n convicted of a felony and spent time
ation. Health problems kept her from
the few employers willing to take on
t enough to earn her disability status
working informally in the underground
ming other chores for neighbors. She
a college degree (having earned her
om her perspective, she had chosen to

monstrate how the state used the pros-
rs as part of the effort to establish its
vid Johnson’s arrest demonstrate the
dealers” that were present in the com-
ed abstractly, as the prosecution of a
ublic support. However, David’s deep
ceedings and ultimately provided the
e state’s sentence—and thus, by exten-

ike Auerbach and Christie and Justin
of public debate over the state’s pros-

the State”

ecution of drug dealers. Like David
approval of using strong punitive sanctions
methamphetamine, and their prosecution
thereby giving tacit recognition of legitimacy.
more, the punishment of these marginal
worked to reinforce their marginality.
state uses possession offenses to legitimize
dealers are figures for whom there is
actions are typically seen as destructive
be prosecuted with little protest. They
also marginal members of their communities.
Strong institutional incentives have
types of offenders, as their prosecution
state's legitimacy in the public eye. The
those prosecuted is the subject of the r

Johnson, there was significant public
actions, given their status as dealers of
tion went unchallenged by the public,
timacy for the state's actions. Further-
al members of the community simply
. Here we see an example of how the
mize its authority and activities. Drug
little if any public sympathy, whose
ve and threatening. As such, they may
prosecution of drug dealers who are
ommunities generates even less debate.
developed, therefore, to target these
on is very effective in establishing the
e impact of this practice on the lives of
next chapter.

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“What Do You Do w

A striking feature of my research was that those given the task of dealing directly with the problem (police, probation officers, public health workers) made little effort. I asked Frank Fields, a state trooper who worked exclusively on drug-related cases, if he thought the officers were doing was having any effect. He said, “no. ‘All we can do is try and contain it, and hope the

Daryl Montgomery, a sheriff’s deputy who had worked on drug investigations for two years as a probation officer, echoed this sentiment. After explaining that he had arrested and arrested local methamphetamine dealers, he wistfully concluded, “Yeah, but we’ll never get rid of drug users.”

Perhaps the most telling comment I heard was made during a conversation conducted with Rose Hinkle, a probation officer who had worked with the rise of methamphetamine use in the state. Describing the inability and addictiveness, describing people who were sitting in her office because of their involvement in the problem, she said, “It’s just not possible,” she said, shaking her head wearily.

Comments such as these occurred frequently among those whose job involved dealing directly with the enormity of the drug problem, and the limited resources to adequately address it, was not surprising. And yet, something had to be done, and those who became embroiled in the criminal justice system were

On the surface, what was being done was to arrest low-level users and dealers, such as those who were arrested by the Force, were arrested for crimes related to the drug problem. They pled guilty to their crimes as part of a plea bargain, where they served the minimum time

With Them?"

arch was the pessimistic light in which
y with the methamphetamine problem
th workers, judges, etc.) viewed their
rooper who spent two years working
e thought what he and his fellow offi-
He smiled slightly and shook his head
" he said. "But we'll never get rid of it."
outy who had carried out undercover
part of a Federal Drug Task Force,
ng in detail all he had done to locate
alers, he sighed, and with a slight grin
ever win the war. We're just a nation of

came during an early interview I con-
n officer whose caseload had doubled
in the area. She lamented meth's avail-
person after person who had ended up
volvement with meth. "Meth is impos-
ly. *"What do you do with them?"*

d every time I spoke with someone
with methamphetamine. For them the
e failure of existing policies and prac-
t a matter of opinion but experience.
was being done with meth users who
ice system.

one appeared rather straightforward:
ose targeted by the Federal Drug Task
to their methamphetamine use. Most
a plea agreement and were sent to jail
e the legal statute would allow (typi-

cally between one and four years, depending on whether they are released on probation, where they would serve a shorter sentence (five to ten years or more), or if they are not, they returned to jail.

The straightforwardness of this practice (and the lack of enforcement) masked a deeper ambiguity, however: What was it *for*? What was the goal? What was the aim? What was the purpose? What was the intent? What was the goal for meth offenders this way? Were convictions to be punished as required by the law, or were they to be changed through programs, or were they simply being sequestered for the public good?

The uncertainty surrounding control and punishment has become endemic to the U.S. criminal justice system. Significant academic attention (Garland 2002) has shown that uncertainty has arisen as state and federal punishment has undergone an unprecedented expansion. Thus it was not just the form of punishment, particularly through incarceration, but the aim and purpose have become more ambiguous.

As a means of mitigating this ambiguity, courts and administrators have come to rely heavily on clinical psychology, psychological, criminological, and sociological research. This research generates information about the nature of the problem, the purposes, as well as their specific needs for treatment. Recommendations (or at least scenarios) about how individuals are likely to respond to different forms of punishment are based on this research.

Drug offenders are primary candidates for this form of punishment. Most drug offenders are understood to suffer from a disease that is chronic and likewise understood to be embroiled in a cycle of addiction and problematic relationships with individuals that lead toward criminality. This clinical knowledge about addiction takes on forensic significance in the criminal justice system. It is then re-clinicalized for purposes of punishment, one factor among many in the subject's criminality (Nah-Moffat 2005). Punishment finds its justification in its use as part of a more general goal to transform the subject through targeted interventions throughout their life, most of which have only a tangential relationship to which they were arrested and convicted.

ending on the charges). They were then
ould remain until they completed their
or violated their probation and were

rocess (and the consistent pattern of
uity at the heart of its administration,
the objective in processing convicted
ted meth offenders simply being pun-
ne dictates of legal statutes? Were they
aimed at their rehabilitation? Or were
rotection of the rest of the population?
emporary punishment practices has
l justice system and has received sig-
001; Simon 1993). Notably, this uncer-
rison systems have undergone decades
ould seem that the perceived need for
arceration, has grown as its meaning
guous.

iguity, contemporary criminal justice
avily on clinical knowledge from the
cial work fields. This clinical knowl-
particular risks an individual offender
or rehabilitation, and provides recom-
out how a particular subject would
nishment.

ates for this kind of clinically infused
nders are considered addicts and are
that drives their criminality. They are
in pathological milieus, and involved
viduals who have a higher propensity
ledge about the nature of drug use and
e in the case of detection and prosecu-
poses of sentencing, and considered as
t's broader "risk/needs" profile (Han-
if not its meaning, then at least its jus-
general intervention strategy intended
eted interventions into various aspects
n indirect relationship to the crime for
d.

This scenario has much in common with the concept of the *carceral* in *Discipline and Punish*. Foucault traces the evolution of the European juridical system as it moves from a focus on crime as the object of concern to a focus on the individual. He charts the gradual process by which, "as crime became a crime," it increasingly became necessary to "judge" the individual. "[J]udges," Foucault writes, "have always existed, but what goes back very far indeed, taken to its origin, is the judge, namely, the 'soul' of the criminal" (Foucault 1979, 20).

To this end Foucault notes how the "judge" is merely one "complex" that cumulatively determines the individual's fate.

Throughout the penal procedure and the execution of the sentence there swarms a whole series of subsidiary systems and parallel judges have multiplied: psychiatric or psychological examinations, the implementation of sentences, educational institutions, the service, all fragment the legal power. The judge, every one of them, every that has been developing for years, has its own functions, its own sentences, and their adjustment to individual cases. The authorities of judicial decision-making are multiplied well beyond the sentence. (Foucault 1979, 20)

For Foucault the emergence of the "clinical" authority is grounded not in the law but in the "medical" discipline. It is not simply a supplement to but the foundation of the law. He writes, "criminal justice functions and its authority are now in reference to something other than its own law, to non-judicial systems" (ibid., 22). This "clinical" application of punishment such that the individual is not punished for the offence, but to supervise the individual's "state of mind, to alter his criminal tendencies, to ensure that change has been achieved" (ibid., 18).

On the surface, the use of clinical knowledge in the punishment of meth offenders would seem to be a direct result of the shift in punishment from the crime to the offender. Certainly the use of scientific knowledge is heavily factored into the sentencing process.

n with that described by Michel Foucault analyzed the transformation of the law progressively from a focus on the crime to a focus on the criminal. In particular, he argued in order to establish the “truth of the crime” to establish the “truth” of the criminal, the law gradually, by means of a process that was not judging something other than crimes, but rather (Foucault 1995, 19).

The modern judge is “not alone in judging; he is part of a wider “scientifico-legal complex” that determines the fate of the condemned. He states:

... the implementation of the sentence involves a multiplication of subsidiary authorities. Small-scale legal functions are multiplied around the principal judge: experts, magistrates concerned with the rehabilitation of prisoners, educationalists, members of the prison staff, and so on. . . . The whole machinery of the implementation of sentences around the implementation of sentences for individuals, creates a proliferation of the functions of the judge, and extends its power of decision (Foucault 1995, 21)

These “parallel judges,” whose expertise is not in law but in science, have become not simply an adjunct to the juridical system. “Today,” he argues, the law justifies itself only by this perpetual reinvention of itself, by this unceasing reinscription in the law. This shift has fundamentally altered the nature of the law: the objective is no longer “to punish the individual, to neutralize his dangerous state of mind, to continue even when this individual is cured” (Foucault 1995, 21).

This shift in knowledge in the sentencing and punishment reflects precisely Foucault’s account of the shift from the crime to the criminal, the offense to the offender, and the legal and clinical knowledge and practice that determine the process, determining in many ways the

particular punishment that the individual receives (Simon 1993). There are two significant things that we can do with the profound lack of confidence in the criminal justice system had in the 1970s: the kind of “docile body” that Foucault describes. What these clinical evaluations revealed was that disciplinary technologies to effect the moral transformation of the individual. That is, the “soul” of the criminal must be more than the juridical system could provide. The evaluations might indeed reveal the “soul” of the individual, but they did more to confound the juridical system. The evaluations dimmed the prospects that any kind of treatment, including relieving the individual of their addiction, could prevent in any future criminality.

The second reason has to do with the way that the system worked on meth offenders themselves. In Foucault’s terms, punishment is “normalization” (Foucault 1977). The normalization that was taking place here. At the same time, the system rarely worked for drug offenders because that they inevitably re-offended and were sent back to prison. Those who were able to manage themselves without further addiction, their prosecution continued to marginalize them even as they continued to work. This was because their prosecution went with it—fundamentally altered the way that they could give an account of themselves. The system tended to marginalize them within the system.

The clinical evaluations used by the system created a predicament as they created both a category of “docile body” with which the subject was to identify. If the identification was never complete, the person had to at least appear to be. If they were to have any kind of success, they had to “win” a “win” scenario for the convicted person. The system was necessary for their rehabilitation, but it also led to marginalization.

Thus, pace Foucault, we might think of the process as “normalization.” This process takes place when the system is decoupled from faith in clinical treatment. The individuals are still understood to be capable of

ual receives (Rose 2007; Rhodes 2004; differences, however. The first has to nce that judges and other members of ability of these techniques to produce ult describes (Foucault 1995). At best, ed was the inability of available disci- al comportment of the addicted crimi- revealed by these evaluations appeared ould handle. Thus, while psychological "truth" of the criminal, this revelation ystem than embolden it, for it further of punishment would be effective in ion or preventing them from engaging

he effect of such punishment practices ault's account, the endpoint of modern ult 1995, 20–21). But it was hardly nor- As legal professionals were quick to tell g offenders, whose addiction was such ere returned to jail or prison. For those in such a way as to avoid re-incarcer- have lingering effects that maintained formed to the dictates of their punish- ion—and the series of evaluations that the narrative conditions under which selves, a transformation that likewise local community (Butler 1995).

e criminal justice system fed into this talog and a narrative of criminal iden- ntify. Although this identification was least nominally inhabit this identity if s in the system. This created a "can't n. While acquiescing to this narrative , the wider effect was to deepen their

k of this as the process of "abnormal- n faith in clinical diagnostics becomes ment. That is, while clinical techniques f generating authoritative knowledge

about the subject, clinical treatments available of curing the subject—of doing the temporary criminal justice system, the clinical treatments to cure (i.e., “normalize” the ambiguous meaning of punishment, particularly if it is not normalization but abnormalization) and the incorporation of clinical knowledge in

“The Experts Aren’t Even Sure We’re

Arthur Cravens had been the judge for twenty years. When we spoke about methamphetamine at the courthouse. Methamphetamine result meth-related cases were fixtures to be blamed on meth’s addictiveness. “I think [drug],” he reflected, “But they say meth can be hooked after trying it just once.” He smiled, “But then that’s what they said and

Judge Cravens went on to call me “a block.” He compared its rise to that of crack that was flooding the dockets. “Are we have laws against it, so we know to look

I asked Judge Cravens if he ever participated in treatment for drug offenders. “It’s not possible,” he said, suggesting I was asking what could do was delay the actual sentencing to treatment. Likewise, he could (and often did) suspend someone’s probation even if this amounted to a week. But even these few options were limited local treatment resources beyond the treatment expensive. Most of those prosecuted in court on their own counsel, much less a treatment program sentence someone to treatment, it would be the absence of public funds, which could be a participation in the program.

“But even then there are problems. The primary one was that that existing treatment program cases he’d overseen in which the offe

are viewed pessimistically as incapable work of “normalization.” In the context of this loss of faith in the power of clinical treatment of (“normalization”) offenders has simply deepened the pessimism, particularly for drug offenders. In short, the current normalization that is taking place through the courts is far removed from the juridical task of punishment.

What to Do”: Efforts at “Habilitation”

for Baker County for the past thirty years. When he spoke of methamphetamine, he echoed the prevailing sentiment that methamphetamine was everywhere; and as a result, it was in his courtroom. Much of this was to do with the fact that he thought heroin was the most addictive drug, but he thought that methamphetamine is even more addictive, that you can get hooked on it. He paused before adding, with a slight smile, “I’ve heard a lot about heroin.”

When he spoke of methamphetamine the “new kid on the block,” he mentioned sex offenders, another criminal type that he was seeing more of it only because there were more of them for it?” he asked thoughtfully.

He mentioned that he pursued treatment instead of incarceration. It was not possible for me to sentence someone to treatment. He was asking the wrong question. The most he could do was to require so that the person could undergo treatment (which often did) require treatment as part of the sentence. He mentioned attending a certain number of Narcotics Anonymous (NA) meetings every week. He mentioned that it was still difficult to utilize because the twelve-step programs were limited and expensive. He mentioned that in his court could not even afford their program. Thus, even if the judge could require treatment, it would ultimately be a pointless gesture in that the money would be used to pay for the individual’s treatment.

“That’s the problem,” Judge Cravens continued. The prison treatment programs rarely worked. Of those who were sent to treatment, fewer than half had been able to participate in

some kind of drug treatment program using drugs. “Even with the best treatment, I’m slightly exasperated. “The experts aren’t

The challenges of dealing with drug addiction, with little positive result, left Judge Cravens with a pessimism that others at the courthouse, a grandfather, showing people the right way. “I know that’s probably not the case.” People who appeared in his courtroom had so many problems to know where to begin. In drug cases, people often lived in poverty, were poorly educated, had physical, sexual, and mental health issues, were unemployed or had few job prospects, and the challenges of the person seem almost impossible. “In other words,” Judge Cravens continued. “It’s r

Judge Cravens’s situation with regard to drug addiction was a common but difficult one. He did not have the resources to send someone who needed treatment to treatment. Nor did he have any power to force someone who could send someone who needed treatment to treatment, his own experience requiring otherwise. One condition of their probation was that they use drugs. The majority of those he required to use drugs relapsed back into drug use. This relapse was not just because of addiction itself, but also because of the challenges the individual was facing, making it difficult to complete the judge’s term “habilitating”—offending

And yet, in making sentencing decisions, Judge Cravens saw his role as a kind of wider intervention. Thus the purpose of punishment as the judge saw it was not one, aimed less at punishing offenders and more at intervening than using the individual’s prosecution as an intervention into their life—an effort to help them get around.”

Notably, the issue of punishing individuals to protect the public from criminals, never surfaced in Judge Cravens’s work; however, these latter concerns inevitably had to assume his role, not as a grandfatherly figure, but as a judge, administering state statutes. “The challenges of the situation” Judge Cravens described were r

... only a few had successfully stopped
... ment, people still can't quit," he stated,
... t even sure what to do."

... offenders on a routine basis, and with
... ns susceptible to the same feelings of
... use felt. "I'd like to think of myself as
... ht way," Judge Cravens reflected. "But
... art of the problem was that those who
... ny problems in their lives it was hard
... ses, for instance, the people involved
... cated, had histories of abuse (mental,
... nships, were in poor health, and were
... . This made any kind of rehabilitation
... "Rehabilitation' is probably the wrong
... eally more like 'habilitation'"

... d to sentencing drug users was a com-
... e the power legally to sentence anyone
... ublicly funded programs to which he
... ment but could not afford it. On top of
... enders to participate in treatment as a
... hese programs largely did not work, as
... ndergo drug treatment ended up fall-
... s due in part to the challenges of drug
... ction was usually one of many prob-
... g the challenge of rehabilitating—or in
... ers an extremely difficult procedure.

... cisions the judge still openly viewed
... on into the individual offender's life.
... e judge discussed it was a therapeutic
... s for the specific crimes they commit-
... ation as the pretext for a more general
... at "habilitation" or "turning their life

... ividuals for their crimes, or protecting
... aced in our conversation. In practice,
... oly came to the fore, as Judge Cravens
... rather showing people the right way but
... s. To this end, the efforts at "habilita-
... e-inscribed in the juridical system as

efforts at crime control, a way to prevent future criminality.

In determining sentences for conviction on clinical knowledge and practice professionals, probation officers, and counselors, the application of this clinical knowledge about the following section, but first we will interview views with methamphetamine offenders such knowledge and its importance in the

Methamphetamine Addicts and the of "Person-Centered" Interviewing

Over the course of my research I conducted ethnographic interviews with a small cohort through various channels, I was put in contact with a cohort that was small because most of the people I was speaking with me. They declined my requests and then never arrived. Follow-up phone calls that I did agree to meet would usually only be unreachable.

My experience with Ken Burdette was on a Friday morning in February 2007. A mutual friend and my research interest in methamphetamine led to one of the many connections I was able to establish in the community for an extended period of time. My number, and Ken, generously, called me.

Ken arrived in his pickup truck and we talked. As I and I chatted, I noticed that all of his questions were answered by explaining that I was an anthropologist interested in methamphetamine. I emphasized that a crucial element of my research was time with people familiar with methamphetamine. "I've been with the monkeys," Ken responded, smiling.

Ken was in his early forties. He had been in the community for twenty years, and amphetamines (Benzedrine) had moved in and out of legality for decades. Ken had worked as a truck driver for most of his life. It was through this work that Ken began using amphetamines (his father). When we met, Ken was working

vent the individual from engaging in
cted offenders, the judge relied heavily
vided by professionals such as psychol-
ors. We will explore the formal genera-
offenders and its use in punishment in
examine another context—in my inter-
rs themselves—in which I encountered
the punishment of drug offenders.

The Limits

g

ucted extensive “person-centered” eth-
ort of recovering meth users. Through
with individuals in this situation. The
ose I contacted were uninterested in
offer outright or agreed to meet and
alls were rarely returned. The few who
y do so once; then they, too, became

was typical. Ken and I met one Satur-
ual friend, who knew both Ken’s story
metamine, had introduced us. This was
e to make only after I had been a resi-
d period of time. Our friend gave Ken
d me to set up a time to meet.

d parked across the street. While Ken
s bottom teeth were missing. I began
ogist doing research on methamphet-
lement of my research was spending
get their perspective. “So you’re living
niling, but with a hint of derision.

ad been using methamphetamine for
zedrine and other forms of speed that
the past century) for even longer. He
t of his life, just like his father. It was
ng amphetamines (again, just like his
ng toward recovery. It had been almost

a year since he'd used methamphetamine that time, such that he now considered it, it had been almost a month since

When Ken was thirteen years old, he had a large in his life, as evidenced by the police narrative. It was the second thing he told, the first being the fact he'd been born and raised, he had been "raised in a good Christian home," he graduated from high school at eighteen, he bought a house. To support his new wife in his place as an adult, Ken "pursued the job, the beginning there were "long hours, he started "using bennies [Benzedrine] on the job, he had first learned to use pills from his father on the job. "My dad drove a truck and I was on every now and then."

Within five years Ken was making money, working for one of the poultry processing plants in Baker County. He would leave the plant in Baker, and return to West Virginia on the weekends, two to three times a month, and on the weekends he would pick up extra shifts driving school buses (Chattanooga, and other points south) and he put it, "nobody'd ever even heard the word 'school bus' in going to run the California route, the amount of money to using were becoming hard to come by, it was prominent in California and other parts of the country, to it on these trips ("there's always some money incorporated it into his existing regimen of money for close to a decade, Ken witnessed and

In 1994 Ken caught his wife having an affair and divorced. Ken's five-year-old son continued to live with his mother. Ken moved in with his mother ("In the same bed and same dresser."). He is now receiving \$500 in child support he was now paying for "assets" he acquired when his wife stopped working. He related a significant amount of credit card debt he had from Virginia to Amarillo, Texas. His income had increased, not only to cope with the high

ine. His alcohol use had increased in
d himself an alcoholic, too. When we
he'd stopped drinking.

his father died. This event still loomed
privileged place it occupied in his nar-
me when we began the interview, the
raised in the area. By his own account
an family with good work ethics." Ken
n and married the same year. He also
ife, pay for his new house, and assume
e occupation of driving a truck." From
long trips, long weeks." To cope, Ken
r pills or whatever to stay awake." Ken
father, in response to the demands of
seen him, you know, take a few pills

g weekly runs to California. He was
essing plants in the area surrounding
nt on Friday evening, drive to Califor-
ne following Friday. He would do this
e "so-called week off," as Ken put it, he
ort routes within the region (Atlanta,
. This was the mid-1980s and, as Ken
word 'meth.'" But just as Ken was start-
nphetamines he'd become accustomed
e by. Methamphetamine was already
ts of the West Coast. Ken was exposed
omething bigger and better") and incor-
amphetamine use. Running this route
ad participated in meth's spread east.

g an affair with another man, and they
nued to live with his now ex-wife, and
e same bedroom I grew up in with
ncreased his pace of work to cover the
ng, as well as the "\$100,000 in negative
ped paying the mortgage and accumu-
d debt. Ken then started hauling cattle
use of methamphetamine at this time
heavier workload but also to deal with

his new predicament. “I was on it bad a but then it was also due to depression, life and had that mortgage since you w I only had five more years [on the mor up five credit cards and was three mo She has this boyfriend that she’s taking depression drug.”

Ken remarried and assumed mor required a significant amount of work tinued using meth. He would quit per work or when his wife threatened to le regularity, at times spending between habit he began to “move a bit” on his Finally his wife threatened to leave hi point he decided to seek treatment. F gram he’d seen advertised at work. “S I said, I told him right to his face, ‘I h sign out here on the wall you can get n

The company enrolled Ken in subst tal health clinic in a neighboring cou times a week and had to attend at leas receive proof of his attendance at the n a paper. “[Y]ou needed the initiative, y you, and it was the kind of pressure my I mean? It was a different pressure.”

But even though he saw the pressur entering recovery, he acknowledged it edge yourself as a user,” Ken said, “to m seem to always be marked.” Ken had ev conversation. “I just got, I been a test su my job, but I got tired of being a subject. testing soured him to the treatment exp

This experience recurred again and enter treatment on his own, outside o at the local mental health clinic, which where or how he could receive drug tre and was told that he needed to go to th be admitted. A doctor would need to to call the sheriff.

after my divorce. I used it to do my job, you know, here you've worked all your life. You was eighteen. Now you're twenty-eight. [mortgage] . . . and come to realize she run months late on the house payment. . . . taking care of, so you go and it's become a

the debt to pay for a house that also [mortgage], which he had to do himself. He con- periodically, when he got into trouble at leave, but otherwise he continued with \$300 and \$500 a week. To pay for this routes, transporting from west to east. him and she did, for two days. At that He turned to the drug treatment pro- o I walked in [and] told the manager, ave a drug problem. According to the ne help and me not lose my job.”

ance-abuse counseling at a state men- unty. He was drug tested at least four t two AA meetings a week. He had to meetings by getting the director to sign you need to have that little pressure on y wife couldn't give me, you know what

he it placed on him as necessary part of came at a price. “[O]nce you acknowl- e its been like a scarlet letter. . . . [Y]ou ren quit his job just a month before our bject for the big industry which, I kept ” In other words, the prevalence of drug erience.

l again. Ken had actually attempted to f the work program. He had inquired n was a strictly outpatient facility, as to eatment. He went three different times e emergency room of the hospital and evaluate him and then he would need

Ken bristled at the whole scenario involve the sheriff, given that his drug use was also resentful of having to go to the hospital. *I got a drug problem. . . . You want my credit report? I got a week on methamphetamines. Now, I'm behind on my mortgage because I use drugs. Now, do I have a drug problem? I got peeing in the street from midnight to two o'clock in the morning. I need to see a doctor, pay him thousands of dollars.*

Ken eventually did enroll in an outpatient health clinic after he had done a month of inpatient treatment. He still found this experience frustrating. One of the counselors there, a woman named

“Now what about your experience doing this?” I asked. She said that wasn’t too good,” I asked.

“Yeah, they give you little papers to fill out.”
“Ms. Williams discussed things with me. . . . She was probing, probing me.”

Ken’s comment at this point in the interview (the similarity between my own person-centered, psychoanalyzing, probing”) and the clinical approach (part of his forays into the world of addiction treatment). I was not the first professional to ask an addict, to lay bare his history of drug use, to provide details of his addiction and its progression, as expressed through my questions about his drug use, meth use, and so forth. Such questions are common in clinical interviews that I later learned Ken and other participants in addiction treatment programs meant rehearsing details of their addiction, a certain value, either as a positive or negative experience (cf. Carr n.d.).

Ken had no criminal record, but his addiction and the legal system had nevertheless made him feel as if he

“I never was caught, I’ve never been caught.”
“Why’s that?” I asked.

o. He was understandably reticent to admit that his drug habit was an illegal activity. But he was willing to go to hospital and be evaluated. "I'm not crazy. I need a psychiatric evaluation? I'm spending \$300 to \$500 a month. Do I have a drug problem? I'm a month behind on my mortgage payment to buy meth. I have people calling me or sitting at my house, saying we're doing lines off my bar. Do I need a hundreds of dollars emergency room visit?" He was particularly critical of one of the outpatient treatment programs at the men's center. It was an extensive inpatient program. But he was not interested. He was particularly critical of one of the programs run by Shirley Williams.

own at the mental health center? You can't take home and do," Ken responded. "I don't want to be like you, sort of like you are, psychoanalyz-

The interview revealed the structural similarities between the structural ethnographic interviewing ("psychological" interviews he had undergone as part of addiction therapeutics. In other words, Ken was asked to give an account of himself as a person with a drug use. My desire to know the intimate details of his life and assigning them a negative factor relative to his addiction was not unique. Many others were subject to as part of treatment programs. For Ken, participating in these programs was a criminal:

convicted. [But] I should have been."

“Oh, there’s been times I’ve been know what I mean. . . . It’s just in like through, get caught for speeding, you of course when you’re riding 80 in a 6 suspicion. Or it’d be snowing outside would ask,] ‘Why are you in a T-shirt?’

Thus Ken’s experiences with meth criminal identity that existed apart from the feeling that he *should have been* caught, a feeling of guilt, in both its legal and a general sense of stigmatization. “[O]nce Ken said, “to me its been like a scarlet marked.” Ironically, the emphasis in a the history of use seemed to further the held out the promise of therapeutic effect his attempt to “accept responsibility” fr dogged by his awareness of the number his drug problem and did nothing but for a pat on the back or a party,” Ken sa know what I mean?”

Ken’s exposure to the world of add own initiative. But those who encour system experienced the same sense of they received “treatment” (in the for drug offenders underwent an in-depth ranging from basic biographical data s cal psychological testing, was systemat judge deemed in need of an evaluation psychologists, and others conducted array of psychological tests. Based on would make formal evaluations of the To this they would add a sentencing were sent to the judge, who took it un decision regarding the punishment the

The legal code set certain paramete tencing decision based on the crimina The clinical information allowed the within these parameters, and tailor it

searched and just squeezed out, you
the Arkansas or other states you'd pass
know, and there's probable cause. And
5 in a tractor and trailer, it just draws
and 10 degrees and [the police officer
' you know; you don't realize it."

amphetamine had created a sense of
om any actual arrest or prosecution—
onvicted, even though he wasn't. This
affective registers, was part of a more
ce you acknowledge yourself as a user,"
et letter. . . . [Y]ou seem to always be
ddiction treatment on acknowledging
his sense of marginalization, even as it
ect. Ken himself struggled with this, as
or his drug addiction was consistently
ous people in his life who knew about
t look down on him. "I'm not looking
aid, "I just wanna be treated equal. You

iction therapeutics came through his
ntered it through the criminal justice
f marginalization. Indeed, even before
m of counseling, etc.) for addiction,
a clinical inquiry. Clinical information,
such as family history to more techni-
cally collected about any offender the
a before sentencing. Probation officers,
the interviews and administered an
this information, these professionals
person's overall health and well-being.
g recommendation. These evaluations
der consideration as he made his own
e person should receive for their crime.
rs to guide the judge in making a sen-
al act that the person had committed.
judge to make a sentencing decision
t to fit not only the crime but, more

importantly, the criminal. This was not even an example of what has been called. This is because the logic and purpose of punishing criminals and prevent future crime from

Christie

The experience of Christie Terry proved the approach worked. As discussed in the chapter executed with her then-husband, Justin Stokes. By the time I met Christie, she and Justin were no longer using his last name (Stokes), but her maiden name, Terry.

Christie was one of the few records I was able to maintain any form of contact with, as she became withdrawn and unreachable in January and she was recently single. The husband had left her shortly before Christmas to go to work in Alabama. Christie told me later that she had thought to kill herself, a fact which she let fall so casually at that moment for the meaning of her words. Her directness, the frankness and nonchalance with which she spoke, her attempt was her way of being dramatic. She was speaking with the assumption that I would not be

The first time I met Christie was at a meeting where I was there examining court records when the judge asked her by and said, "There's someone here that you should meet with long brown hair wearing jeans, glasses, and a hat standing somewhat shyly behind her. She's a woman named Christie. The terms of Christie's probation are being discussed with the county probation officer, who is currently in the case. At these meetings, conversations are held to ensure compliance with the terms of her probation, including efforts to find work in the area, payment of court meetings, made payments (such as she had to pay the balance on her court fees, and took a job to pay for) to show she was not using alcohol. We also discussed what was happening in her probation and the details that might cause the probation

not simply a therapeutic intervention, or what Nolan (2004) called “therapeutic justice” (Nolan 2004). What was still juridical: to neutralize what was happening.

Christie provided further insight into how this worked. In the preceding chapter, Christie was prosecuted by the state, on methamphetamine charges. She and Justin were divorced. Christie was now single but was once again using her maiden name.

Christie was recovering methamphetamine users with whom she had a lot of consistent contact, though even then it was not always possible at times. When I first met her it was with the man with whom she had been living. She wanted to return to his wife and teenage daughter. She said that the day he left, she had attempted suicide. She said so casually in our conversation it took a moment to register. I assumed at the time that she was just being dramatic, which she informed me of her suicide attempt later. But I wonder now if it had more to do with her recovery. Would she be surprised or would not care.

Christie was at the courthouse in Baker County. I was sitting in the courtroom. The probation officer, Rose Hinkle, came in and said, “This is the woman that you should meet.” A small woman with dark hair, wearing a black dress and a bright blue sweatshirt was sitting next to her. She extended her hand and introduced me to Christie. Christie’s probation required that she meet monthly with Rose. Rose would go over the status of her probation. Rose’s focus was on Christie’s efforts to maintain her probation. She discussed her ongoing struggles with methamphetamine. Christie provided proof she was attending AA (which she could afford) toward the outstanding methamphetamine drug test (which she was required to pass). She also discussed her alcohol or illegal drugs. In addition, she discussed her personal life, being careful to omit any details that might lead the probation officer to revoke her probation.

Christie enjoyed speaking with the a friend (the two had actually gone to resented having to make the monthly license had been revoked for failure three years previously, and so she had courthouse. She consistently had trouble to hire a felon”), and so each meeting returned to prison for violation of her and embarrassment of having to take t might come back positive—even though drugs—triggered by some other substance of the test itself.

Despite these frustrations, since be embraced her situation as a convicted bationer. She began to speak regularly with students in the health education people to hear from someone who had going through) drug addiction and its certain calling to share her story with conviction that brought Rose to introd

Rose returned to her office, and Ch table. Stacks of file folders sat between to smoke, and she continued to hold forth in her hands. I explained a little in hearing her story. Christie nodded. to the probation officer was not her r make a special trip so that the probatio test. Christie had started a new job at t boring county (roughly an hour from take a drug test as part of her applic back positive for PCP (a substance Chr plant would not hire Christie until sh to send her urine sample to a lab whe ducted, but that would cost Christie \$ for \$30, and that was why she was ther

Christie then began to tell me her r an alcoholic family and started using switched to drugs, meth specifically, said she became addicted to meth after

probation officer and considered her (to high school together). However, she had to make frequent trips to the courthouse. Her driver's license was suspended for not paying child support in Pennsylvania. She had to find someone to drive her to the courthouse. She was having trouble finding employment ("no one wants to hire me because I've been in prison"). She held the possibility that she would be able to get a job on probation. Finally, there was the cost of the drug test, and the possibility that it might be a false positive because of the chance that Christie was no longer using illegal substances in her system or by a malfunction of the test.

After being released from prison Christie had a criminal record (felony), was a recovering addict, and was attending school at the high school, sharing her story in a support class. Christie felt it was important for her to tell her story and what she had actually gone through (and was still going through) and the consequences. Indeed, Christie felt a need to tell as many people as possible. It was this need that led me to interview Christie to me.

Christie sat down across from me at the table in the courtroom. Christie had been on her way out of the courtroom when she lit her cigarette, rolling it back and forth in her hand. She talked a bit about my research and my interest in her story. She began by telling me that this visit was a normal monthly visit. She had had to go to the courthouse because the probation officer could do an additional drug test at the poultry processing plant in a neighborhood (where Christie lived). She had had to go to the courthouse for employment. The test came out positive (Christie claimed never to have used). The probation officer said she passed her drug test. They offered her a job at the poultry processing plant where a more detailed test could be conducted for \$100. The probation officer could do it for \$50.

Christie told me her recovery story. She said she came from a family that had a history of using alcohol herself at an early age. She started using alcohol when she was twenty-seven. Christie said that the first time she used it. I asked why

she thought she had become addicted to the energy meth gave her, and the fact that she was high. As a result of her addiction, Christie's use ranged from an ounce per day to two- to three "8-balls" (one-eighth of an ounce). Her use was so severe that she was out of bed unless she was high.

Meth was a terrible drug, according to Christie, having a significant impact on her life. Besides her incredible amount of regret for the impact it had on her and her kids, who were, at the time, ages fifteen, thirteen, and ten. One time, she stayed up four to five days on meth, driving, with her kids in the car. She was so high that she was under her wheels as her car began to wobble. In these instances, Christie prided herself on having control. She was thirty-three and had been sober for ten years.

Christie said that her involvement in the program was important because it had shown her the need for "more things." She had embraced this direction and had moved from the town where she was living at the time to the country. She made new friends, and she was happy. Christie had also learned to deal with her "triggers" including aluminum foil, which could be used to smoke meth.

Christie mentioned how much she enjoyed coming every year to tell her story. She had had a good time with her kids while she was incarcerated. Christie was a great presentation. She gave me her telephone number.

Pre-Sentence Evaluations

I was already familiar with Christie's case from my time in the courthouse. Christie's case file contained a conviction, detailed biographical information, and evaluations conducted by officials within the court system, the probation officer and two psychologists. Christie was providing the truth of Christie's case, and the technology containing the state's account of her case (cf. Biehl 2005). It was this account that the criminal justice system used to understand Christie's case.

so quickly. Christie said it was because
fact that it made all of her cares go away.
meth use increased quickly, from half
balls” a day (an 8-ball typically equals
such that, eventually, she would not get

ng to Christie; it had had a devastat-
carceration, she expressed the deepest
d on her children (she has four boys
irteen, ten, and seven). Once, she told
n meth. She fell asleep while she was
e woke up to the sound of the gravel
veer off the road. Despite such experi-
g never used meth in front of her kids.
er for three years.

n AA had been a significant help. Most
ed to change her “people, places, and
ctive wholeheartedly. Christie moved
the time of her arrest to a small trailer
many of whom were also in recovery.
her daily cravings for meth by avoid-
foil and ballpoint pens, both of which

e enjoyed going into the high school
had the idea of sharing her story with
ie offered to type up a copy of the pre-
number and I promised to be in touch.

se from my work in the archives at the
ned information about her crime and
rmation, and a series of clinical evalu-
he criminal justice system, including
ogists. I did not approach this case file
ondition, but rather as a bureaucratic
unt of her subjectivity and experience
at the judge and other officials in the
stand Christie and determine her pun-

ishment. As such, it was essential that I look at the texts in which she was asked to give an account of her criminal. This included her interview with probation officers three and four years earlier with probation officers at the regional facility administrators contacted by the local school system telling the story of her involvement in the amphetamine to high schoolers. The latter was part of the curriculum and counted toward Christie's credit.

Before examining the evaluations of Christie's behavior, it would be useful to review her arrest and conviction. Christie was arrested in 2003. Bond was set at \$25,000. To have the money to pay the court 10 percent of the bond, Christie remained incarcerated at the regional facility. She was not sentenced until March 2004, so for a year she was incarcerated before receiving her sentence.

Like most of those who had been arrested for drug possession, Christie entered into a plea agreement rather than going to trial. Christie and Justin had both been charged with the actual act of selling the methamphetamine. Christie was charged the other for "conspiring" to commit the crime. Justin agreed to plead guilty to the charge of possession, and the prosecutor agreed to drop the charge of conspiracy.

This means of prosecuting was extremely common. In drug crime were usually indicted on a charge of possession related to their crime. Prosecutors would usually offer the maximum penalty the crimes carried. Christie and Justin, of the crimes with which they were charged, were charged with one and five years incarcerated and probation. The judge would usually tell them that if they chose to go to trial, the maximum penalty in the case. Were they to go to trial, they would thus be incarcerated for ten years. In light of this grim possibility, Christie and Justin, both chose to plead guilty, and plead guilty to one of the crimes with which they were charged. It remained for the court to decide was the appropriate sentence.

Sentencing was done in each case by Judge Cravens. But the judge did not simply impose the maximum. Rather, he took into account a range of factors that set the possible punishments for the crime. Christie's criminal's personal history. Though less

I consider it alongside the various con-
n account of herself as a drug user and
rs with me, the interviews conducted
ation officers, psychologists, and cor-
ined in her case file, and her work in
y of her experience with methamphet-
as part of the school's drug prevention
tie's community service requirement.

contained in Christie's case file, it will
viction. Christie was arrested in June
ve remained free, she would have had
l. Christie could not afford that, so she
jail as her case was processed. She was
r roughly eight months she was incar-

rested in the Federal Drug Task Force's
a agreement with the state rather than
been indicted on two charges: one for
hetamine to a confidential informant,
he act. Christie and her then-husband
arge of selling the methamphetamine,
conspiracy charge.

remely common. Those arrested for a
at least two charges, sometimes more,
ould then present those arrested with
ied. In Christie and Justin's case, both
harged carried a sentence of between
up to a \$15,000 fine. The prosecutor
hose to go to trial, he would seek the
hey to be found guilty by a jury, they
ars and fined \$30,000. Faced with this
like most, agreed to forego the trial
with which they were charged. All that
their sentence.

e by the judge for the county, in this
not make his decisions in a vacuum.
of factors, from the state legal statutes
the particular crimes to the individual
gal statutes were easily accessible, the

more personalized factors took some time, and Justin entered their guilty pleas, the actions carried out by other members of the family.

The report process that Christie underwent was a "Pre-sentence Investigation Report." This was completed by a probation officer in the county, Rose Hinkle, and consisted of a report on Christie as an offender and a report gauging "community risk." The officer interviewed Christie using the standard format. The report began with basic biographical information: name, date of birth, height and weight, sex and race, citizenship, marital status, and religion, social security number, and address. It then moved on to a list of crimes given to the actual crimes committed, followed by a section on "mitigating factors" during the crime. Instead, the evaluation focused on Christie's criminal history and present life.

The Pre-sentence Evaluation focuses on factors that may influence determining Christie's sentence: the offender's personal and family background, marital status, employment, environment, education, religion, interests, and hobbies (including alcohol use), military history, health history, and employment/economic status, and community ties. Christie's crime committed is but one factor in the evaluation, it took on clinical rather than legal significance.

The results of the probation officer's evaluation were on a four-page form, which was placed in her file to be used to determine the sentence in her case. There were no mitigating factors taken from Christie. This was in the "Mitigating Factors" section of the Statement and Attitude." It had a two-page section on "Mitigating Factors" stated simply "I was there with my husband, but I wasn't [sic] really paying attention. I was just there to give my husband the money." The report provided a personalized profile of Christie.

The picture of Christie that emerged was one of a woman with constant instability. Her parents divorced when she was five. Shortly after her parents divorced she was placed in state custody by the state. Her sister was also in state custody. Christie went back to live with her mother when she was ten. She had not seen her father for a year, but he was in poor health as a result of hepatitis C. He was in a nursing home in Virginia, but, according to Christie, she had never seen him.

time to compile. Thus, after Christie they were subject to a series of evaluations by the criminal justice system.

Underwent was for the "Pre-sentence report" compiled by the probation officer for the purpose of an individual evaluation of the defendant and "community sentiment" in the case. Rose completed a questionnaire for the evaluation. It included information, including her name and address, age, employment and marital status, occupation and education. Very little attention was paid to her or even the circumstances surrounding the offense, focused largely on Christie's personal history.

The report was based on twelve points of interest for the offense committed, adult arrest record, employment, marital status, home and neighborhood conditions, interests and activities (including drug and alcohol use) (both physical and mental), employment history and community sentiment. Again, in this list the focus was on a wider profile. In the context of the legal proceedings, it had a juridical significance.

The investigation was summarized on a separate page in the case file and used by the judge to determine sentencing. There were only two pieces of direct speech from Christie in the offense section, under "Defendant's statement." The pre-sentence quote from Christie, which was a statement to her husband when the buy went down. I don't even know the informant had access to the form was summary information about Christie.

Information from the investigation was one of the reasons she was sentenced to a year in prison a year after Christie was born. Christie and her older sister were taken into custody and eventually adopted by another family. Christie's father. At the time of the interview she didn't know he was living in Ohio and was in prison. Her mother lived nearby in West Virginia but had no contact with her.

Christie had been married twice. Justin, her co-defendant in the case. Before she was married to Justin, she was married for several years to a man named Jerry, whom she described as abusive. She was also in a long-term relationship with another man during these three relationships she had four children who lived with her. The two oldest lived in a home owned by her abusive ex-husband. The kids lived with her because their father himself incarcerated after being convicted of a crime. The other children lived with Dean and his wife.

The evaluation described Christie's living situation, which she shared with her husband and a roommate. She mentioned she dropped out of high school in the 11th grade and had been working on obtaining her General Equivalency Diploma while being incarcerated. The evaluation noted her religious beliefs, mentioning that she was Pentecostal and participated in Bible studies at the jail. It provided a list of her interests and activities. The first was alcohol and drug use, specifically mentioning smoking at age thirteen and using marijuana at age twenty-seven. It also mentioned that family members had used drugs themselves. The report noted she had a drug problem, but was undergoing counseling. Her interests were brief, limited only to "spirituality."

After noting that she had never sought medical attention, she moved on to her health. Under physical health, she mentioned migraines, and had undergone several surgeries for migraines, including Risperdal, and other medications, including Risperdal, and other medications for migraines." Under mental health, she mentioned she had a psychologist for her migraines, and was receiving counseling. The evaluation concluded with a summary of her history and economic status, noting that she worked at the local chicken processing plant making \$10 an hour, and that her husband, Justin, worked at a construction site a week. She was required to pay \$450 per month for hospital bills totaling \$1,000; she was behind on payments and turned over to a collection agency.

A supplemental report was attached to the evaluation, titled "community sentiment" regarding Christie, Justin, or both. It was confusing, as it was ambiguous whether it referred to Justin, or both.

Her most recent marriage was to Justice that she had been married for eight years before she left because he was physically abusive. She had a relationship with a man named Dean. From that relationship, she had two children, none of whom at the time were living in Oklahoma with the parents of Jerry, but they were living with his parents because Jerry was convicted on an assault charge. Her two children were living with his wife in Pennsylvania.

Christie's home, a two-bedroom house that she owned. It listed her education, noting that she had completed eleventh grade to get married and had earned her General Education Diploma (GED) since then. It noted the importance Christie placed on religion, that she was Methodist and had attended church and synagogue. It included an abbreviated list of her interests and hobbies, including drug use, noting that she began drinking alcohol and using drugs (cocaine and amphetamines) at age 18. It stated that family members supplied her with drugs and that she had not stated that she did not think she had received counseling at the regional jail. "Other" activities included spending time with her husband.

Christie served in the military, the evaluation noted. Regarding her mental health, she experienced anxiety and depression during her military operations. She was taking a variety of medications, including Tylenol, and "something for her anxiety." The evaluation noted that she saw a local therapist for her anxiety management, anxiety, and general depression. It included a description of her employment history, noting that until her arrest, she had worked at a retail store making between \$100 and \$150 a week, and at a manufacturing plant making \$350 to \$375 a week. It noted that she was a month behind on her child support payments and had been behind on her payments and had been

referred to the evaluation that described Christie's case. The report was somewhat negative. When the report referred to Christie, Justice

After talking with several people with
2003, the majority of the people would
placed in the custody of the Department
The defendant is known in the Baker
als interviewed felt that the defendant
a bad person.

The evaluation concluded with a su

The defendant, Christie Stokes, a third
to the indictment charging her with t
ery of a Schedule II Controlled Subst
ing notes and all the information I
would recommend that the defendan
Department of Corrections.

Prison Evaluations

The second evaluation Christie unde
tional Facility, the facility within the
most diverse range of psychological r
after the Pre-sentence Evaluation conc
listed as both a “psychological evalua
structure was almost identical to the e
officer. It began with the offense, offeri
her own words. The report stated:

When asked about the circumstance
[she was still married to Justin at the

“My husband (Justin Stokes) and
me if I wanted to go with him to me
I were close and did things together
my husband gave him crank and Ra
much attention to them and did not s

When asked why then she pled guilty
(who was a confidential informant) re
drugs. Justin Stokes also pled guilty to

in the community, on September 19, I would recommend that the defendant be sent to the Department of Corrections to serve his time. This is in the [County] area. Several of the individuals interviewed stated that the defendant made a mistake and that she was not

Summary and analysis:

[The] (30) year-old female, plead (guilty) to the offence of one (1) count of "Delivery of a Controlled Substance." After reviewing my interview notes and reports I have received, this probation officer recommends that the defendant be placed in the custody of the

[The] defendant was at the Cartersville Correctional Institute, West Virginia prison system with the assistance of [the] resources. This took place five months ago and was conducted by the probation officer. It was a "pre-sentence investigation" and "diagnostic evaluation." Its purpose was to evaluate the defendant and to provide a recommendation. The evaluation conducted by the probation officer was intended to give Christie more room to explain it in

In response to the instance offense Ms Stokes [at the time] gave the following account:

"I was at the bowling alley, he asked me if I had a guy. I said yes, my husband and I had a guy. My husband and Randy met and Randy gave him money. I wasn't paying attention to see the actual deal go down."

In response to this charge, she stated that Randy reported that she had handed him the money for a delivery charge. He has completed

a court ordered diagnostic evaluation center. He is currently housed at [the reg

After noting that Christie had no prior conviction on to discuss Christie's social history. The report discussed her life and early upbringing that were covered in the report but with some additional material. The report provided more details about her marriages and relationships, and an expanded summary of her history of a disorder that was not mentioned in the report. The report provided about Christie's mental health history, including counseling for close to ten years for "issues related to custody of her children." Finally, the report noted that Christie was officially an addict, stating that she had "a tendency to crank" and had been a "heavy user" of

In addition to the clinical interview, the report included psychological tests. The purpose of the tests was to "assess the subject's intellectual, academic, and personality." Included in the tests were the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS) which measured her verbal, performance and full scale scores; the Ableing Examination (ABLE) that tested her reading, writing, and problem solving skills; the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) which assessed her personality. The evaluation provided a

The subject's profile indicates that she is generally optimistic, yet still reported feelings of social alienation. This is a woman who is generally irresponsible and whose relationships are often troubled. When stressed or intoxicated she may become more aggressive. She had difficulty trusting other people and was often uneasy in social situations. Her self-concept was to be conflicted emotionally and psychologically, with feelings of insecurity and dependency.

The evaluation concluded:

The subject has a long history of problems. She has limited insight into the lifestyle

at the Donaldson Correctional Center [Correctional Center] awaiting sentencing.

For criminal record, the evaluation went on to cover the same aspects of her home life covered in the Pre-sentencing Evaluation. The Correctional Center evaluation included information on her children, the age of her first sexual relationship, her medical history, including a seizure and other report. More information was provided as well, noting that she had undergone legal issues involving her mother and the loss of her home. The Correctional Center report identified that at twenty-seven “she became addicted to drugs for three years prior to her arrest. In interviews, Christie was given a number of tests. These, according to the evaluation, were academic, and personality traits.” Tests included the Wechsler Intelligence Scale-Revised (WAIS-R), which provided full-scale IQ; the Adult Basic Learning Inventory grade-level equivalencies in reading; the CAGE (Cut-down, Annoyed, Guilty, Eye-opener) Alcoholism Scale; and the Minnesota Multiphasic Inventory-2 (MMPI-2), which assessed her personality. A summary of this test’s findings:

Christie tried to present in a positive and confident manner, but was exhibiting significant anxiety, self-doubts, and a tendency to act out. Her behavior is often impulsive and her relationships are shallow and superficial. She may become volatile and act out. She is usually uncomfortable and her self-esteem is extremely low. She appears psychologically and often struggles with her relationships and her distrust of others.

problems in her relationships and life. The way she has evolved. She grew up with

an alcoholic/drug addicted mother [a] relationships with men. She married school, and has had a succession of Each of her children may have a different started drug use at the age of twenty custody of her first two children to action in Pennsylvania. She lost custody 2001 to her ex-boyfriend, Dean Pike had been helping her with the children turned against her due to her relationship Stokes, and likely due to her drug use “my best friend,” that they don’t argue

Ms Stokes seemed rational in her judgement. If her report of employment is experience in working the poultry business to growing up in a chaotic household seeking to achieve independence through to develop her own personal identity that she could avoid dependence on someone

The report used all of this information in determining the type of sentence the judge should give her. She was considered a “fair at best” candidate for probation. The report broke down the decision as a “divisive” factors in her life. Positive factors included that she has no prior criminal record and that she has a steady employment. The negative factors included:

(1) her pattern of unstable relationships, (2) her history of illicit drug use, (3) her lack of family support, (4) her involvement in selling illegal drugs, (5) her reported involvement in illegal drug use, (6) her personal dependency and insecurity, (7) her need to maintain her position that she will be able to stay with her husband if he gives up drugs.

After listing the positive and negative factors, the report made a “recommendation”:

and] has had many short and abusive
early herself, failed to complete high
pathological relationships with men.
erent father. She claims to have only
-seven (27) years old. Ms Stokes lost
her first husband in 1995 in a court
tody of her second two children in
. She reported that her mother who
en after she returned to WV in 2000
ship with her current husband, Justin
se. She reported that her husband is
e or fight, and that he is not abusive.
y thinking, but of low average intelli-
accurate, she has considerable expe-
ss. Her weakness seems to be linked
, lack of adult nurturing or guidance,
ough relationships with men, failing
y and resources to support herself so
ociopathic or domineering men.

ion to make recommendations regard-
ould give her. It described Christie as
ion or non-incarceration alternative,
urgence between “positive” and “nega-
included the fact that Christie did not
she was able, until her arrest, to main-
rs were much more numerous. They

hips and lifestyle, (2) her significant
r support, (4) her husband’s (and co-
legal drugs, (5) her husband’s family’s
trafficking and manufacture, (6) her
and (7) her probable lack of strength
only continue the relationship if her

itive factors, the report gave its “final

The final recommendation in Ms St... probation if adequate supervision is... influence of her husband/co-defenda... on probation is poor if she remains... However, the court may have addition... of action different from that above.

Though the evaluation reluctantly... tions under which she would be succe... supervision and surveillance. For insta... rate from her husband and his family... employed, participate (and make prog... program, attend Narcotics Anonymou... ing as well as “monitoring of her hom... men,” and live with a relative who co... ment” and can “exercise some superv... accurate reports to authorities.”

On the other hand, the report note... including the likelihood that Christie w... incarcerated she would be able to avai... tive resources, including substance ab... vocational training, work experience... where), and take a limited number o... able to participate in a number of “soc... group substance-abuse treatment, “life... anger management, and counseling, n... “victim empathy.”

What is Punishment For?

It is notable that these evaluations sp... crime for which Christie was convicted... tial perspective, the clinical informati... tie’s sentencing has no legal significan... what Christie’s IQ is, or the results of h... it have on the fact that she pled guilty t...

The sentencing recommendations p... on clinical evaluations, which provide... emerge in the context of a criminal in...

toke's case is a recommendation for
possible and she can withstand the
nt. We believe her chance of success
in a relationship with her husband.
nal information that suggests a course

recommended probation, the condi-
successful involved a significant amount of
ance, she would need to remain sepa-
be tested frequently for drugs, remain
gress) in a substance-abuse treatment
s meetings, undergo personal counsel-
e situation and her relationships with
ould provide "a stable home environ-
vision and be counted on to provide

ed the many benefits of incarceration,
would become "a model inmate." While
l herself of educational and rehabilita-
ouse education, basic adult education,
(in the prison food service and else-
of college courses. She would also be
ial rehabilitation" programs, including
skills" programs, including parenting,
mental health services, and training in

pend little time discussing the actual
d. Indeed, from a certain jurispuden-
on gathered in preparation for Chris-
ce. Why should it matter, for instance,
er personality test? What bearing does
to a charge of dealing drugs?

provided by these reports were based
e information that would likely never
investigation or trial. This information

was presented as both a set of mitigating factors and a portfolio of risks. The judge had this information in front of him when he weighed it in light of the legal statutes that governed his decision. Thus the judge's role in the sentencing process is to weigh the clinical information gathered by the other members of the court and give it legal significance.

Do the judge's actions still constitute sentencing when he is being asked to recommend state punishment largely on clinical information? The traditional task of calibrating punishment to the offender has been superseded by, (1) the epidemiological task of placing the subject within the population and (2) the clinical task of determining the best course of the subject's life so as to bring about a rehabilitation. For drug offenders like Christie, judges have been asked to act on the assumption that rehabilitation is possible in these circumstances. This, at least, was the conventional wisdom.

* * *

A week later I visited Christie in her home. It was a small trailer off a secluded state highway. It took me about an hour to find. I was half an hour late when I arrived. The trailer was situated between a locus tree and an elegant yellow house that had been abandoned. The trailer was one of about a dozen others between the state highway and the mountains. Most were full-time residents. The others were rented to tourists who enjoyed riding the area's winding roads. Christie had instructed me to look for a white van that would hold week-long retreats in the mountains. I knocked on the metal screen door and entered.

Entering the trailer, I was struck immediately by the smell of cigarettes and upholstered furniture. Christie, wearing pink pajamas and watching cartoons, sat at her table. I sat down and took off my boots. I stood in the screen door and looked into the room from the kitchen. I peered down at Christie, who was inappropriately white on the thick brown carpet.

ating factors that explained Christie's
k factors at work in her life. The judge
when he sentenced Christie. He exam-
at set the parameters for her punish-
encing process was to take the clinical
members of the criminal justice system

te punishment at this point given that
intervention into a person's life based
lassical jurisprudential task of appro-
ne crime committed appears to have
ogical task of determining where the
population and under what conditions,
ng the best intervention into the per-
itative effect. Of course, in the case of
ad to make their sentencing decisions
n was improbable under the circum-
onal wisdom.

+ *

me. She lived in the shadow of a moun-
k me a long time to find the place, and
She lived in a cozy double-wide trailer
et neglected white house that appeared
out a dozen nestled in a small valley
untain. Roughly half of the trailers had
ted to tourists—everyone from the bik-
ng mountain roads to the church groups
the summer. I parked next to a rusty
and approached the front door of the
an empty coffee can on the front porch.
heard a muffled voice shout, "Come in."
mediately by the unmistakable aroma
e. A young girl with long, brown hair
in the middle of the living room floor,
computer, her back to me as I entered
small entryway that separated the living
a at my tube-socked feet. They seemed
rown carpet. I glanced at the kitchen

where I saw two bare feet peering out from under the door. “Hello,” the female voice belonging to the woman who had been in there inside the refrigerator. Though not sure how long she had been there, a year she would be back in prison on the next day.

“Have a seat,” Christie called from behind her desk. She continued typing on her computer. I made my way to the office armchair. The chair was soft. As I sat down, I noticed that my arms perched awkwardly on the armrests. I pushed deeper into the folds of the chair. The woman who had greeted me realized I was still wearing my jacket.

The woman who’d greeted me from the door and walked across the room. I noticed her name tag. Christie said as the woman sat down on the chair, “This is Jani. She’s like a daughter to me.” Christie nodded her head in a backwards nod of her head in recognition of her name but kept her eyes fixed on the computer screen.

Christie’s eyes never left the computer screen. As she said, the blue-white glow of the monitor was the only light in the room.

“Finished with what?” I asked.

“My presentation.”

Obtaining a copy of the presentation that she had given at the school in three months was the official reason for my visit. It was on her experience with methamphetamine that she gave the presentation, usually toward the end of the semester. The teacher thought it was important for the students to know of drugs like methamphetamine from the perspective of someone who had used that.”

Pages began emerging from the printer. As each page emerged, Christie said, “This is an autobiographical account of her life since her boyfriend left her and she attended the school.”

Sandy talked while Christie worked on the presentation. She talked about her bad experiences with the criminal justice system. “It’s all who you know,” she said, expressing a sentiment I often heard. “The only way you can get away is if you know prominent members of the local politicos, were themselves involved in the crime. The attorney do a line of cocaine off the

from below the open refrigerator door. The feet called out, her head somewhere. Neither of us knew it at the time, within her third charge of forgery.

the other side of the room. She conceded my way to a thickly padded gray down I sank deeply into the cushion. Armrests that grew ever taller as I sank. The smell of cigarettes became stronger; I

from behind the refrigerator closed the door. She smiled and nodded. "That's Sandy," she said on a couch across from me. "And that's Christie," she gestured toward the girl on the television. Jani squirmed slightly at the mention of the television.

computer screen. "I'm almost finished," she said, looking at her glasses.

on that Christie would do at the high school level. The reason for my visit. The presentation was on methamphetamine. The health teacher arranged for a presentation at the end of the school year. Like Christie, the teacher wanted the students to hear about the dangers of drugs from someone who had "been there, done

water on the floor next to Christie's computer. She placed it on my lap. Christie explained that she was giving me a copy of her "book," which she had been working on ever since she had attempted suicide.

Like Christie, she had had a series of problems with the criminal justice system. Sandy had a deep resentment of the system. "I know how much money you have," she said. "I heard. Something else I heard repeated about the criminal justice system, as well as about drugs. 'I've seen the prosecutor get out of the hood of a car,'" she exclaimed, bewil-

dered at the hypocrisy that such a person could persecute others for drug offenses.

Christie echoed Sandy's grievances about the criminal justice system. She felt it was unfair that she and others didn't, and that people convicted of the same offenses received different sentences. Christie was particularly angry about the fact that she and others received the same sentence since he was involved in drug dealing. She also resented the fact that she had to deal with the police to get her arrested, while Randy was keeping himself out of prison.

At the same time, Christie credited Randy with saving her life. She underscored this belief throughout the time we met and often thereafter. One day, Randy reported to her probation officer at the prison that she was in the hallway. As Christie told the story, Randy was already shrinking away from her, but she didn't get angry. Instead, she stopped and thanked Randy for what he did, she told him, she would never have turned her life around. Randy listened to her and tried to meet her gaze. Christie noted that she was surprised by the way she'd handled the situation and that she'd taken care of herself a little.

Randy's actions had enabled Christie to turn her life around for her life. She made new friendships and became involved with Alcoholics Anonymous, which gave her great pride. Christie was also taking classes in criminal justice. Christie relished the fact that she was pursuing a degree in criminal justice. At the high school, she felt her experience was valued by the majority of her classmates and teachers. She took pride she could in this experience-based education and in which it placed her.

Still, she was painfully aware that not everyone was by her conviction. The most difficult part of her life was finding a job. Finding and maintaining a job was a challenge of her probation. However, the few businesses that were able were unwilling to hire someone with a criminal record for drugs. Christie applied at the local

son could then turn around and pros-

about the state of injustice in the crim-
fair that some people got arrested and
d of the same crime often received dif-
larly resentful of her own conviction.
d Justin had been tried together and
as the one who did the majority of the
ct that her cousin, Randy, had worked
particularly since his motivation was

her arrest and incarceration with sav-
f with a story she told me the first day
y when she was making her monthly
e courthouse, she encountered Randy
ory, when she encountered Randy he
bracing to experience the brunt of her
ed him for saving her life. If he hadn't
ould never have gotten off of drugs and
to her silently, his head down, unable
everyone at the courthouse was sur-
ituation. She said she'd even surprised

stie to establish a different trajectory
ips, obtained her GED, and became
—all achievements in which she took
asses online, working toward a degree
the irony that she, a convicted felon,
stice. But, as with her work speaking
ence gave her a kind of expertise that
chers were lacking. Christie took what
sed expertise, and the unique position

umerous doors had been closed for her
of these was the near impossibility of
g gainful employment was a condition
usinesses in the area with jobs avail-
with a felony conviction, particularly
l supermarket and the Dollar General

a small real estate company and at sim-
n she received was a minor defeat, pro-
ty to find employment would land her
ng to hire her was the poultry process-
people in her position eventually found
many began using methamphetamine
ed more than an hour away. After she
d under pressure from her probation
n. She was required to take a drug test
l earlier, it came back positive for PCP.
rthouse the day we met, attempting to
ise lab-based test. Once that issue was
e back negative) she was hired to work
ng live chickens by their feet on con-
that slaughtered them.

n plant did not last long, however. The
ure and had to be taken to the emer-
of delirium in the back of the ambu-
g *“Just let me die, just let me die!”* She
urn to the plant to work but each time
iencing seizures. She went to the doc-
ote a note to the administrators at the
ining that she could not do the work
As a result of this diagnosis, she had
of gaining permanent disability status
ld provide her with a regular income
loyment.

g Justin

told her that she would need to get a
e of getting her sentence reconsidered.
Christie, was that the prosecuting attor-
l marriage (Christie was white, Justin
een the case, but as Christie’s case files
usband was cited as a key risk factor
her criminality and her elevated drug
to end the relationship would signifi-
stie would engage in future criminal-

ity. It would also likely lead to improved outcomes and would be necessary if she were going on probation.

This was not the first time the law had intervened about her family relationships. In the past, she had neglected her two youngest children. She did so much that she owed \$25,000 in unpaid child support. The court's decision was to give up her rights—parental responsibility—to her children. This did not erase the \$25,000 she already owed, however. Nor did it shield her from prosecution, which almost happened in the spring of 2010. New debts from accruing. Christie ultimately decided to give the two children, allowing them to stay with their friend and his wife. But the decision had been shaped so deeply with her own experience of family dysfunction.

The circumstances that led Christie to her arrest and prosecution as co-defendant with Justin insisted that she was a victim of circumstance. She was simply there when it happened, going on. The confidential informant testified to her of handing him the meth. Christie was not directly involved, even after she entered a plea of guilty.

This insistence that Justin was the true perpetrator and accomplice appeared on both the probation report and the correctional center's Psychological Evaluation. It was taken to represent her "attitude" at the time. Various administrators conducting the evaluation took note that she had been unjustly prosecuted. They noted that Justin had played a significant role in her arrest. Thus Christie's relationship with Justin was a key criminogenic risk factor in her life.

Of the seven "Negative Factors" listed in the Psychological Evaluation, Justin was named as the primary factor, implicitly implicated in the rest. The fact that Christie was involved in a pathological domestic relationship in that life would rehabilitation be difficult.

It is unclear how this message was communicated to her, that her lawyer told her that she needed to

ements in Christie's overall well-being, hoping to have any chance at success on

had asked Christie to make a hard decision in 2001 she had terminated her rights to custody because she had accumulated a debt and the only way to keep the amount from increasing was to terminate her rights and therefore her financial responsibility to eliminate her responsibility to pay the debt or did it keep interest from accruing on the debt. Prosecution from unpaid child support, which began in 2008. What it did was to keep any custody she ultimately decided to terminate her rights to custody remain in the custody of her ex-boyfriend. The judge granted her, in part because it resonated with her feeling abandoned by her mother.

Christie's decision to divorce Justin began with their arguments. From the beginning, Christie felt a sense of injustice. Justin had done the selling, she had opened, largely oblivious to what was going on. Her cousin, Randy, had accused her of child abuse and she continued to deny that she had been guilty to the charge.

Christie was a fully guilty party and she barely even an attorney's Pre-sentence Evaluation Report. These statements were made at the time of the evaluation. Although the psychological tests did not affirm Christie's perspective, they did agree with her perception of the circumstances that led to her relationship with Justin was quickly flagged as a high risk and a target for intervention.

Christie was held in the Correctional Center's Psychiatric Unit. It was explicitly in three of them and was the basic point of the report was that Christie's life. Only by intervening drastically could it become possible.

Christie communicated to Christie. She claimed she wanted to divorce Justin before the judge

would reconsider her sentence. This was because of the prosecuting attorney's request and all of the legal authorities involved, including the prosecuting attorney would have reviewed the National Center's evaluations. They seemed to support the Center's explicit statement, "We believe it is in the best interest of Christie to be released from jail and put on probation if she remains in a relationship with Justin. The continuation of Justin in essentially all of Christie's life is a particularly promising site for intervention. By ending the relationship, Christie's life would be altered, thus opening up the possibility of a positive intervention into Christie's life."

Christie initially resisted the idea of being released from jail and put on probation because of the necessary paperwork to initiate the process while Justin were still incarcerated. It went to the judge to have her sentence reconsidered and she was released from jail and put on probation.

Christie's relationship to Justin was a condition of her probation as well. Christie was explicitly prohibited from any contact with Justin. Any contact would be treated as a violation and she would be returned to jail. This was a condition of her probation, including finding gainful employment, abstaining from any intoxicating substances. Separation was a requirement of Christie's probation: I initially liked the arrangement but my grandmother treated her basically as "a slave" and she had to get up early and do work around the house.

The divorce also provided her with a separate residence from Justin's. Because they were no longer be treated as co-defendants, in the spring of 2008, Christie called me and said she was sent back to jail for violating the terms of her probation. She had discovered that he had guns at his home. As a felon and probationer, he was not allowed to have guns. He needed the guns to protect his dog and the mountains around his home. Christie's attorney, and probation officer didn't believe her. They simply used them as an excuse to "violate" her probation of using methamphetamine again. The

was the case, so the lawyer claimed, bias against interracial marriage. But including the judge, Christie's lawyer and the probation officer and Correctional Institute all seemed to have agreed with the Correctional Institute that her chance of success on probation is directly related to her husband." Moreover, the implications of Christie's risk factors made their relationship a candidate for a kind of therapeutic intervention. Her risk/needs profile was fundamentally different from that of a more thoroughgoing interven-

tion. But eventually she did request to have the divorce proceedings while she and Justin were still together. Her sentence was changed and she was granted a divorce.

At the center of the terms of her probation was a requirement that she be forbidden from having any contact with Justin. This requirement complemented the other requirements of her probation, including refraining from consuming alcohol and refraining from living with her grandmother. Christie quickly began to chafe, saying that her probation was "like being a slave" requiring her to constantly get up and go to work.

Christie found some relief because her case was now over. Since Justin and she were no longer married, they could no longer be considered a household. This was fortuitous for Christie. In the past, she had to tell me the news that Justin was in violation of his probation. Sheriff's deputies would come to his house, which, as both a convicted felon and a convicted gun owner, he was allowed to possess. Justin claimed that he was afraid of the dogs from the coyotes that roamed the area. He suspected that the police, prosecuting him, didn't actually care about the guns. They had arrested him because they suspected him of being a felon who had tried to catch him using—giving

him surprise drug tests and the like—clusive evidence. The guns charge allowed way. Christie thought it was strange that thirty days in jail. This was very short, probably made a deal with the prosecutor police. Christie said she would know if indictments came out. Based on the notes had assisted the police.

Christie assured me that she didn't reconsidered, that other factors had probably felt no longer having her fate tied to Justin once, months after our first meeting, married to Justin if they hadn't gotten around hesitation.

An Example to Others

In the clinical model of targeted punishment factors in Christie's life that led to her risk and need. These were then used to program for her within the criminal justice notably through her divorce from her risk/needs profile and, by extension, her

The teacher at the high school would the day Christie gave her presentation ers coming into her class, according to digital voice recorder, which she used to (Ms. Ivy) began the class by introducing Christie had attended that very same high school more, Christie had taken this same high (Ms. Ivy) had even been her teacher.

Ms. Ivy complemented Christie for with the class, particularly since it involved pleasant for her to tell about. She's told to be able to do that and I think you know Ms. Ivy went on to underscore the importance the students. "It's a really good thing for *because she was you*, at one time."

Christie began this way:

but had not been able to get any con-
ceded them to go after Justin a different
that Justin had only been sentenced to
in her opinion, and meant that he had
cutting attorney to cooperate with the
if that was true when the next round of
ames, she would know whether Justin
get divorced just to get her sentence
prompted it as well. And the relief she
Justin's was palpable. Still, I asked her
if she thought she would still be mar-
rested. "Absolutely," she said, without

ishment surveyed above, the various
crime were given values as indices of
to develop a targeted punishment pro-
ce system. As her life changed—most
er co-defendant/husband—so did her
er punishment.

ould not allow me to sit in on her class
a (she wasn't comfortable with strang-
o Christie). I provided Christie with a
to record her presentation. The teacher
ng Christie. She mentioned that Chris-
school fifteen years earlier. As a sopho-
health class that they were in now; she

her willingness to share her life's story
olved some things that "are not really
ling about some *failures*. I admire her
will admire her to be able to do that."
ortance of what Christie was doing for
or you guys to hear this story from her,

I'm not gonna lecture. I'm not gonna do. I just give advice. I tell my story. I be. Because where you all are sitting now said the same thing, "No, not me."

I'm 33 years old. I'll be 34 in June. I have four children, two bad marriages. My parents were drug addict-alcoholics. All sorts of abuse—emotional, mental, physical—down that road.

In 2003 I was arrested for drugs, for my life. Its really not. And I swore, like Ms. Ivy. My parents do it. Nope, not me." But I was arrested. I lost everything. I lost my life. I lost everything. Everything I had, I lost.

Christie began by affirming Ms. Ivy's story. In a very literal sense she had been in Ivy's class, same teacher—and so stood place for Ivy to become. But Christie proffered an alternative. Though she claimed she "went to Ivy's house," she locates the origins of this fate in her father's drug use and crime came from her parents. A range of abuses ("emotional, mental, physical") actions prefigured her rendezvous with Ivy. The final injury they inflicted on her was her father up becoming just like them ("drug addict, no commitment not to. Thus the "wrong" down is the one of abuse and addiction).

Christie likewise was assigned a different story. Ivy. She characterized it less in terms of Ivy's story, she said. "My house, my kids, my life was prefigured in her parent's drug use and crime. It was actualized in her cousin's betrayal."

Having established this biographic context for her presentation describing in detail her arrest and incarceration. "When you go to jail, how she had had to strip naked upon being watched. They sprayed her with "bug spray" thoroughly to make sure she was not

do anything that your parents would tell where I've been, where you could know is where I was, like Ms. Ivy said. I

Yes, I did go to this high school. . . .
ges. And went down the wrong road.
olitics; [I] was raised around that. All
physical, sexual, everything. [I've] been
or meth. And, um, it's not a fun road.
y said, in high school, "Nope, not me.
t I did. I went down that road. I was
house. I lost my kids. I lost my job. I
st.

y's characterization of her experience.
where they were—same school, same
sibly as an example of what they could
rnative rendering of her personal his-
down the wrong road," her narrative
family milieu. Christie's first exposure to
rents. At their hands Christie suffered
, physical, sexual, everything"). These
n drug use and criminality later in life.
was, perhaps, the fact that she ended
dict-alcoholics"), despite her conscious
g road" that Christie eventually went
n laid down by her parents.

erent value to this experience than Ms.
Failure than in terms of *loss*. "I lost every-
y job—everything I had, I lost." This loss
nd the abuse she suffered at their hands.
, and the state's zealous prosecution.
al foundation, Christie spent the rest
l her experience of arrest, prosecution,
il, they don't care," she said, describing
her arrival at the jail while the guards
pray" to de-lice her and examined her
trying to smuggle anything in to the

ings, and gave her an orange jumpsuit
ave,” she said.

various indignities she suffered while
d to talk to the men. Those who did,
ere put into “lock down” and forced to
f every day, for as much as thirty days.
f an hour. Those who were still eating
get to finish. Phone calls were moni-
ou say”). Visitations were frustratingly
fifteen and forty-five minutes—and
nimum, a brief embrace at the begin-
ne maximum allowed.

y humiliating. When Christie traveled
umpsuit, handcuffs around her wrists,
described the discomfort and embar-
o town for court dressed in prisoner
around her. “They don’t care who sees
in Meadville, everybody sees every-
one she knew—family member, friend,
dge them.

facts of her arrest and conviction. She
r cousin who served as the confiden-
nkedged that she had a lot of anger
ory that the last time she saw him she
couldn’t resist mentioning that things
ed they would. “The confidential infor-
what he did. He had gotten into some
e, it would get him out of the trouble
t.”

rience in the criminal justice system,
ain she emphasized the loss of dignity
courthouse] and report every month.
[The probation officer] can come to
doesn’t matter. You better be there. If
resented the constant monitoring and
anied probation, and the fact that she
g a travel permit.

er transfer from the regional jail to the
n to detail was absolute. Every restric-

tion, humiliation, indignity, and abuse invoking scenes of incarceration compelling presentation. This continued focus on the clear that for Christie, the danger in death was more than in the possibility of getting caught in the arm of the state. She stated this explicitly: "If you get caught, it will ruin your life. It's in Meadville that I'm a drug pusher. All the pain and indignities of punishment, and the stigma of conviction, that ruined Christie's life, and . . ."

At this point, Ms. Ivy broke in and shifted the narrative away from her experience of punishment into a drug user. She posed a narrative on Christie's drug use: When she had been on meth she was using at the height of her addiction (and otherwise) of maintaining her addiction. She talked about her children (none of whom were present) and to emphasize to the students how she had answered these questions dutifully. If at any point she had experienced incarceration, Ms. Ivy would just as easily have mentioned the presence of drug use and addiction.

Christie concluded her presentation by mentioning aspects of her current life in which she was successful that she had a trip planned to see two of her children when they were two and four; they were now fourteen and sixteen), that she was writing a book that was, "God willing," going to complete in the next two years. Both Christie and Ms. Ivy had chosen to pursue a degree in criminal justice.

Christie earned the admiration of the audience with her story with others. The subtle conflict between her position emerged at the beginning and end of Christie's story that in order to earn this admiration, she had to be (at least nominally) as one of failure rather than success; justice; and redemption rather than retribution. The fact that she had experienced these expectations. The fact that she had her experience of punishment reflected in her position that the various authorities had placed her in the community to the criminal justice system.

... she could remember she described, comparable to those discussed earlier in her presentation. The experience of her punishment made her drug use lay less in the substance itself and more in her becoming subject to the punitive system. Toward the end of her presentation, Christie said, "It's been three years and I'm still labeled as a criminal and I'm not." Thus it is the humiliations and the stigma associated with her criminal record, not her drug use per se.

Ivy attempted to redirect Christie's narrative away from her punishment and back to her developmental history. A number of questions focused explicitly on when Christie started using drugs; the amount of drugs; her addiction; and the cost (financial and emotional) of her addiction. Ms. Ivy also asked Christie to describe the life she had seen in almost a decade of prison. Christie answered that the most addictive meth was. Christie answered that Christie returned to her experience of being in prison and dutifully guide her back to her experi-

... on a hopeful note, mentioning those things she took the most pride in. She mentioned her children (she had last seen them in prison), her work, and that she was writing a book about her life, and that she was going to get a degree in criminal justice in the next year. Christie laughed at the irony that Christie had a degree in criminal justice.

Ivy asked people like Ms. Ivy by sharing her story to help others over the meaning of this story that Christie's presentation, however, revealed that Christie had to present her story (at a time of loss; justice rather than injustice). Christie was certainly aware that she continued to center her story around her family as a reluctance to inhabit the stigmatization in her life—from her parents to the criminal justice system—would have her assume. In

other words, Christie insisted through insist and believe, that she is a victim of control. Why should she be punished for her cousin's betrayal? Or for what?

Christie's experience demonstrates in the U.S. criminal justice system are about the criminal. Punishment is still crime, but its purpose extends beyond. Punishment is today treated as a matter of offender's life. For this, clinical information, a juridical approach to punishment, which the law itself, is treated in this context, is unresponsive to the state's efforts to intervene.

Christie was widely touted as a success. Her approach to punishment could bring lives. Christie shared this vision of her achievements since being arrested. An institution did promote what she perceived as a path that determined her capacity to live as anything but a member of the community. This is evident, of course, in the lack of intervention in the area, none of which were available (and at the poultry processing plant, it was the only viable options she saw for herself). Her path was either through school or disability.

But the more subtle impact of this was seen in Christie's school presentation. As many of us know, Christie looked forward to every year as a year in which she toured the country giving presentations. In doing the presentation she'd given at Ms. Ivy became one of her strongest supporters. When needed for a court hearing and at other schools where Christie might be asked to speak, at the same time, the presentation was part of her curriculum and thus was technically part of her punishment. The presentation was predicated on Christie's narrative about the course, then on the narrative of her experience as a drug addict and criminal.

The narrative Ms. Ivy wanted to hear was one of personal failure. She did not want

out her punishment, and continues to
of circumstances that were beyond her
for what her husband was doing? Or
her mother did?

how punishment has been refigured
found and through clinical knowledge
all occasioned by the commission of a
and any strictly juridical considerations.
means of intervening broadly into an
ation is deemed necessary. The strictly
which finds its justification solely within
as a last resort for those unwilling or
intervene therapeutically into their life.

success story, an example of how this
g about positive change in offenders'
herself and was justifiably proud of her
and yet, though this targeted interven-
as positive change, it likewise under-
other than a marginal member of the
in her futile attempts to find employ-
successful due to her criminal record
was her body itself that rebelled). The
f ultimately were "exits" from the sys-
r.

approach to punishment can be seen
mentioned above, this was an event that
r. She even imagined a future for her-
giving presentations about her experi-
gained respect from Ms. Ivy. In fact,
advocates, writing letters of support
l using her contacts to open doors at
e able to do her presentation. At the
of her community service requirement
punishment. As such, the success of the
ie first identifying with the state's nar-
eaning and significance of her experi-

ear (and wanted the class to hear) was
want to hear the narrative with which

Christie identified, which was one. Indeed, so much of Christie's ability to where, hinged on her being able to "Christie's reentry into the community the extent of her identification with a identity, which would itself continue to is this narrative—the state's narrative— expected to identify. In other words, C made available to her in the communi force her marginalization.

And perhaps this is part of the reason the probation officer, the state trooper, ness of the criminal justice system in c. In addition to the numerous "failures" from using drugs and committing mo that the system rarely helps those it p their "debt to society" seems never full

of abuse, injustice, and resentment. succeed on probation, in AA and else- accept responsibility” for her actions. was thus predicated, paradoxically, on a particular criminalized, stigmatized to marginalize her in the community. It -of her experience with which she was Christie was trapped: the only position ty was that which would further rein-

on behind the legal officials’ (the judge, r, etc.) pessimism about the effective- dealing with drugs and drug offenders. of the system to prevent the convicted re crimes, these individuals recognize processes to reenter the community, as y paid.

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onally left blank

Epilogue

“A Lot Happens in a Little Town”

This book has examined the rural American community in order to understand the evolution of American political culture as it has responded to the rise of drugs (i.e., “narcotics”). In Baker County, the response involved the repetition of many practices that were seen as threats, but it also enabled the introduction of new drug enforcement. Each chapter focuses on a different response to methamphetamine was taken within the criminal justice system, but also in the community, including schools, homes, families, stores, and businesses.

The fact that responding to the methamphetamine problem requires to mobilize such a broad swath of the local community is a reflection of the concern with narcotics has in American history. One of the most striking aspects of this research is the way in which individuals, institutions, and groups whose very sense of identity is tied to the concern with narcotics. In this regard, the book is significant in the broadest sense: it is vital in sustaining the concept of narcopolitics was introduced in the study of narcotics, and to underscore the centrality of narcotics in approaches to governance.

It would be going against the grain of the current trend of policy recommendations that would suggest a more limited role for the state. Indeed, if there is a policy implication of this research, it is simply that the issue of illicit drugs is a central part of the political culture that one can hardly imagine a community without it. This is particularly true in the rural South where significant resources are devoted to the prevention and offenses. To imagine a significant

response to methamphetamine in one to shed light on broader aspects of taken shape around the issue of illicit activity, the response to methamphetamine practices developed to address previous drug production of new practices into the field of ed on a different context in which the taking place. These included several sites t also sites outside this system, includ- ed factories, just to name a few.

thamphetamine problem could mobi- community underscores the power that erican political life. Indeed, one of the was the range of individuals, institu- f identity and purpose was tied to the the issue of narcotics is political in the particular forms and ways of life. The ed to draw attention to this aspect of ral place it occupies in contemporary

of this project to conclude with a set ld somehow improve the system as it lication to be derived from this study, gs is so deeply engrained in American agine political life in the United States he domains of law and police practice, ed to dealing with drug-related issues t policy change, such as recasting the

problem of illicit drugs as a matter of more than simply convincing the public of the need for treatment. It would require additional law and the exercise of police power directed at having illicit narcotics as a target. And, finally, the very organization and orientation of the criminal justice system, would have to undergo a reorganization the present “narco-enforcement” model, called, would be no small project (Bertoni, 2008).

Nevertheless, there appear to be fissures in the current apparatus, evidence of which emerged in the late 1990s. One of these was the air of pessimism that hung over the criminal justice system as they carried out their duties. There was a uniform feeling of frustration among these individuals regarding the intricacies of the drug trade and the inefficacy of current drug laws. There was widespread support for the prosecution of drug offenses, a stated preference for taking a punitive approach, and a sense of accomplishment that seemed to come from the work of those officials involved directly with the drug trade. I viewed it as, at best, a managerial task. The officials did not see themselves as fighting a battle against the “unwinnable” aspect of the drug war, but rather, specifically, speaks to the frustration with the current approach, openness to other approaches, in addition to the current punitive approach. This is a possibility that should be considered and embraced.

The second fissure in the system I view is the realization that the punitive approach has led to the now well-documented prison explosion over the past twenty years. Mass incarceration has placed a significant financial strain on the state and has increased the cost to incarcerate someone, particularly for long periods. This has led to being forced to entertain alternatives to the current approach, financial considerations alone. This was certainly the case in my county officials were constantly looking for alternatives to incarceration. Thus, it appeared that the current approach, the fact that the current punitive approach was not working, and imprisonment to address narcotics, was not the answer. It was a “carceral ‘big government’” (Wacziarg, 2009).

of public health, would require much more than the public health message that addiction is a disease deserving of medical treatment. Addressing the fact that the workings of the legal system are now in many ways dependent on the drug trade, so to drastically change U.S. drug policy would require a re-imagining of the legal order, and particularly the role of the drug enforcement bureaucracy," as it has been described (Tram et al. 1996).

Experiences in the contemporary narco-politics emerged during my fieldwork. The first of these was the hand-off over administrators and officials in charge of carrying out the work of drug enforcement. A cynicism bordering on resignation among officials about the stability of the current drug problem was evident in addressing it. While there was still a clear focus on drug offenders, as well as a punitive approach, there was also little sense of purpose in carrying out this work. Most of the time with the prosecution of drug offenders was an exercise in containment. They were a battle that could be won. Indeed, the cynicism which at least one officer mentioned I witnessed. It also suggests a possible alternative to or instead of the current punitive approach that would-be reformers might highlight

what I witnessed was the cost. Nationally, the well-known prison population explosion and maintaining this rate of incarceration has become a burden for governments. It is expensive to incarcerate people for long periods of time, and so governments are turning away from the punitive approach out of financial necessity. Certainly the case in Baker County, where officials were being forced to face the costs of the punitive approach, which relies on enforcement and is not economically sustainable. The era of the drug war (Tram 2009a) may truly be over.

The third fissure, related to the first, is the focus on narcotics on juridical institutions and on punishment. As demonstrated throughout chapter 5, there are numerous political and social offenders. Drug offenders constitute a category that the public has little sympathy for. In fact the targeting of drug offenders prosecuted and punished by the courts is thus an attractive means for the state to maintain its legitimacy.

But there is a cost in taking this approach with regard to incarceration. With the explicit goal of incarceration, and a line hanging over the criminal justice system, the United States continues to punish criminally in need of justification beyond the state's moral impulse to punish and the offender population. The targeting of drug offenders as a stopgap solution to this problem, justified on both punitive and actuarial grounds, one might say, between the crimes and the punishments they receive—particularly when the circumstances, including addiction, that lead to these crimes are rarely addressed in an adequate fashion—does little to bring clarity to the state's approaches to punishment.

This brings us back to the issues of the book began. What this book has argued about the issue of narcotics is to law and the courts as they are utilized to achieve “the well-ordered” United States. To imagine a future where the courts play a prominent role in this pursuit means recognizing the relationship between law, politics,

* *

Leaving the field is never easy. One who was prepared to go was Rose Hinkle, the professor who returned to the courthouse for one last time. She generously allowed me to use her copy

t two, has to do with the effects of the
tions, and particularly those focused
oughout the book, and particularly in
al incentives for states to target drug
a category of criminal for which the
public seems quite willing to see drug
by the state. Pursuing such prosecu-
ne state to pursue and ground its own

proach. This is particularly true, again,
habilitation officially abandoned as an
gering sense that “nothing works” still
em as a whole, the question of why the
minals the way it does seems increas-
the simple act of temporary incapaciti-
tes is still attempting to balance both
e administrative need to manage the
drug offenders has worked as a kind
given that their prosecution can be
rial grounds. However, the poor “fit,”
ug offenders commit and the punish-
n one factors in the various social cir-
drive this form of criminality and are
n within the criminal justice system—
wider purpose in pursuing particular

policing, law, and politics with which
attempted to show is just how central
exercise of contemporary police power
“all-regulated society” in the contempo-
e in which narcotics do not play such a
rethinking, not just the issue of narcot-
police, and politics itself.

*
of the last people I spoke to as I pre-
bation officer for Baker County. I had
t round of photocopying case files. She
copying machine, which would save me

both time and money. As I photocopied, the phone kept stopped ringing. Each call represented a client who was managing. Some calls were from probate attorneys who couldn't make it to a scheduled appointment, or who had a change of plans. Others were from lawyers, with questions about a particular client. Rose seemed tired; and there was a sense of frustration that she and other attorneys in the office felt as they carried out their work.

I gathered the stack of papers I had been looking at and interrupted Rose long enough to thank her for her help with me with my research. She told the person on the other end to hold on. "A lot happens in a little town," she said, and she smiled into a slight smile.

I nodded; but before I could say more, the person on the other end of the phone again said, "Hold on."

ed page after page, Rose's phone never
l another case she was in the midst of
tioners, explaining why they could not
or why they needed to leave the state.
ons about the status of paperwork for a
nd I understood, on a deeper level, the
rs in the local criminal justice system

ad produced and prepared to leave. I
k her for all that she had done assisting
son she was talking to on the phone to
a, doesn't it?" she said, her lips curving

ore, she was already talking to the per-
n. The smile on her face had faded.

Notes

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. "President Signs USA PATRIOT Improv Act." Retrieved on February 11, 2006, from <http://www.usdoj.gov/dea/pubs/states/releases/2006/03/20060309-4.html>.

2. The legislation in the PATRIOT Act authorized five years to train state and local law enforcement. The biggest block expenditure, dwarfing other emergency help children affected by meth, available only paltry \$4 million geared toward stopping the the DEA estimates is the source of 80 percent or the undisclosed amount (I would assume in pregnant and parenting female drug offender through grant applications. No money has been fund environmental clean up of meth labs.

3. I am indebted to Michel Foucault's discussion of the narcopolitics concept. See Foucault 1997.

4. <http://www.usdoj.gov/dea/concern/meth>

5. Walter Benjamin's experiments with ha understand modernity at the level of sensory investigations of art, architecture, and the urban

6. The names of all people and places are those who generously agreed to participate in

7. West Virginia is one of the most rural states. In the 2000 census, West Virginia had a population of 1.8 million (60,623 sq km). By contrast, the borough of Brooklyn has a population of 2.5 million over an area of 71 sq mi (184 sq km). Thus almost as densely populated as the borough of New York City than in the entire state of West Virginia. It is also one of the most homogenous states. Nine percent of the population. Only 1.1 percent of the population is foreign born. Only 1.1 percent of the population speaks a language other than English at home (<http://www.census.gov/compendia/states/54000.html>).

8. <http://www.census.gov/compendia/states/54000.html>

9. <http://www.usdoj.gov/dea/pubs/states/v>

vement and Reauthorization

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/>

authorizes \$99 million per year over the next
ment in “meth hot spots.” This is by far the
phases, such as the \$20 million allocated to
for one year and administered as grants; the
importation of meth from Mexico, which
t of the meth currently in the United States;
t is less than \$4 million) allocated to help
s, which organizations must compete for
en allocated in the PATRIOT Act bill to

ussion of “biopolitics” in my development of

h.html#8.

shish were part of his more general efforts to
experience and thus were of a piece with his
pan landscape (Benjamin 2006).

pseudonyms used to protect the privacy of
in this research.

tates in the United States. As of the last
million over an area of 24,077 sq mi. (62,359
, New York, had a population of 2.5 million
most one million more people live in one
state of West Virginia. West Virginia is
ety-five percent of the population is white.
born. And only 2.7 percent of the popula-
nome. (<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/>

ab/rankings.html.

westvirginia.html.

10. The location of the research in West Virginia is the only state in the United States in the Appalachian region. This region has long been considered one of the poorest in the rural United States. As such, there is a higher level of poverty than in other rural areas. Most significant in the context of this research is the local level about any organization or program that might be in place for the sole purpose of fixing social problems. There is a sense of an even wider uncertainty about the state's role in the region vis-à-vis the local community. I was sensitive to these local ambivalences about the state as I examined the attitudes toward law. However, the attitudes toward law I encountered in the region were documented by anthropologists in rural and urban areas of the region (Greenhouse et al. 1994). In the final analysis, the response to the uniquely "Appalachian" about the response to the state was where I conducted my research. Of more significance was the impact of drug trafficking routes spanning from Mexico into the United States and onto the eastern seaboard. The use of methamphetamine plants was also significant, as meth use was widespread. These plants were also a place where the "horizontal" and "vertical" economies overlapped.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. See, for instance, the reports issued by the National Institute of Health (2006) and the Mayo Clinic (Lineberry and Bo

2. Since 2004 more than forty states have passed legislation at the state level, the reauthorized USA PATRIOT Act includes the "Methamphetamine Epidemic Act"—a multimillion dollar package of legislation it is based, focuses on increasing the criminal penalties for producing meth. Federal prosecuting priorities shifted to focus on meth. According to the DEA, the number of federal prosecutions of meth production the anti-meth legislation went into effect. <http://www.dea.gov/pressroom/2006/060606a.html#8>

3. The legislation in the PATRIOT Act authorized the DEA to spend five years to train state and local law enforcement. The biggest block expenditure, dwarfing other employment programs, is to help children affected by meth, available only through the paltry \$4 million geared toward stopping the production of meth. The DEA estimates is the source of 80 percent of the meth or the undisclosed amount (I would assume it is the source of the pregnant and parenting female drug offender population). The money through grant applications. No money has been allocated to fund environmental cleanup of meth labs.

4. <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=100000000>

5. Unless otherwise stated, all figures presented are from the most recent edition of the U.S. Department of Justice

Carolina is significant for another reason. The region is often considered to be located entirely in the Appalachian region, but it is also considered the epicenter of social problems. The region has a slightly different history at work here. In this regard is a deep ambivalence at the state level—particularly federal—that comes to the fore in social problems. This ambivalence is part and parcel of the region and what its appropriate role should be. The region is also to such historically and culturally coded ways of thinking about the way methamphetamine was addressed. The policies implemented were remarkably consistent with those in other small town areas outside the Appalachian region. In my analysis, I could find nothing exceptional or unique about the methamphetamine problem in the area. The significance seemed to be the area's proximity to Mexico through Texas into the southeastern United States. The presence of numerous poultry processing plants was rumored to be rampant in these plants. The region is often referred to as "homemade" and Mexican methamphetamine.

The National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) has identified the region as a "meth hot spot" (Postwick 2006).

The region has passed anti-meth legislation. At the federal level, the region includes the "Combat Methamphetamine Epidemic Act" that, like the state legislation on which it is based, imposes penalties for making, taking, or circulating methamphetamine in anticipation of this new legislation. The number of meth prosecutions *tripled* in the year before the act was passed (<http://www.usdoj.gov/dea/concern/meth>).

The act authorizes \$99 million per year over the next five years to be spent in "meth hot spots." This is by far the largest amount of money in phases, such as the \$20 million allocated to the region for one year and administered as grants; the largest amount of money for the importation of meth from Mexico, which is the largest source of the meth currently in the United States; and the largest amount of money (it is less than \$4 million) allocated to help the region, which organizations must compete for. The largest amount of money allocated in the PATRIOT Act bill to the region is \$10 million.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2006/09/27/?hpid=hp%3Alocal%3A%3Ahomepage%3D%3Alocal&hpid=hp%3Alocal%3A%3Ahomepage%3D%3Alocal>

The statistics presented in this section are taken from the most recent report of the Bureau of Justice Statistics report, *Drugs*

and Crime Facts (U.S. Department of Justice, 2002). The text of this report may be found at <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/dcf/contents.htm>. See also the reader to the original document for information.

6. "Drug abuse violations" are defined by the Bureau of the Census Crime Report as: "State and/or local offenses involving the growing, manufacturing, and making of narcotics, including their derivatives, marijuana, synthetic narcotics, and barbiturates." See <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/dcf/contents.htm>.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. <http://www.triethniccenter.colostate.edu>
2. For more information on the "Meth Wars" see <http://www.methwars.com/index.aspx>.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. "Crank" is another name for methamphetamine, a form of meth that is generally of lower purity than "rock."

2. It was impossible to quantify the exact number of drug-related criminal charges. This was because drug use was often not reported by police officers of their on-the-job experience. This included practices such as surveillance, investigation, and intervention in which no arrest was made. The evidence suggests that methamphetamine was behind at least a significant number of the most common one that shaped the actions of police officers in the justice system.

3. They often used minor offenses such as trespassing, which to pressure individuals to serve as confidential informants. They knew where to get marijuana, they probably had access to the police.

4. There is a striking similarity here to the book *The Politics of Heroin* by Arthur Kleinman, which focuses on signs of addiction and illness (Kleinman 1995).

5. This quote and those that follow are taken from a report of protecting the anonymity of those involved in the study. Names have been omitted.

6. This association has national resonance. As noted by legal historian Lawrence M. Friedman could not be taken seriously believe that addicts are responsible for their actions; money for a high; and on this high they rape and kill (Friedman 1993, 356-57).

7. See also the "Faces of Meth" Program on the National Drug Abuse Web site <http://www.drugfree.org/Portal/DrugFree/FacesofMeth>. The pictures on the poster were taken from the

Bureau of Justice Statistics [2007]). A copy
p.usdoj.gov/bjs/pub/pdf/dcf.pdf, as well as
m. This report is not paginated. I refer the
ion about specific figures.

the Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform
relating to the unlawful possession, sale, use,
otic drugs including opium or cocaine and
ics, and dangerous nonnarcotic drugs such
r/bjs/dcf/enforce.htm.

u/communityreadiness.shtml.

atch” program see <http://www.methwatch>.

metamine and often refers to a particular kind
others, such as “Crystal.”

et percentage of local crimes that were
s not always accounted for in the actual
erceptions were based on the full gamut
d not just formal arrests but also informal
s, on-the-street encounters, and inter-
important point is that the perception
50 percent of crime in the county was a
ice and other members of the criminal

marijuana possession as a means through
fidential informants. Their assumption was if
ably also knew where to get meth.

e form of biomedical perception described
of disease to the neglect of the experience of

en from court documents. In the interest
d in the cases to which I refer, citations have

s as well. By the early 1990s the prominent
write, “Many people [in the United States]
for most of our violent crime: they rob to get
and rob and kill, wantonly, cruelly (Fried-

n the Partnership for a Drug Free America
gIssue/MethResources/faces/index.html.

his program, which was initially developed

by the Multnomah County (Oregon) Sheriff's anti-meth ad campaigns.

8. See, for instance, the anti-meth campaign at www.montanameth.org. The ads developed by the Montana Sheriff's Association depict the lives of middle-class white teenagers sliding even further into poverty, crime, and criminality. One of the most striking ads depicts a young male who bursts into a laundromat and steals a pair of shoes. The ad ends with the boy confronting himself in the mirror and saying, "This is supposed to be your life!" What is striking is not just the message in the ad: the boy's behavior and appearance are those of a drug addict. Notably the theme of the ad campaign is the idea that certain substances are "instantly addictive." (Morgan and Zimmer 1997.)

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. If Emily was correct in her analysis of the ways in which drug searches may be carried out, it is possible that they do not actually detect the drug or its user. However, a more in-depth investigation for drugs could take place using more sophisticated technologies such as questioning, intimidation, or more sophisticated technologies may simply offer a pretext for a more in-depth investigation.

2. Methamphetamine has been represented (and often misrepresents) use) in national media and popular culture. A common stereotype is that it is so homogenous. The association between methamphetamine and the particularly poor, rural America—remains strong in the popular imagination. But there is also a significant strain within the popular imagination that a white, middle-class drug. Indeed, a *Newsweek* article titled "Methamphetamine: Drug," published while I was living in Baker City, Oregon, stated, "Once derided as 'poor man's cocaine,'" the drug has become a major problem and on the West Coast, meth has seeped into the mainstream. "Methamphetamine: The United States." The ads produced by the Montana Sheriff's Association graphic association between methamphetamine and the poor.

3. In addition, the plant followed standard procedures for drug testing. It was involved in an accident for drugs. This was to be expected, and the employee's compensation if the employee was injured was significantly higher if the employee involved in the accident was found to be using drugs.

4. The degree to which drug detection was used in schools was times considerably. Thus, while passing a drug test was a requirement to and maintain employment at the chicken processing plant, it was also at the school for teachers or for students. Perhaps the most common use is in families, where the degree and kind of drug testing is often (and ignoring) suspicions of drug use in their children.

5. A concomitant spread of drug testing in professional sports and

s Department, and has been used in other

ign developed by the Montana Meth Project
y the organization provide graphic portray-
er deeper into a life of drugs, addiction,
is titled “Laundromat,” which shows a
d assaults and robs the people inside. The
he laundromat and screaming, “This wasn’t
that drugs are never specifically mentioned
are seen to be sufficient to indicate that he is
mpaign is “Not Even Once,” which plays on
addictive.” For a discussion of this idea see

he event, then this indicates the indirect
out. The search using the drug dog did
ver, it created an environment in which a
ce, one involving less sophisticated policing
n, and threat. Thus the use of sophisti-
or provide a context for undertaking an

d as a uniquely “white” drug (at least in its
at the level of class, the representation is not
thamphetamine and rural America—partic-
n both media and policy literature (NACo).
e media that depicts methamphetamine as
ek article titled “America’s Most Dangerous
County, stated that a shift was occurring.
rticle states, “popular mainly in rural areas
the mainstream in its steady march across
Montana Meth Project present the most
ne use and white, middle-class youth.
l industry practice by testing any employee
o determine both the company’s liability
oyee was injured. Both were diminished
ccident tested positive for drugs.

s emphasized in each institution varied, at
g test was required in order to be employed
cessing plant, no such requirement existed
haps the most diversity could be observed
g testing ranged from parents acting on (or
dren to threatening them with drug tests.
n the private sector occurred at the time. It
then migrated into business. Between 1985

and 1986 use of drug testing in America's For a way to screen applicants and deter drug use

6. The issue of legality is a complicated one in public schools is not inherently illegal, it is complications, which mitigate against its imp is permitted only among students participating if enough "reasonable suspicion" exists that a school officials to ask them to submit to a drug

7. Though he did not name it as such, "rea developed with specific reference to Fourth A dure. It is now a recognized legal term that re the perception of various indicators that a per in some form of criminal activity as justificati exists in the gray area between a "hunch" and to perform search and seizure under the Con was originally developed in the case of *Terry* ruled that it was constitutional for police offic they suspected was going to commit a crime, probable cause. The principle was then exten in the case of *New Jersey v. TLO*. In this case, t bathroom. One, referred to only by her initial vice principal at the school searched her purs drug paraphernalia, marijuana, and a list of n selling drugs. The Supreme Court ruled that t tional under the principle of reasonable suspi

8. Drug testing of employees and potentia the 1980s, despite the fact that they do not ap use, increasing productivity, or enhancing saf conclude that their utility is largely anthropol and monitor outsiders and unfamiliar: "Sinc tion or credentials, ordeals and surveillance a reputability. . . . Drug testing, as an ordeal, is reputability"(Tunnell 2004, 105).

9. http://www.leadtds.com/law_enforcement

10. http://www.leadtds.com/local_educators

11. http://www.leadtds.com/law_enforcement/com/local_educators/index.html.

12. http://www.dare.com/home/about_dare

13. <http://www.dare.com/newdare.asp>.

Fortune 500 companies increased 25 percent as
among employees.

e. Although drug testing of students
dogged by a host of legal and political
implementation. Currently, random drug testing
ing in extracurricular activities. Alternatively,
student has been using drugs, it is lawful for
ing test.

reasonable suspicion” is a legal principle that
amendment concerns regarding police proce-
fers to certain police practices, which use
erson might be engaged in or about to engage
ion for intervention. As a legal concept it
the “probable cause” required for police
stitution’s Fourth Amendment. The term
v. Ohio (1968), in which the Supreme Court
cers to detain and search someone whom
but did not have enough evidence to claim
ded to schools in 1985 through the decision
two girls were accused of smoking in the
ls T.L.O, denied ever having smoked. The
e for cigarettes and in the process discovered
ames, which he read as a sign that she was
the vice principal’s actions were constitu-
cion.

l employees has grown in popularity since
pear effective at curbing employee drug
ety (Tunnell 2004). This led Tunnell to
ogical, a means to ritualistically evaluate
e strangers, by definition, have no reputa-
re used to determine trustworthiness or
a highly ritualistic process for determining

ent/index.html.

ors/index.html.

ent/index.html and <http://www.leadtds>.

re.asp.

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and State Building. Lanham, MD:
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Index

- AA. *See* Alcoholics Anonymous
- ABLE. *See* Adult Basic Learning Examination
- Addiction: cognitive models of crime and, 66–70, 68; counselors, 19, 67–68; crimes not excused by, 73–74; crimes seen as linked to, 70–72, 169n6; criminal behavior as symptom of, 61–63; as intervention medium, 61–62; knowledge of, 61–81; law enforcement focus and, 15; police presentations defining, 64; state lens of methamphetamine, 72–81; triggers, 142
- Addictiveness, 133; defined, 65; thinking and, 67–69, 68
- Addicts: criminalization of, 62–63; drug offenders considered, 130; interviews with, 16–17, 135–40; treatment success rate, 19. *See also* Cases/case files; Drug offenders; Users
- ADHD. *See* Attention deficit hyperactivity disorder
- Administration, methamphetamine methods of, 22, 51
- Adopt-A-Highway volunteers, 47–48, 56
- Adult Basic Learning Examination (ABLE), 147
- Albright, Wendell (guidance counselor), 91, 92, 93–94, 97
- Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), 118–19, 133, 142, 161
- Ammonia, anhydrous, 55
- Amphetamines: 1960s/1970s, 23–24; quotas, 24; tablets, 23
- Anhydrous ammonia, 55

Anthropologists, on “figures on criminality,” 62

Anti-drug media campaigns, 80, 169n7, 170n8

Anti-meth ad campaigns, 80, 169n7, 170n8

Appalachian culture, 37–38

Arrests: Baker County first major, 111; income/class and, 105; Terry’s, Christie, 143–44, 152

Attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), 23

Auerbach, Mike/Wanda, 118–22

Awareness, methamphetamine problem, 37, 38–41

Baker County, 11–15; arrests per year in, 105; awareness of methamphetamine problem, 38–41; community events, 16; Community Readiness Assessment, 37; cost/availability of test kits in, 101; criminal justice system, 21–22; drug detection system, 88–91; ethnographic background on, 7, 11–15; Federal Drug Task Force in, 70, 104–5, 110–11; first major meth arrest in, 111; jail, 66–70, 71–72, 102; methamphetamine production in, 41–44; meth labs in, 40, 52–56; narcopolitics, 7–8; policing in, 44–49, 103–4; prosecuting attorney for, 20–21, 75–76; user image in, 84

Barker, Jimmy, 53, 56

Behavior, symptoms of addiction, 61–63

Benjamin, Walter, 167n5

Bennett, Joan, 87

Bensedrine, 25
 Bible study meeting, 38–39
 Blackstone, William, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 3
 Board of Education, letter from, 112
 Body, physical, 61, 77–81, 78, 169n4, 169n7
 “Body on drugs” poster, 78, 78–80, 169n7
 Bottoms, Lester (police officer), 100
 Bourdieu, Pierre, 44
 Breathalyzers, 89
 Burdette, Ken, 135–40
 Bush, Vice President George, 90
 Bush, George W., 1

Califano, Jr., Joseph, 26
 Carson, Shelly (addiction counselor), 67–68
 CASA. *See* National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse
 Cases/case files, 17, 21, 54, 72–77; Auerbach, Mike/Wanda, 118–22; Culler/Swift, Burt/Mandy, 59–60; Curtis, Eddie, 75–77; Grate, Donnie, 43, 53–56; Hopper, Dwight, 72–74, 75; Johnson, David, 103, 104, 107–18; overview of Federal Drug Task Force, 110–11; pre-sentence evaluations in, 142–46; Stevens, Emily, 83–84, 87–88, 102; Stokes, Justin/Christie, 106, 122–27, 140, 155–56; Terry, Christie, 106, 122–27, 140–61. *See also* Interviews; Users
 Casterman, Greg (staff attorney), 94–97
 Chemicals, 56; precursor, 44, 46; use of widely available, 22–23
 Children, 26, 92–93
 Citizens: law enforcement concern of, 14, 20; mobilizing of, 46–47; policing by, 41; relations with law enforcement, 14, 20
 Class: arrests and, 105; criminalization of drug users and, 98; drug-detection and, 85–86; middle, 83–102, 170n2
 Cleanup, meth lab, 50, 168n3
 Clinical information, 130–61; forensics and, 130; pre-sentence evaluations, 142–46; prison evaluations, 146–49; risk/needs profile for, 130; sentencing based on, 139–42; state intervention through, 150, 160; targeted punishment through, 152–56

Clinics, mental health, 138

Cocaine, 27, 50

Cochran, Janice, 20

Code Red, 92

Cognitive models, addiction-crime, 66–70, 68

Combat Methamphetamine Epidemic Act, 28

Commentaries on the Laws of England (Blackstone), 3

Community: “imminent threat to,” 107; lost vision of, 57; marginal members of, 127; policing by, 41, 44–49, 103–4; reentry into, 161; sentencing influenced by, 116–17, 121–22, 144; service, 160

Community events, ethnographic participation in, 16

Community Readiness Assessment, 37

Concerned Citizens United Against Crime, 14, 20

Confidential Informants, 103–4, 108–9, 111, 122–23, 124, 154

Controlled buys, 103–4, 108–9, 111, 122–23, 124

Conviction: rates, 32; Terry’s, Christie, arrest and, 143–44, 152

Cooks, description by local, 43

Corbin, Joey, 38, 39

Cost, drug test kits, 101

Counselors: addiction, 19, 67–68; guidance, 91, 92, 93–94, 97

Country stores, 45–46

Cravens, Arthur (judge), 133–35

Crime: addiction in drug-related, 70–72, 169n6; addiction not excusing, 73–74; cognitive models of addiction and, 66–70, 68; drug-related, 32, 70–72, 169n2, 169n6; drugs and, 30–35, 59–63; focus shift to criminal from focus on, 131, 149–50; penalties for meth-related, 12; property, 59–60, 76. *See also* Drug-crime connection

Criminality: behavioral symptoms of addiction, 61–63; “figures of,” 62; physical features of, 61, 79–80, 169n7; thinking and, 67–69, 68

Criminalization: addict, 62–63; class and, 98; drug dealer, 10; focus shift from crime to criminal, 131, 149–50; user sense of identity and, 138–39

Criminal justice system: Baker County, 21–22; drugs and, 2, 105–7, 164–65; drug testing, 11; inadequacy of/lack of faith in, 81; knowledge of addiction in, 61, 63; major structural contradiction in, 43; morality and, 11, 165; paradigm shift in, 2; punishment practices, 130–61; punitive paradigm in, 1, 2, 10–11, 30, 167n2; reorienting of, 22; summary of problems with, 163–66. *See also* Law enforcement; Policing; State

Culler, Burt, 59–60

Culture: Appalachian, 37–38; political, 21–22, 34, 163, 165

Curtis, Eddie, 75–77

DARE. *See* Drug Abuse Resistance Education

DEA. *See* Drug Enforcement Administration

Dealers, criminalization of drug, 10

Deer Cocaine, 50

“Defendant’s Statement and Attitude,” 144

Delivery of a Schedule II Controlled Substance, 118

Denial, parental, 93–94

Department of Health and Human Resources (DHHR), 87

Department of Natural Resources (DNR), 41, 49–52, 53

Department of Transportation (DOT), 48

Deputy, sheriff’s, 100; interview, 20, 70–71, 77–79, 104

Deputy sheriff, 20, 77–79

Detoxification, 66, 69

DHHR. *See* Department of Health and Human Resources

Dignity, loss of, 158–59

Discipline and Punish (Foucault), 131

Divorce, 153–56

Dixon, Connie (teacher), 92

DNR. *See* Department of Natural Resources

Dogs, drug detection using, 88–89, 92, 101

Dopamine, 64

DOT. *See* Department of Transportation

Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE), 6, 101–2

Drug abuse violations, defined, 169n6

Drug-crime connection: cognitive models for, 66–70; national view of addiction and, 169n6; statistics, 32, 70, 169n2

Drug dealers, criminalization, 10

Drug detection, 9, 85–91, 170n4; Baker County system of, 88–91; class and, 85–86; drug dogs for, 88–89, 92, 101; informed observation as, 87; by parents, 88, 97–102; police power and, 85–86; U. S. twentieth-century, 89–91, 170n5. *See also* Drug testing

Drug dogs, 88–89, 92, 101

Drug education: DEA school presentation, 92, 94; lack of funding for, 4, 168n2, 168n3; policing and, 63–66, 69; Terry's high school presentation, 151, 156–61

Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), 4, 25, 26; drug education/presentation in school by, 92, 94; profile of West Virginia, 11

Drug offenders: as addicts, 130; Drug abuse violations definition, 169n6; focus on, 59–63; funding to help parenting/female, 168n3; interviewed by police officer, 59–60; marginalization of, 132, 139–40; political incentives for targeting, 165; prosecution statistics, 32. *See also* Addicts

Drug searches: drug dogs for, 88–89, 92, 101; indirect, 83, 170n1; students finding out ahead of time, 92–93

Drug testing: class and, 85–86; criminal justice system use of, 11; employee, 86, 96, 170n3, 170n5, 171n8; Fortune 500 applicants, 170n5; industry, 91; institutional risks of, 95; institutional variations, 88, 170n4; kits, 101; national programs for, 6, 97–102; potential employee, 171n8; poultry processing plant, 86, 89, 170n3; random, 13–14, 86, 95; in schools, 91–94; urine-based, 90; voluntary, 90

Drug trafficking, 70; West Virginia and, 11–12, 104, 168n10

Drugs: cocaine, 27, 50; crimes and, 30–35, 59–63; crimes related to, 32, 70–72, 169n2, 169n6; criminal justice system and, 2, 105–7, 164–65; as criminogenic, 62–63; drug control expansion, 49–52; heroin, 27; morphine, 39; “most dangerous” label, 30; physical signs of use, 61, 77–81, 78, 169n4, 169n7. *See also* Narcotics; War on Drugs

Dubber, Markus, 3, 8, 43, 107

Education. *See* Board of Education, letter from; Drug education

Employees: drug testing, 86, 170n3, 171n8; drug testing prospective, 96, 170n5, 171n8; experiences, 118–22, 152–53, 160

Employment, probation and, 152–53

Ephedrine, 27, 44

Ethnographic approach, 6; Baker County and, 7, 11–15; community events and, 16; methods for, 15–17

Experiences: failure v. loss in Terry’s, 157–58, 159–61; poultry factory employee, 118–22, 152–53, 160; user, 22, 83, 123

False positives, 95, 141

Family dynamics, 86–87

FDA. *See* Food and Drug Administration (FDA)

Federal Drug Task Force, 12, 20, 42, 56; Baker County undercover, 70, 104–5, 110–11; case overview, 110–11; confidential informants in, 103–4, 108–9, 111, 122–23, 124

Feinstein, Dianne, 28

Fellowship of Christian Athletes, 87

Ferguson, Carl (head addiction counselor), 19

Fields, Frank (police officer), 63–69

Figures of criminality: addicts as, 62–63; drug dealers as, 10

Food and Drug Administration (FDA), 27

Forensics, 130

Formication, 64

Fortune 500 companies, drug testing of applicants, 170n5

Foucault, Michel, 4, 131–32, 167n3; *Discipline and Punish*, 131

Freud, Sigmund, 40

Friedman, Lawrence, 43

Funding, 9, 135, 164; drug education attracting, 66; law enforcement, 1, 30, 167n2, 168n3; meth lab cleanup, 50, 168n3; punitive paradigm in, 1, 167n2; rehabilitation, 69–70, 134; treatment/education and, 4, 168n2, 168n3; War on Drugs, 9

Gaines, Jennifer (SAPC coordinator), 37

Gardner, Daniel (prosecuting attorney), 20–21, 75–76

Garland, David, 61

Global commodities, 5

Global trends, 27–29

Gonzales, Alberto, 22, 29

Governance: cost of narcopolitical apparatus, 164; narcopolitics practice in twentieth-century, 6; pharmaceuticals and, 27–28; punitive/actuarial modes of, 10–11. *See also* Criminal justice system; Funding; Law enforcement; State

Grand Larceny, 72

Grate, Donnie, 43, 53–56

Guidance counselor, 91, 92, 93–94, 97

Habilitation, 133–35

Haggerty, Kevin, 97, 98

Harrison Act of 1914, 9, 30

Hashish, 167n5

Hatch, Orrin, 28

Hazelden Foundation, 67

Health, mental, 33, 138, 145

Health management, pharmaceuticals for, 27–28

Hell's Angels, 42

Heroin, 27

High school presentation, Terry's, 151, 156–61

Hinkle, Rose (probation officer), 71–72, 140, 165–66

Hinkle, Sandy, 38

History: erasure of political, 29; narco-politics legislative, 30–35; twenty-first century methamphetamine, 22–25

Hopper, Dwight, 72–74, 75

Hutchins, Glenda, 86–87, 102

Incarceration, class and, 102

Income, arrests and, 105

Informants: confidential, 103–4, 108–9, 111, 154; controlled buys, 103–4, 108–9, 122–23, 124; marijuana offenses used to obtain, 169n3

Informed observation, 87

Ingredients, meth production, 22, 24, 42

Inhalers, 23

Institutions: drug testing at various types of, 88, 170n4; risks of drug testing associated with various, 95

International Narcotics Control Board, 28

Interracial marriage, 153, 155

Intervention: addiction as medium for, 61–62; clinical information channel for state, 150, 160; middle-class drug testing form of, 98–102; military, 9–10; regulatory/legislative, 12; targeted, 8–9, 153–56, 165

Interviews: with addicts, 16–17, 135–40; DNR officer, 49–52; guidance counselor, 91, 92, 93–94, 97; with judge, 133–35; person-centered, 135–40; police officer, 70–72, 93; police officer/drug offender, 59–60; with probation officer, 129, 161; with sheriff's deputy, 20, 70–71, 77–79, 104

IQ, 149

Jail: Baker County, 66–70, 71–72, 102; class and, 102; treatment programs, 66, 67, 69–70, 71–72

Johnson, David (case of), 103, 104, 107–18; probation of, 113; trial of, 108–10

Judge: interview with, 133–35; sentencing role of, 150

Juridical field, 44

Keezle, Matt (DNR officer), 49–52
 Kent, Charlie (state road worker), 48
 Knowledge, 61; of addiction, 61–81; clinical, 130–61; drug search prior, 92–93; workers, 63
 Korsmeyer, Pamela, 30–31

 Latinos/Latinas, Baker County, 13
 Law enforcement: addiction focus of, 15; citizens relations with, 14, 20; class basis of, 102; funding for, 1, 30, 167n2; methamphetamine response through angle of, 1, 21–22; military intervention in civilian, 9–10; narcotics focus on, 1–4; police power expansion within field of, 49–52. *See also* Policing
 Law Enforcement Against Drugs (LEAD), 97–98
 LEAD. *See* Law Enforcement Against Drugs; Local Educators Against Drugs
 Legal habitus, 44
 Legality: scientifico-legal complex, 131; student drug testing issues of, 93, 95, 171n6
 Legislation: meth production chemicals, 41, 56; narcopolitics and, 30–35; over-the-counter medication 1970s, 27; PATRIOT Act, 1, 28, 30, 167n2, 168n2, 168n3; penalties for meth-related crimes, 12; policy changes, 163–64; political history erased by anti-methamphetamine, 29; search/seizure, 31
 Liberalism, War on Drugs and, 31
 Lively, Bobby (jail warden), 66, 69
 Local channels, police power through, 43–44
 Local Educators Against Drugs (LEAD), 97, 98–102
 Lombroso, Cesare, 79
 Lovell, Anne, 24
 Lutz, Catherine, 31

 Mackie, Dustin, 45
 Mackie, Jerry, 45
 Major structural contradiction, 43
 Manchin, Joe, 12

Marginalization, 132; treatment fostering sense of, 132, 139–40
 Marijuana, 27, 70, 169n3; informants obtained through offenses of, 169n3
 Markets: expansion of medication, 27–28; interdependence of licit/illicit, 24, 27–28
 Marriage, interracial, 153, 155
 Mathews, Dana (board president), 94, 96
 Mayo Clinic, 23
 McDonald, Gil, 51–52
 McKinney, Ronnie (sheriff’s deputy), 100
 Media: anti-meth campaigns, 80, 169n7, 170n8; “Body on drugs” poster, 78, 78–80, 169n7; class and, 83–85, 170n2; *Newsweek*, 25, 84–85, 170n2
 Medications: market expansion, 27–28; over-the-counter, 27, 44
 Medicinal use, 23
 Mental health, 33, 145; clinic, 138
 Messinger, Larry, 53, 54, 56
 Methamphetamine: addictiveness, 65, 67–69, 68, 133; administration methods for taking, 22, 51; alleged proliferation of, 4–5; definition of, 22; distinguishing features of, 6–7; eastward spread of, 24–25; enhanced productivity from, 123; first synthesis of, 23; global trends, 27–29; increased domestic production of, 25; law enforcement emphasis/response to, 1, 21–22; medicinal uses of, 23; military use of, 23, 42; nicknames for, 87, 169n1; physical signs of use, 61, 77–81, 78, 169n4, 169n7; political role of, 1, 4; production process, 22–23; recipes, 24; research focus on, 6–7; rise in use of, 24; rural/white drug representation of, 25–26; statistics on proliferation of, 4; twenty-first century history of, 22–25; user experiences, 22, 83; “Vague Awareness” of, 37, 38–41; waste dumps, 48; as “white” drug, 170n2. *See also* Addiction; Production; Production process
 Meth labs, 7, 22–23; Baker County, 40, 52–56; cleaning up after, 50, 168n3; DNR jurisdiction to deal with, 49–52; first, 24; funding for training on, 168n3; locating,

52–56; rural image of, 26, 40–41; statistics on incidents concerning, 40; superlabs, 28; West Virginia incidents of, 12

Methodology, research, 15–17. *See also* Administration, methamphetamine methods of

Middle-class, 83–102, 170n2; drug testing and, 96–97; parents, 92–93, 96–102; protection from scrutiny, 85–86, 96–97; shielding of, 85–86, 96–97; treatment facilities for, 102

Military: drug testing in, 90; intervention, 9–10; methamphetamine use by, 23, 42; Nazi, 42

Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory-2 (MMPI-2), 147

MMPI-2. *See* Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory-2

Montgomery, Daryl (deputy sheriff), 20, 77–79

Moore, Dawn, 97, 98

Morality, 11, 165

Morphine, 39

Musto, David, 30–31

NA. *See* Narcotics Anonymous

NACo. *See* National Association of Counties

Narco-enforcement bureaucracy, 164

Narcopolitics, 3, 5–11, 167n3; Baker County, 7–8; definition/background, 5, 167n5; drug testing in, 11; fissures in contemporary, 164–65; intervention focus on, 8–9; key features of contemporary, 8–11; legislative policy history and, 30–35; twentieth-century governance and, 6

Narcotics, 28; as global commodities, 5; law enforcement context for, 1–4; police power and, 22

Narcotics Anonymous (NA), 20, 67, 118–19, 133

National Association of Counties (NACo), 26

National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse (CASA), 25–26

National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA), 25

National Public Radio (NPR), 31
National Southwest Border Counternarcotics Strategy, 10
National Survey on Drug use and Health, 4
Nazi military, 42
Newsweek, 25, 84–85, 170n2
Nicknames, 87, 169n1
NIDA. *See* National Institute on Drug Abuse
Nixon, Richard, 30–31
Noriega, Manuel, 10
Normalization, 132–33
NPR. *See* National Public Radio

Obama administration, 10
Observation, informed, 87
Oregon Pharmacy Board, 28
Outpatient treatment program, mental health clinic, 138
Over-the-counter medications: 1970s legislation on, 27; precursor chemicals regulations and, 44

Paradigm, punitive, 1, 10–11, 30, 167n2; shift to, 2
Parents: alerting students/children to imminent drug search, 92–93; denial of, 93–94; drug detection by, 88, 97–102; middle-class, 92–93, 96–102
Pastor’s letter, 119
PATRIOT Act, 1, 28, 30, 167n2, 168n2, 168n3
Penalties: meth-related crimes, 12; positive results and, 90; smuggling, 1
Pens, pieces of, 51
Person-centered interviews, 135–40
Pessimism, 129, 134–35, 161, 164
Pew Research Center for the People and the Press (PEW), 7, 26
Pharmaceutical industry: amphetamine quotas, 24; health management and, 27–28
“Pharmaceutical leakage,” 24, 27
Phillips, Casey (deputy), 70–71, 77, 78–79
Physical body: criminality features in, 61, 79–80; signs of methamphetamine use in, 61, 77–81, 169n4

Pine, Jason, 22

Plea agreement, 108, 109, 143

Pleasure-tension cycle, 65

Police officers, 100; community policing bothering, 103–4; drug offenders interviewed by, 59–60; educational presentations by, 63–66, 69; interviews with, 70–72, 93; as knowledge workers, 63; marijuana offenses used by, 169n3

Police power: drug-detection and, 85–86; expansion of, 47–52; local channels for, 43–44; narcotics and, 22; sites/sources of, 3; of state, 2–3, 43–44

Policing: citizens involved in, 41; community involved in, 41, 44–49, 103–4; country stores involved in, 44–45; drug education and, 63–66, 69; possession, 8–9, 105; striated, 85

Policy changes, 163–64

Political: culture, 21–22, 34, 163; incentives for targeting drug offenders, 165

Political history, legislation erasing, 29

Politics: elections influenced by narcotic focus, 2; methamphetamine role in, 1, 4

Poll, on War on Drugs, 34

Population: methamphetamine use, 25–26; prison, 8, 32–33, 130, 164; West Virginia, 167n7

Positive test results: false, 95, 141; PCP, 141; penalties for, 90

Possession, 41, 107, 122; policing, 8–9, 105

Poster, “body on drugs,” 78, 78–80, 169n7

Poultry processing plant, 136; drug testing at, 86, 89, 170n3; employee experiences, 118–22, 152–53, 160; enhanced productivity and, 123

Poultry processing plants, 13–14, 55, 168n10

Poverty, 134

Precursor chemicals, 44, 46

Prenatal care, 89

Pre-sentence evaluations, 142–46; twelve points of interest in, 144

Prevention, 37, 38, 39–40, 86–88, 102; LEAD/DARE programs as, 101

Prisons, 102; clinical evaluations in, 146–49; increased population of, 8, 32–33, 130, 164

Probation, 33, 41, 54, 72, 74; employment and, 152–53; loss of dignity and, 158–59; officers, 71–72; poor candidate for, 75–76; purpose of, 129–30
 Probation officer, 140–41; interview/pessimism of, 129, 161
 Production, methamphetamine: Baker County, 41–44; increased domestic, 25; ingredients in, 22, 24, 42; items associated with, 47; local cook’s description of, 43; recipe, 24; rural location of, 26; use of widely available chemicals in, 22–23
 Production process, 22–23; key ingredients in, 27
 Productivity, enhanced, 123
 Proliferation, alleged methamphetamine, 4–5
 Property crimes, 59–60, 76
 Prosecuting attorney, Baker County, 20–21, 75–76
 Prosecution: drug offender statistics, 32; language of, 106; state power legitimized by, 105–8, 126–27
 Pseudoephedrine, 29, 44; production, 27
 Psychosis, 19
 Public support: of David Johnson’s conviction, 112–13; state power and, 107, 117–18
 Punishment: clinical evaluation part of, 130–61; crime not focus of, 149–50; drug testing and, 90; marginal members of community, 127; moral impulse in system of, 165; penalties for meth-related crimes, 12; policing threats v., 107; purpose of, 130, 149–53; targeted, 152–56
 Punitive paradigm, 1, 30, 167n2; actuarial modes of governance and, 10–11; moral objections providing fuel to, 11

Race, 25–26, 124; interracial marriage, 153, 155
 Random drug tests, 13–14, 86, 95
 Reagan, Ronald, 90
 Reagan administration, 9
 Reasonable suspicion, principle of, 94–97, 171n7
 Recipes, 24
 Recovery story, Christie Terry’s, 141–61

Regulations: chemical, 43; intervention and, 12; precursor chemical, 44

Rehabilitation: funding for, 69–70, 134; habilitation efforts as, 133–35

Research, 7, 26; Baker County as site of, 11–15; -based refusal strategies, 101; ethnographic approach to, 6; initial course of, 19–22; methamphetamine focus of, 6–7; methodology, 15–17

Risk/needs profile, 130

Risk profiling, 96

Road workers, state, 48–49

Rural America, 7; methamphetamine representation and, 25–26; Meth labs image and, 26, 40–41

Saliva test, 99

SAPC. *See* Substance Abuse Prevention Coalition

Schools: drug testing in, 91–94; Terry's, Christie, high school presentation, 151, 156–61

Scientifico-legal complex, 131

Search/seizure laws, 31. *See also* Drug detection; Drug searches

Sentencing: clinical knowledge in, 130–61; community sentiment and, 116–17, 121–22, 144; confidential informant, 104; example of clinical information as basis of, 139–42; judge's role in, 150; pre-sentence evaluations, 142–46. *See also* Conviction

Service, community, 160

Sheerer, Michael (sheriff), 93

Shenandoah Valley, 12, 26, 104

Sheriff, 93

Sheriff's deputy, interview with, 20, 70–71, 77–79, 104

Situational drug tests, 95–96

Smith, Carla (head of Department of Health and Human Resources), 87

Smuggling, 1

State: intervention through clinical information, 150, 160; methamphetamine through lens of, 72–81; police power of, 2–3; road workers, 48–49; as victim, 105–6

State power: prosecution legitimizing, 126–27; public support and, 107, 117–18

Statistics: amphetamine 1960s/1970s, 23–24; DARE, 100–101; drug-crime, 32, 70, 169n2; methamphetamine proliferation, 4; national meth lab incidents, 40; population use, 25–26; treatment, 19; West Virginia meth lab, 12

Stevens, Emily, 83–84, 87–88, 102

Stokes, Christie. *See* Terry, Christie

Stokes, Justin, 106, 122–27, 140, 155–56

Stores: county, 44–45; precursor chemical policies of, 46

Students: drug search prior knowledge of, 92–93; high/low-risk, 94; legality of drug testing on, 93, 95, 171n6

Substance Abuse Prevention Coalition (SAPC), 37, 38, 39–40, 102; meeting, 86–88

Sudafed, Pfizer's, 27

Suo, Steve, "Unnecessary Epidemic," 28

Superlabs, 28

Supreme Court decisions, 9

Suspicion, 57; -based drug tests, 95

Swift, Mandy, 59–60

Symptoms, addiction, 61–63

Targeted interventions, 8–9, 152–56, 165; punishment and, 152–56; Terry's divorce as, 153–56

TDS. *See* Total Diagnostic Services

Technology, drug detection. *See* Drug detection

Terrorism, 1

Terry, Christie, 106, 122–27, 140–61; arrest/conviction of, 143–44, 152; divorce as targeted intervention in life of, 153–56; failure v. loss in experience of, 157–58, 159–61; pre-sentence evaluation, 142–46; prison evaluation, 146–49

Tests. *See* Drug detection; Drug testing

Thinking, criminal/addictive, 67–69, 68

Threats, policing, 107

Tolerance, 64–65

Total Diagnostic Services (TDS), 97, 101

Trafficking, West Virginia and, 11–12, 104, 168n10

Training: DNR, 52; funding for law enforcement/meth lab, 168n3

Treatment: cases with little access to, 125; effectiveness, 15, 19; failure of programs for, 133–34; funding for, 4, 135, 168n2, 168n3; jail programs for, 66, 67, 69–70, 71–72; lack of focus on, 7, 15; limited options for, 71–72; middle-class access to, 102; success rate, 19

Trial: Johnson’s, David, 108–10, 113–16; plea agreement replacing, 108, 109, 143

Triggers, addiction, 142

Truckers, 25

Tunnell, Kenneth D., 91

United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC), 27

United States (U.S.), drug detection in twentieth-century, 89–91, 170n5

“Unnecessary Epidemic” (Suo), 28

UNODC. *See* United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime

Urine-based drug testing, 90

USA PATRIOT Improvement and Reauthorization Act. *See* PATRIOT Act

Users: Baker County image of, 84; criminalization of identity of, 138–39; experiences of, 22, 83, 123; interviews with recovering, 135–40; middle-class, 83–102, 170n2; truckers as, 25. *See also* Addicts; Cases/case files

“Vague Awareness,” 37, 38–41

Valverde, Marianna, 43

Vicodin, 45

Victim, state as, 105–6

Violations, definition of drug abuse, 169n6

Volunteers, Adopt-A-Highway, 47–48, 56

WAIS-R. *See* Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-Revised

War on Drugs, 6, 8–9, 30–35; ambivalence towards, 7; impact on American life, 31; Obama administration on use of term, 10; public view of, 34

Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-Revised (WAIS-R), 147

“Well-regulated society,” 2

West Virginia, 7, 37, 47; characteristics of, 11–12, 168n10; DEA profile of, 11; drug trafficking and, 11–12, 104, 168n10; meth lab incidents, 12; population of, 167n7.
See also Baker County

West Virginia Division of Environmental
Protection, 47

West Virginia Prevention Resource Center
(WVPRC), 37

World War II, 23

Worthen, Chris, 38

WVPRC. *See* West Virginia Prevention
Resource Center

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