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*"The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways;
the point, however, is to change it."*

–Karl Marx, "XI" from "Theses on Feuerbach"

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EDITOR'S NOTE

It is with great pleasure that we introduce the fourth volume of Eleven: The Undergraduate Journal of Sociology. We would like to thank the University of California Berkeley, Department of Sociology for its generous support and for the excellence of the undergraduate program that enriches and nurtures the inquisitive minds of students, making Eleven possible.

This journal was founded upon the promise to recognize exceptional undergraduate work and to invite young sociologists to participate in the academic community of lifelong learners. Eleven continues to fulfill this promise by celebrating individual authors for their contributions as well as encouraging further dialogue and inquiry amongst its readers. In efforts to fully meet the responsibility of being an undergraduate voice, starting with this volume, Eleven has expanded its publication to include short theoretical papers and social commentaries as well. This expansion has been carefully considered amongst the editorial board for quite some time, and together it was decided that there is merit not only to original research, but also to original interpretation and new theoretical conversations. We must acknowledge the potential of our audience and foster a culture of inclusion and accessibility of the knowledge that we aim to gather. As a publication built upon Marx's "Eleventh Thesis", we continue to reflect on our ability to move beyond interpretations to incite actual change. Our success is unlikely to be measured simply in our actions as a publication, but in the actions of our readers, and authors, whose scholarship creates resultant waves of secondary thought and actions.

We begin this volume with Alexandra Matthews' piece on drug users, addiction ideologies, and the interaction between users and discursive power structures that they encounter. This study exemplifies the importance of qualitative research by integrating user narratives and perspectives into the existing addiction dialogue. Iyla Ollinger problematizes the rhetoric and recruitment strategies employed by a popular political action campaign: Rock the Vote. Her analysis highlights how these particular strategies can isolate voting as a singular action that separates voters from the historic context and political consequence resulting in a phenomenon called reification. In our third paper, Dana Maier-Zucchino illustrates the historical depoliticization of hip-hop: an industry's erosion of socially conscious music production as well as the perpetuation of invisibility amongst certain groups of artists. Our final paper celebrates the 50th anniversary of the Free Speech Movement in an essay co-authored by my managing editor Wailam Wong and myself as a critical examination of the role of intellectuals during the Free Speech Movement on Berkeley campus. This paper is a theoretical analysis of the stances of several professors using Pierre Bourdieu's theory on the role of intellectuals and scientific field.

We hope that this journal brings you the same great pleasure to read that it has brought to our publication to print and share. May it encourage conversation and deep thought, and for every question it answers, may it inspire a thousand more.

Souma Kundu,
Eleven Editor-in-Chief

"Soldiers" and "Skulls": Understandings of Addictions and Stigma Among Drug Users and Drinkers

Alexandra Matthews
University of California, Berkeley

Abstract

In the mid-1960s, the shift from criminalization to medicalization of addiction and other social issues shifted the paradigms used for debating definitions and treatment methods for addiction and substance abuse (Rosenbaum 1995). The debate constantly attempts to define drug users as a population and drug use as a deviant behavior for which a regime of normalization must be prescribed, becoming a discursive tool that perpetuates existing power relations. This mode of domination is consistent with Michel Foucault's theory of the shift towards disciplinary society. Some users are normalized, becoming productive and efficient members of society, described by one research subject as "soldiers." Others are pushed to society's margins as a deviant subculture and regarded as subhuman, or "skulls," as another respondent put it. Regardless of the outcome, drug users, drinkers, addicts, and alcoholics are pulled out of social and personal contexts and labeled by the isolated condition of their drug use.

The proliferation of this discussion is a central feature of the power relations that govern pleasure, drug and alcohol use, and the place users occupy in society. Most importantly, this discourse is constituted without the perspectives of users themselves. Rather, experts such as policy makers, researchers, and medical professionals define the terms with which drug use and addiction is discussed, framing the subject primarily as either a disease or a form of criminal deviance. This dichotomy between criminalized and medicalized behavior, however, is just one of the discursive frames that permeates users' daily lives and constructs a nexus of constantly shifting labels and definitions.

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to integrate user voices into the addiction discussion first by seeking their perspectives on the causes and conditions of addiction, a loaded term that straddles medical and criminal paradigms of understanding substance use. This study examines users' relationships with the power systems that these discursive terms construct. Through discussions of the term 'addiction' and other ideas about substance use and treatment, users articulate the ideologies that have influenced their perspectives, the effects of these paradigms on their daily life, and their consciousness of the power structures exerted through these discourses. Individual explanations and stories of drug use become crucial counter-narratives for users when they are confronted with these power structures. I also examine the mechanisms through which Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) and similar institutions may serve as tools users wield to navigate these discursive power structures.

Research on substance use disorder treatment has suggested that identity and self-image are crucial aspects of individual strategies for negotiating the process of recovery, which is why a fuller picture of these issues is an important addition to the literature in this field. Furthermore, the tension between focus on the individual versus the environment that surrounds each user has a salient presence in the drugs debate, treatment settings, and society at large. It additionally confronts the issue of individual agency that underpins these discourses. Addressing both users' causal theories of addiction and the environmental factors that influenced their conclusions adds an important dimension to research on substance use, recovery, and society.

Finally, the diversity of the users who participated in this study lent itself to additional conclusions about the hierarchies that are imposed through these power relations. Participants were sampled through two disparate contacts and therefore, the two groups shared little in common other than their experiences using drugs and alcohol. The comparison of the two groups demonstrated the potential effects of social background and demographic factors on users' experiences of the discourse and domination exerted over them.

Clarifications

This study is not an evaluation of abstinence, harm reduction, Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), the 12-step model, or any other drug and alcohol use and abuse philosophy, treatment program, or ideology, though it acknowledges their importance as units of analysis. Instead this research problematizes the existing discourse, particularly the generalizations associated with explanations for drug use and addiction and the absence of users' voices.

In discussions of AA, some subjects who were active in the program felt defensive, and that at least in the realm of harm reduction, the program has been under attack. This study does not endorse AA or any other treatment program as a solution for every person who suffers from drug or alcohol problems, nor does it suggest that any particular response to addiction and substance abuse is ineffective. Rather, participant responses simply helped illuminate the program's role as an institutional means of navigating power relations.

Though this study aims to problematize the generalizations associated with the substance abuse discourse, for the sake of convenience, I will use single words or phrases to refer to some entities with multiple dimensions. Subjects all described their use and their recovery in idiosyncratic ways, whether they defined themselves exclusively as alcoholics, drug addicts, or simply falling into no category with regards to their drug use. Nevertheless, I will frequently employ the term "user" to refer to my subjects more generally. The one requirement for participation in this study was that the individual had or was currently using or abusing drugs and alcohol, so the term "user" is most applicable to these individuals, as they all used drugs or alcohol at some point in their lives. I acknowledge the moral implications of using such a general term to refer to this group of people, particularly in the context of addressing the Foucauldian regimes of disciplinary power that surround them. Additionally, I will often refer back to the 12-step programs that my respondents participated in as AA, or to these respondents as AA participants. Although many of them participated in other programs such as Narcotics Anonymous (NA) or Cocaine Anonymous (CA), not all did. However, all 12-step participants did at least take part in AA, so that program is a convenient way of referencing those subjects who were using the 12 steps to remain abstinent.

LITERATURE REVIEW
a. The Debate's Defining Ideologies

Before I delve into the more in-depth theories and perspectives of

substance abuse and addiction, it is important to provide a basic explanation of the ideologies that define the mainstream substance abuse dialogue. The ideologies that construct the substance use, addiction, and treatment debate present a basic framework for a sociological understanding of the power relations existing around users as a population. The first widespread dichotomy of understanding drug use was the distinction between criminalized and medicalized understandings of addiction (Rosenbaum 1995). The former viewed it as a deviant behavior, originating from an individual and harming society as a whole, while the latter focused on the individual as a victim of an internal but uncontrollable pathology and took a more sympathetic approach to addressing drug-related harm.

Likewise, treatment ideologies are a fundamental way of understanding the discursive regimes of power at play in this domain. Abstinence or use reduction approaches to treatment view drug use itself as the target in reducing drug-related harm and therefore implicitly view use itself as something negative without which society would be better off (Peele 2011). Harm reduction approaches the harm that emerges from use as the target of treatment and policy initiatives (Drug Policy Alliance 2014). In doing so, harm reduction differs from use reduction in that it does not begin from the assumption that drug use itself is wrong but rather that it is possible to use without the negative effects such as disease, violence, or crime.

b. Theoretical Basis

This research is based on the applicability of Foucauldian power relations to interactions among users, treatment programs, and society at large. Foucault's (1995) distinction between sovereign and disciplinary society and the various techniques of regulating deviance and generating populations is useful in analyzing the structures of domination that surround drug users and drinkers.

Foucauldian disciplinary power is characterized by the transition from the public, punitive, and coercive measures once utilized to define and control deviant populations to a more subtle and omnipresent technique of power (Foucault 1995). Specifically, Foucault coined the term bio-power to describe this new form of social control (Foucault 1995; Foucault 1978). He summarized the concept in terms of two "poles," the first of which centers on the production of bodies into functional machinery of the capitalist system (Foucault 1978:139). The second, which is less central to this study, focuses on the body as the origin of life and the reproduction of productive economic bodies.

> One of these poles—the first to be formed, it seems—centered on the body as a machine: its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls, all this was ensured by the procedures of power that characterized the disciplines: an anatomo-politics of the human body.

In other words, this technique of domination focuses on transforming the individual body into an economically productive subject, taking Marxist power relations to a modern level of efficiency. Bio-power remains a relevant tool in understanding power throughout society, but is most concretely illustrated in the lives of drug users and drinkers. It is particularly apparent in the sociological literature about methadone maintenance treatment (MMT), a practice which will be described in more detail starting on page seven. Bio-power regulates pleasure by transforming it into a discourse that marks it as deviant (Foucault 1978; Bourgois 2000). Users are transformed into subjects for normalization through the construction of their behavior as that of a deviant subject: the "problem drug user" (Lloyd 2010: 15). It is through this process that disciplinary power produces populations and individuals who conform to socio-cultural norms and are therefore reproduced as productive and efficient members of society (Foucault 1995).

Users and drinkers are heavily subject to this process, as their lifestyle presents a culture outside the realm of this normalized society and a threat to the omnipresence of disciplinary power. Treatment is a technique to remove that threat by creating a regime of normalization. Treatment is therefore an additional, more explicit level of the disciplinary power that already exists in users' daily lives. Users are dominated at the implicit level simply by their distinction as a population defined by deviance, which marks them as targets for this further level of concrete domination in the form of treatment and the regulation of their experiences of pleasure. This doubling down of disciplinary techniques of power is evident in tangible features of drug treatment programs: the constant surveillance, the regimented therapy, the layered techniques, and biomedical discourses that legitimize the socio-cultural influences in which they are entrenched (Bourgois 2000). The ideologies that underpin these programs are crucial to understanding how various concrete elements of treatment programs, such as 12-step groups, psychosocial therapy, prescriptions, etc., constitute disciplinary power (Burke and Clapp 1997)—the qualitative goals that legitimize quantitative

ones, transforming biomedical discourses into techniques of social control. It is here that specific studies of drug users in treatment—which will be discussed in more detail in the following sections—have been particularly useful for understanding the power relations at work.

Phillipe Bourgois and Jeffrey Schonberg's ethnography not only served as an example of the applicability of Foucault's theory in fieldwork on this topic but added another theoretical foundation as well. Bourgois and Schonberg's theory of lumpen abuse (Bourgois 2009), based on observations of homeless San Francisco heroin addicts, considers the effect of biopower on Marx's notion of the lumpen proletariat. Bourgois and Schonberg elaborate on this theory: "We draw on Michel Foucault's understanding of power and normativity in order to better understand how the structural phenomenon of lumpenization is enmeshed in symbolic violence" (Bourgois 2009:18). In other words, Bourgois and Schonberg consider how the exertion of power affects those who are not counted among the economically productive bodies subject to capitalist exploitation: those who Marx would have called the lumpen proletariat. This frame is fundamental in understanding the status of drug users in society and will be explored in more detail in the following section of this literature review, "Theory in Practice."

Given the way users are marked and defined by their use and the meaning these power relations endow it with, Erving Goffman's work on stigma and facework is a similarly crucial theoretical base. The discursive constitution of substance abuse as a stigmatizing attribute is a technique of control capable of discrediting individual users and rendering them less than whole. Goffman distinguishes between the idea of a stigmatized person who is discredited versus one who is discreditable, that is to say, one whose stigmatizing attribute is readily visible as opposed to an attribute that cannot be seen by simply looking at a person (Goffman 1963). For example, because it is typically visible, sex can be a stigmatizing attribute that discredits individuals, while sexuality is not immediately evident and is therefore an attribute that renders individuals discreditable, not discredited. The fact that some attributes with potential to create stigma are not readily visible gives individuals opportunity to manage the stigma by hiding that characteristic altogether.

The term 'discreditable' is more applicable to substance use and abuse as a stigmatizing attribute, as in general it is not a visual characteristic. However, there is variation in the extent to which users are capable of hiding their use, and therefore a gap emerges between users who are discredited and those who are discreditable due to their substance use or abuse. This

perceptibility and stigma management form a fundamental frame for my results.

Goffman's theory of facework (1967) is likewise a major piece of that frame. Users can manage their stigma via the accumulation of social capital or face, as Goffman describes it. If the face they have established is broken—that is, they are revealed to have a stigmatizing attribute or characteristic such as a "blemish of individual character"(Goffman 1963:4)—there are means through which they may regain that social capital and step back into their socially established face (Goffman 1967). These corrective processes are relevant in understanding the experiences and perspectives of abstinent and recovering subjects.

This research expands upon these theoretical bases. In particular, my findings regarding AA present an anomaly in the face of the power structures that Foucault and Goffman theorized due to the program's inversion of those mechanisms of power. The objectifying nature with which Foucault characterizes disciplinary power (Foucault 1995) is modified by the agency found by some individuals through their experiences with AA. Though the 12 steps and meetings entail a more explicit exertion of disciplinary techniques, individuals found the program to be freeing rather than oppressive. The program gave them control over their lives that they lacked in the midst of their addiction and therefore empowered them.

While Goffman suggests the ways in which facework could be used to manage stigma, the mechanisms by which AA, as well as some non-AA members, do so are far more internalized than Goffman's theory would indicate. Goffman describes the process of "interchange" (Goffman 1967:20) as a means by which an individual who has transgressed social norms can repent for such behavior by acknowledging the error. However, this analysis is limited by its external direction of the facework that occurs in these situations, that is, it focuses on other people. Negotiation of stigma, for both AA members and other users, is complicated by an internal dimension beyond that which Goffman (1967) observed.

I additionally use grounded theory to contextualize my research in its greater sociological theory. As this work was performed with a relatively small sample size of 14 subjects, generalizability is an issue. Therefore, I approached interview and focus group data using Michael Burawoy's (1991) extended case study method as a theory of how ethnographies and other studies with a small sample size contribute to sociological research and theory. The extended case method addresses the interdependency of macro and micro social phenomena, acknowledging how macro conditions shape individual interactions, while smaller encounters together constitute larger

social trends (Burawoy 1991). Understanding the exceptional cases that do not fit within the larger pattern of explaining drug use and addiction has been crucial in analyzing this data. Many respondents were conscious of the dominant discourses that aggregated their idiosyncratic stories as a means of normalization. Given the focus of this study—understandings of addiction among a particular group—the extended case method, which takes discourse itself as a topic (Burawoy 1991), is ideal for understanding the sociological significance of this project.

c. Theory in Practice

There are a number of studies that have demonstrated how Foucault's theories are applicable to the experience of drug users and drinkers. Philippe Bourgois' ethnographic work is one of the most crucial integrations of the Foucauldian perspective into this field. In "Disciplining Addictions: The Bio-politics of Methadone and Heroin in the United States" (2000), Bourgois' ethnography gives an alternative perspective on Methadone Maintenance Treatment (MMT), a harm reduction approach to treating opiate addiction that was popularized in the mid-1960s as addiction was starting to be viewed as a disease (Rosenbaum 1995). MMT serves primarily to remove the pleasurable effects associated with heroin use by the administration of highly regulated daily doses of methadone to heroin addicts (Centers for Disease Control 2002). Bourgois argues that such a treatment program is an exercise of disciplinary power in its efforts to control addicts' access to pleasure and produce normalized, economically efficient subjects from a deviant population. Bourgois asserts that although methadone maintenance is justified by biomedical discourses of health and morality, its side effects are arguably worse than those of sustained, controlled heroin use as practiced in countries such as Switzerland (Bourgois 2000). Additionally, Bourgois' work evokes the Foucauldian assertion that disciplinary power is not a replacement for sovereign power but rather a layer over that coercive force which continues to exist. His account of heroin addicts in the book Righteous Dopefiend (2009) depicts a relationship among law enforcement, government, and users that demonstrates how disciplinary and sovereign society function simultaneously. While users are subject to disciplinary power through discourses that constitute them as a deviant population to be normalized, they also face brutal punitive measures for their "deviant" lifestyles. Bourgois' work also demonstrates the intersection of drug use and socioeconomic class and that intersection's effect on exertions of power.

Viktoria Bergschmidt's (2004) study of methadone maintenance treatment in Germany similarly demonstrates the importance of Foucauldian

theories of power relations. Bergschmidt's notion of the "abject other" (p. 59) added a crucial dimension to the Foucauldian framework for understanding the place of drug users and drinkers in society. Often, drug users are not rendered a population for normalization but rather treated as a deviant subculture. This idea supports Bourgois' depiction of the group of San Francisco heroin addicts he studied in *Righteous Dopefiend*. He uses the Marxist concept of the lumpenproletariat in the framework of disciplinary power, like Bergschmidt, to depict a dynamic akin to the leper colony described by Foucault in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1995). Bourgois writes in *Righteous Dopefiend*, citing another paper he wrote in 2005: "Bringing Foucault to bear on Marx, we are redefining the class category of lumpen as a subjectivity that emerges among population groups upon whom the effects of biopower have become destructive. (Bourgois 2005a)" (Bourgois 2009:19). Therefore, Bourgois' observations again evoke how both disciplinary power and sovereign power are at work through constant surveillance/normalization and exclusion/social ostracization, respectively. Furthermore, his ethnographic observations are crucial in considering how harm reduction can be a tool of disciplinary power and how techniques of control mask themselves as legitimate approaches to dealing with drug-related harm (Bourgois 2000).

Martha Rosenbaum also utilizes Foucault in her historical perspective of methadone maintenance using arguments similar to Bourgois' and contextualizes these discourses in political shifts towards more neoliberal ideologies (Rosenbaum 1995). Rosenbaum (1995) captures a shift from the medicalization model that dominated the discourse of the harm reduction movement to the more criminalized perspective that dominated the advent of the "War on Drugs" and the resurgence of the social right in the 1980s. In her discussion of this change, she illustrates the nexus of criminalized and medicalized ideologies in which drug users exist and the effects of these discourses. She argues that methadone maintenance as a form of treatment became criminalized in spite of the biomedical discourses that legitimize it. She suggests that had methadone remained within the medicalized paradigm, it would have had more chance to reduce harm by reducing the marginalization and stigmatization associated with drug use. This demonstrates the heightened sense of stigma that accompanies criminalized perspectives of drug use and how medicalization may reduce that marginalization or shame. While all these researchers focus on the obvious applicability of Foucault to a treatment method as intensive as methadone maintenance, I would like to consider how those same ideologies could be applied to all mainstream understandings of substance use and abuse.

d. Identity, Treatment, and Ideology

A key feature of the literature is the place of the individuals in relation to their context in understanding addiction, drug use, causality, and treatment. Individual identity is crucial in understanding drug users and their process of recovery (McIntosh and McKeganey 2000; Friedman and Alicea 1995). This makes Foucault's work an important theoretical tool, as it explains power relations in terms of how they regulate and normalize individual lives. Furthermore, how users conceive of their problems—as deviance or disease—has a major impact on their self-image and identity and consequently their success in treatment. Neil McKeganey's research has been vital in providing understanding of treatment in a larger policy context (McKeganey 2011), and his work with James McIntosh (2000) demonstrated that the ways in which addicts negotiate narratives of identity are a central process throughout recovery from substance abuse disorders. Jennifer Friedman and Marisa Alicea's work explains the stories female addicts create for themselves in an attempt to understand their identity outside of drug use during treatment. A "sense of self" (Friedman and Alicea 1995:439) is frequently cited as an aspect of personhood lost in an addict's struggles with drug problems and a value that users seek to regain through treatment. Martha Rosenbaum likewise points out that the shift between medicalized and criminalized discourses in MMT places those users "in a perpetual state of identity 'limbo'" (Rosenbaum 1995:149). A great deal of ambiguity is involved in the criminalized and medicalized discourses that define the realm of drug use. This ambiguity is crucial to consider in any research on substance abuse, especially given its relation to users' identities and experiences. Additionally, the aforementioned studies that utilize Foucault likewise consider this element of identity in treatment and how context affects the user who is subject to normalization.

e. De-individualizing the User

While considering identity, it is also crucial to recognize the ways in which analyses and understandings of substance use and abuse can be reduced to the individual. Users' behavior becomes decontextualized, even though the social context in which users exist and are treated is key to understanding their experiences (Rhodes 2002). This context includes stigma, treatment ideology, public policy, and many other considerations that provide a comprehensive picture of the social structures in which an individual's narrative as a user is situated (Paikin 2009; Rhodes 2002).

A fundamental dimension of this context involves the stigma that is

imposed on users through mainstream opinions of drug use and drinking. A report regarding stigma and drug users in the U.K. (Lloyd 2010) addressed the intersection of other, pre-existing stigmatizing attributes—such as race, criminal record, or employment status—with the stigma experienced as a result of drug use. Demographic features and personal experiences can affect users in the form of perceived stigma and enacted stigma (Lloyd 2010; van Olphen, Eliason, Freudenberg, Barnes 2009).

While expert opinions of addiction obviously influence the discursive environment that exists in the realm of treatment and recovery, they also create a more generalized medical or criminal discourse that affects the user's experiences of mainstream social environments. Therefore, considering both treatment ideologies and expert discussions of these concepts is important. For example, Dr. Gabor Maté (Paikin 2009), an addiction expert who works with users in Vancouver, attributes addiction to traumatic experiences in a user's early life. Though there exists a common thread of sympathy that connects Maté's opinion and the idea of addiction as a disease, this does not mean the medical model is immune from the tendency to individualize drug use and neglect context. A disease is by nature a condition that is tied to an individual person. I will employ dichotomies such as the individual and the environment or the medical model and the criminal model as analytical tools to understand the mechanisms by which discursive power structures exert themselves over drug users. Though they are often oversimplifications of reality, considering these dichotomous relationships and their limitations is important in analysis.

A key disease model that stands in contrast to Maté's perspective is the "AA ideology." (Tournier 1979). This term refers to the Alcoholics Anonymous' view of addiction's causes and solution. It views addiction as a disease for which the only solution is willing adherence to the 12-step program and participation in the fellowship. AA takes unique and paradoxical approach to the notion of individual responsibility. While there is an emphasis on responsibility for individual actions, there is simultaneously a focus on the need to look outside oneself and seek external help in addressing addiction as a disease. The literature explicitly states the need to admit that the individual is powerless against the disease, despite its 'step' requirements for individual responsibility. Furthermore, while AA followers argue that addiction can be self-inflicted and self-diagnosed, and that relapse can be avoided only through individual adherence to the 12 steps, this focus on the individual as the source of the problem is arguably undermined by the shirking of personal responsibility implied in subscription to the disease concept (Alcoholics Anonymous 2012; Peele 1989).

The debate that opposes both personal responsibility in substance use and the disease model of addiction came to permeate medical understandings of addiction midway through the twentieth century (Rosenbaum 1995). Its progression has had major effects on treatment settings and larger domains in which power relations constituted by substance use and addiction take place.

While the idea of addiction as a disease was first introduced and integrated into the medical canon during the sixties, some of the most crucial shifts in ideology that influenced the discussion occurred in the eighties with the rise of the Christian Right and the "War on Drugs" (Rosenbaum 1995). That era was defined by a shift from the medicalization of addiction back to criminalization of drug use, marked by a major increase in levels of incarceration: according to the Drug Policy Alliance:

> The presidency of Ronald Reagan marked the start of a long period of skyrocketing rates of incarceration, largely thanks to his unprecedented expansion of the drug war. The number of people behind bars for nonviolent drug law offenses increased from 50,000 in 1980 to over 400,000 by 1997. (Drug Policy Alliance 2014)

This incarceration-focused approach maintained an image of drug use as a form of deviance, rather than a disease of which users were victims. Nancy Reagan's 'Just Say No,' campaign placed responsibility in the hands of users regardless of social context or biological dispositions towards disease (The Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Foundation 2010).

Today, the disease model is accepted in the mainstream (American Psychiatric Association 2013), but among experts there remains controversy over the role of individual agency in harm management and treatment of problem drug use. In particular, the prevalence of Alcoholics Anonymous as the most widely-used and recommended method of treatment is a target of such controversy (Dodes 2014). American psychologist Stanton Peele is one staunch opponent of AA or any perspective that argues abstinence as a solution to addiction or problem drug use. He argued in "Ain't Misbehavin'" (1989) that addiction as a disease is often used as an excuse for criminal behavior. On other occasions, Peele has made the case that models like the 12-step and the disease model additionally remove the sense of a user's capacity to control his or her use and therefore make reducing substance-related harm more challenging (Peele 2011). Peele articulates these views on agency in a debate with Scottish sociologist Neil McKeganey, which I will

discuss in more detail in the next section of this literature review.

These expert discussions and debates are followed then by how the practice of these ideologies affect treatment and policy and in turn the daily lives of users. Some studies considered the effect of social and cultural context on treatment by measuring efficacy. A study that compared treatment outcomes in the U.S. and Switzerland, two countries with different cultural attitudes towards drug use and users (Moggi et al. 2007), demonstrated that treatment ideologies had comparable effects across cultures. Meanwhile, a domestic study measured whether or not there was a correlation between patient participation in treatment activities and the various treatment methods available in a given program (Moos et al. 1997). Both these studies demonstrate there is more to treatment than simply the agency and attitude of an individual user. Rudolf Moos' study of treatment features and patient participation demonstrates that ideological factors, enacted through techniques of treatment programs, may have an influence in real recovery outcomes.

The most important and generalizable insight on the user's environment I found was Tim Rhodes' concept of the "risk environment" (2002:86). Rhodes argues against individualistic modes of understanding addiction in favor of contextualizing the risks of drug use and social perception of users. In particular, he asserts that because risk is determined by social and economic factors, the solutions likewise lie in these contextual factors (2002:91). Rhodes' work on this "risk environment" framework is useful in analyzing this study's results because his critique reflects the sentiments expressed by many subjects.

f. The Space between Criminalization and Medicalization, and Other Dichotomies of Drug Use

Due to this constant shift in the target of treatment ideology and in the attribution of culpability, there is a perpetual sense of ambiguity in explanatory models for substance use disorders. In "Disciplining Addictions: The Bio-politics of Methadone and Heroin in the United States," Bourgois attributes the exertion of Foucauldian biopower in methadone clinics as "an unhappy compromise between competing discourses" (2000:165) of criminalization and medicalization. This trend in which social structures and institutions are embedded with multiple opposing discourses and ideologies, however, is not limited to MMT or even treatment settings as a whole.

This tendency for mainstream discourse to straddle models of medicalization and criminalization has significant consequences for users and how they navigate treatment and society (Ashton 2007; McKeganey

2011). The obvious gap between the two is that the criminalization perspective focuses on the user as the source of the "crime" or deviance, while the medicalization models attribute the problems to some external, and somewhat ambiguous, disease with which the user is afflicted. In one model, the user is the agent creating social ill, and in the other, the user is an objective victim afflicted. Yet most mainstream institutions and agencies addressing or dealing with drug addiction toe a line somewhere between these two perspectives, placing the user in a limbo of simultaneous blame and helplessness. While the disease model attributes problematic substance use to an external disorder, neither perspective really acknowledges the significance of environment as addressed by Rhodes, Maté (Paikin 2009), and others. Rather, the two ideologies decontextualize and address users as individuals and as a population, while still focusing the gaze of disciplinary society on a person as a singular entity for normalization and integration into an efficient society (Rhodes 2002; Foucault 1995).

This tension between characterizations of users either as a victim or an agent is a fundamental dichotomy used in debates of treatment techniques (McKeganey 2011). Though the area of addiction treatment is generally united with the purpose of helping individuals suffering from substance abuse disorders, one can look at the debates that occur within the field as a continuum of possible aims for treatment (Film Exchange on Alcohol and Drugs 2011). Though in practice it is unproductive to reduce these tensions to simple dichotomy, viewing them as spectrums with two distinct ends is a common strategy for understanding and explaining treatment ideologies from a theoretical perspective.

The debates between Stanton Peele and Neil McKeganey (Peele 2011) are a particularly useful illustration of these ideological dichotomies. In these debates, Peele advocates for harm reduction, an approach that does not focus on reducing drug use itself but focuses on its harmful effects, while McKeganey argues that abstinence is the only effective goal of a treatment program that seeks to alleviate the social ills of drugs. The fundamental difference between the two is based on their view of how the ideologies backing each method affect the user's identity. Peele argues that abstinence-based treatment methods present the idea that the user lacks power to control their use, and therefore, removes agency and empowerment from the treatment policy. In contrast, McKeganey essentially makes the same argument about the harm reduction side: that it suggests users are incapable of ceasing their behavior completely. This debate is so crucial because it utilizes the notion of user agency alongside the idea of addiction as a pathology, rather than construing the two as mutually exclusive. Additionally,

both Peele and McKeganey center their arguments on the will power of an individual user, but they use the concept in order to support conflicting approaches to treatment (Peele 2011). This philosophical question of agency in substance use and control is central in the questions users' perspectives might answer.

These tensions between sympathy and blame and control and disease are evoked in discussions of stigma as well. Charles Lloyd's (2010) report addresses stigma and drug users in the U.K. Though the report was focused on the U.K., the general theoretical statements regarding stigma are applicable to research about substance use disorders in all locations. In particular, the comparison of drug users to other similarly stigmatized groups (like individuals with mental disorders) again brought up the fundamental question underlying this tension between blame and sympathy: is an individual's status as a user or addict a choice? Furthermore, Lloyd addresses stigma and labels in the realm of substance use and abuse with regards to the notion of a "problem" drug user (2010:15). Though he frequently uses the term Lloyd (2010:15) acknowledges: "[T]his is not a self-evident term that comes with a common understanding (National Audit Office, 2010)." It is the simultaneously general and loaded terms such as "problem" drug user that symbolize the discursive battleground that defines the relations of power to which users are subject in all social institutions and settings.

DATA AND METHODS

The study was comprised of two parts. First, I conducted six in-depth, semi-structured individual interviews. I then held a focus group with eight individuals who participated in a semi-structured discussion of the same issues. Discussions and interviews addressed mainstream and alternative paradigms of understanding drug use and addiction, the stigma that surrounds addiction, experiences in treatment, and any personal experiences that were relevant to understanding these ideas. All informants were identified in this study by pseudonyms.

Data for both interviews and the focus group was collected on a digital tape recorder (with subjects' prior consent) and then transcribed into a word processing document. Any identifiable information was omitted in transcriptions and tapes were deleted at the end of analysis, to ensure subjects' privacy. The research protocol was reviewed and approved by Berkeley's Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects (CPHS).

a. Sampling

I used snowballing techniques to sample primarily through two fairly distinct networks of drug users, drinkers, addicts, and alcoholics.

The first snowball, through which I obtained four in-person interviews, started with a contact who was a middle-aged, upper middle class, straight, white male and was highly involved in Alcoholics Anonymous and Narcotics Anonymous. He participated actively in a men's fellowship in a community of a similar socioeconomic class and self-identified as a "big book thumper," someone who follows the doctrine of Alcoholics Anonymous with what one subject describe as a somewhat "evangelical" fervor. The four subjects I spoke with were part of a similar demographic, as they were from the same community and were white, middle-aged males who likewise participated in AA and similar 12-step programs.

Two of the interviews were obtained via alternate contacts who were not connected to my original contact, but were similar in terms of their socioeconomic position in society. The most crucial difference was that one of these subjects was female, and she was the only woman who participated in the study. These interviews were conducted over the phone as a result of my more limited social and geographical proximity to these contacts.

The focus group subjects were snowballed through a contact involved with a charitable health organization focused primarily on HIV/AIDS that practiced and promoted harm reduction techniques, such as needle exchanges. Many of these services were targeted specifically for gay men or individuals who faced limited access to such health services.

Three subjects, the woman and two in-person interviewees, only identified as alcoholics and limited their discussion of experience with addiction to alcohol. Though I did not specifically seek their participation, individuals who often distinguished themselves as "alcoholics" as opposed to "addicts" were useful in understanding the hierarchy of stigmas that exists within the substance use and recovery community, particularly as it relates to the differences between criminalized and medicalized paradigms of addiction.

The disparateness of the two networks through which I gathered subjects became a central tool of analysis. My primary contact lived in an economically advantaged community, while the focus group was drawn from a population who was accessing harm reduction services geared towards the LGBTQ community and individuals who faced problems of financial security, and included some members of racial minorities. Therefore, the second group was far more likely to experience heightened stigma at the point of their other demographics' intersections with their drug use and/or addiction. As a result of these major differences, I use both the individuals

as well as the groups as the unit of analysis in a comparison of how social status outside of drug use itself interacts with understandings of drug use, addiction, recovery, and stigma.

Additionally, my sampling method provides some insight into the socioeconomic status of subjects. The first group was snowballed through a contact living in and participating in the 12-step program in an affluent suburb. The focus group was conducted at the office of a charitable organization that provided harm reduction and other community outreach services in a lower-income urban neighborhood. Though I collected no concrete data on socioeconomic status, certain information was ascertained through observation and conversation. For example, more than one individual interviewee arrived to the interview in their own car, while more than one focus group interviewee referenced sleeping on the street. However, as I did not collect concrete data on income or other socioeconomic indicators, they are only to be understood as variables to the extent that they were discussed in the interviews and focus group.

b. Interviews

Interviews lasted from 45 minutes to two hours. The questions covered four areas: personal experiences with drug use, paradigms for understanding use and addiction, stigma related to use, and experiences and perceptions of recovery. Interviews were fairly informal and occurred in a private home, coffee shop, or over the phone. I based the structure of the interviews largely on initial perceptions of subjects. If the subject seemed open and likely to initiate discussion of personal stories, such as how or why they started using, I waited to ask those questions until end of the interview if they remained unanswered. Conversely, if subjects seemed more reserved, I usually started with light questions about their lives and experiences and then moved into more personal questions about their personal experiences with drugs and alcohol and addiction, as I felt subjects would be more loquacious after answering questions they felt comfortable with and qualified to answer. Asking former drug users and alcoholics, particularly those who participate in a group-oriented treatment program that emphasizes discussion of addiction issues and problems, to discuss their experiences with drug use and addiction was more straightforward than asking about abstract terms, ideologies, or theory. Therefore, using personal experiences to frame the more challenging questions about discursively ambiguous terms or stigma often facilitated explanations that were coherent and, for 12-step participants, fit within the framework they used to explain their use a discursive tool that became important to my analysis.

c. Focus Group

I conducted a focus group as opposed to individual interviews with the second network of my population only due to the limitations of my social proximity to them. The contact who facilitated the group was an "arm's length" tie and for reasons of confidentiality, time and convenience, it made the most sense to speak with all subjects from this sample at the same time, during a single two-hour focus group. Though this yielded data less rich in personally-specific understandings than the in-depth individual interviews, group participation facilitated discussion more easily without as much prodding and generally allowed participants to understand and discuss how their personal experiences were connected to those of other drug users. This created more generalization of various perspectives and experiences.

d. Analysis Strategies

Once interviewing was complete, I transcribed the tape and color-coded themes. This strategy was useful in rereading and analyzing the interviews in pursuit of the most general ideas that emerged, but it failed to assist in visualizing what was the most important or relevant content. To gain a quantitative idea of what ideas subjects emphasized most heavily, I sorted quotes according to theme in an Excel spreadsheet.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

a. Naming as a Form of Discursive Power

Dominant discourses of drug use, addiction, and alcoholism play prominent roles in the lives and identities of all users who participated in this study. Medical professionals, lawmakers, and subjects' peers constantly label and identify subjects as a class to be normalized. However, users' responses in interviews and the focus group paint a more comprehensive picture in which their perspectives are defined by idiographic narratives and opinions, the intersectionality of other stigmas that characterize the relationship between subject identities, in addition to these oversimplified ideas about substance abuse.

This imposition of multiple labels onto individual experiences is a particularly salient feature of focus group participants' responses. One participant, Bob, compares the experience to high school: "You are a freshman, or you're a senior or you're a popular, or you're a nerd…or you're a Heather!" Focus group subjects continually return to the impact that constant labeling has on constructing their public social status in daily life. These simplifications of their identity are a source of frustration,

indignation, and insecurity.

Labels create material obstacles for the focus group participants in addition to the emotional toll they take. According to Craig, a younger user, the multiplicity of labels creates additional "roadblocks" to achieving the same level of functionality of "normal" people for which addicts were already stigmatized for failing to achieve. He explains, "You have all these things that you're trying to hide from…. And the help isn't there to be gotten because of all these things…. It just makes life so much more difficult." Craig mentions in passing that he had slept on the street the night before the focus group took place, indicating that he struggles with financial insecurity more than the individual interviewees.

The structural consequences associated with the criminal model and the problems associated with each individual label create layers of obstacles that addicts face in their daily activities, as well as if they want to seek treatment. The capacity of discursive regimes of power to exclude the subjects it constructs from the process of normalization evokes the marginalization and destructive biopower uncovered by Bourgois and Schonberg in their ethnographic work, *Righteous Dopefiend* (2009). The network of homeless heroin addicts that Bourgois and Schonberg studied is marginalized to the point that it is beyond the reach of disciplinary power, no longer subject to the capacity of biopower to create bodies conducive to a productive economy. Instead, addicts face what Bourgois and Schonberg describe as an intimate symbolic violence of structurally imposed suffering. Craig and other focus group participants feel similarly lumpen. Rather than being at the center of an oppressive regime attempting to normalize them, these users are pushed to society's fringes and excluded from both the exertion of power and the health and safety benefits that it confers.

Craig expresses further frustration because these labels are ascribed without context. They are speculative assumptions masked as legitimate social definitions and terms which neglect his background, reasons for use, and personal identity.

Though AA respondents share a sense of shame or stigma, participation in AA is not associated with the imposition of labels and names as it often is for focus group members. The title "alcoholic" or "addict" is embraced via their involvement in the 12-step program rather than constituting something that has been imposed upon them via constant social stigmatization. This brings up a crucial distinction between the experiences of individual interview subjects and focus group participants. While the latter experience stigma as a part of how they are publicly identified based on perceptions lacking knowledge of users' background or private life,

individual interviewees are only labeled by people who can use such personal knowledge to contextualize users' drug use.

b. A Boundary between Public and Private Stigmas

Two AA respondents explicitly state that only people who are close to them actually know of their involvement in AA, and most individual interviewees primarily reference personal acquaintances or other AA participants rather than a generalized public opinion like the focus group subjects. The following two excerpts illustrate the contrast in how the two groups of participants respond to questions about external judgment. Joe is an alcoholic who participates in AA.

> The people that are closest to me got to see me in full Technicolor as an alcoholic so obviously the difference to them is a very positive one… because the program I'm in doesn't recommend that I go around talking to people about my alcoholism, I don't really do that…. Some people if they knew I was a member of AA they would probably scratch their heads. (Joe)

George is a methamphetamine addict in the focus group who also uses methamphetamines in a medical capacity for ADHD and narcolepsy. As stated previously, he believes that people often assess whether or not someone is a drug addict on the basis of outward indicators such as their clothing or the part of town they live in.

> I could be walking down the road, and if I'm not on methamphetamines, I could fall right down in the middle of the road, asleep, come by, a car hits me, and I'm dead, but yet because somebody labels it a disease it also has the social stigma of do we help him or do we label him a drug addict? Is this a regular person or is this a drug addict? (George)

While Joe implies that people only know he is an alcoholic if he explicitly tells them, George approaches the question of stigma with a hypothetical situation that involves strangers on the street debating whether or not they can apply that label to him.

This is a crucial distinction between the two groups who participated in this study: in general, interview subjects are able to manage their identity

as a user by controlling outward indicators of their drug or alcohol problems. They are subject primarily to the opinions of people who know them and who can contextualize their use.

Meanwhile, the focus group participants reflect George's sentiment regarding how people would react to his death on the basis of whether he were a "drug addict" or a "regular person". They tend to describe labels and stigma in terms of a loss of basic human dignity and self-worth. Below are several examples from focus group participants who articulate this attitude:

> It's always been labeled a negative thing, a drug addict to me. [People] feel that you're incompetent. They feel that you're not worthy of self-worth. (Andrew)

> It's hard to have the maturity to see that it doesn't affect me as a human being…at first I would feel very small…. You have to have a little dignity, even though we're addicts, we're human beings. (Bob)

> Everyone's trying to tell me what I am and who I am and what made me me…. How do they know? How do they know what I've been through, what caused what, and where things are coming from?... I am an individual and I'm not just another person who lets themself fall into the stereotype of an addict, a criminal, a thief, a street kid of [this city] whatever it may be…. The ideas that people want to perceive about addicts about people who use drugs, they're going to continue to want to perceive because it's easier for them than dealing with the real problems. (Craig)

Goffman's theory of facework serves to explain this difference between the two groups' experiences of stigma. The accumulation of positive face (Goffman 1967), which is achieved through behavior that aligns with accepted social norms and power structures, serves as a means of managing public indicators and awareness of stigma. Therefore, interviewees are able to accomplish positive facework and remain "discreditable" by limiting outsiders' knowledge of their stigmatizing attribute (drug or alcohol use/abuse) while focus group participants find themselves exposed, "discredited," and incapable of performing facework. Bob recalls his own experience watching other users manage their images as productive members of society:

"In society, there are different levels of addicts… I have seen addicts that don't look like addicts…. They cover really well because they have a diploma or a career. People don't see the negativity of their life," he said. He also mentions that he had partied with wealthier addicts who had to "come down to the same level" as him to have fun and return to their higher position in life afterwards.

c. Hierarchies of Biopower and Stigma

Bob's depiction of how other addicts maintain their social status while using provides a segue to another trend that emerges: the hierarchies of stigma that existed between addicts, which was illustrated most blatantly by the disparity between the two groups of subjects. Although a causal relationship cannot be readily established between differences in experiences and socioeconomic status, subjects' responses imply that the latter is an important factor in determining how they experience stigma from substance use and abuse.

This explanation is supported by the focus group's constant reference to "functional" addicts, users who are characterized by steady full-time employment or attainment of higher education. Focus group participants imply that a user can utilize these advantages to partition his or her use into an isolated domain of his or her life which exists outside the public's perception of his or her identity or social status. The focus group subjects articulate a sense of indignation towards this "level" of addict because "functional" addicts can mobilize their financial status and life advantages to escape the destructive capacities of biopower and labels such as "addict" or "junkie." Several focus group members express this sense of injustice:

> If you're rich, you're not considered an addict. But if you're living in poverty, living in the ghetto, then you're the bad guy. (Andrew)

> The functional addicts turned on the dysfunctional addicts. (Dave)

> I don't see [judgment] just in the people who aren't using drugs or have never used drugs, I also see it in our own drug community…people who are practicing for instance abstinence…and the others who are not practicing abstinence, there's a stigma between those groups as well (Mark)

Mark's observation that users who practice abstinence still pass judgment on and apply stigmas to other non-abstinent users is not an isolated statement. Focus group participants often suggest that they experience judgment from drug users who are of a higher socioeconomic class or practicing abstinence and a few cite this hierarchy of stigma between users as a reason for not participating in AA. Some respondents also distance themselves from other addicts if they are only alcoholics while a few AA members even concede that they themselves have stigmatized other users.

> I'd have a lot of rules about I wouldn't share a room with a heroin addict, or something like that, so even once I was an addict, an alcoholic, I still projected stigmas I had grown up with onto people of a different addict classification and it took a long time for me to accept everyone for who they are and several trips to rehab and prison and so forth. (Thomas)

Furthermore, several interviewees articulate a hierarchy within the 12-step programs as well. Some alcoholics distinguish themselves from those who use hard drugs by suggesting that although their experiences may contain parallels, they are not necessarily perfectly comparable. Two respondents who identify as both alcoholics and drug addicts said they prefer attending AA meetings over NA mainly because they feel AA is more effective at keeping them sober while NA heightens the temptation to use again both due to the people who attend and the discussions that occur there. These discussions hint at a higher level of discursive criminalization within NA than in AA. This gap between 12-step programs is articulated bluntly by Karen: "I used to hear that people would say, you go to NA to get laid and you go to AA to get sober."

Additionally, respondents indicate that intersections of marginalization affect the intensity of stigmatization. The effects of the intersectionality of factors such as race or legal record are demonstrated by a study of the effects of stigma on incarcerated female drug users (van Olphen et al. 2009). Focus group participant Dave alludes to a similar phenomenon: "A lot of times people before they get the label of addict, they've already been labeled something else… It's just one more brick on the ton that I'm already carrying." As a more concrete demonstration of this insight, Dave points out that in Europe, particularly in many Scandinavian countries, addiction is treated as a disease and there are public sources of social and medical

support for it. He argues that the lack of this support in the United States is racially charged: "[Europeans] all look alike. They're all the same. They come from the same tribe." Dave believes that American users are additionally penalized for attributes (e.g. racial, sexual, socioeconomic) other than their already-stigmatized use.

Regardless of the source of stigmatization, focus group subjects find techniques to cope with it. Bob insists repeatedly that he learns to keep his head up and to be proud of who he is regardless of how others perceived him. Many focus group participants similarly express remaining true to their individual identities as a technique of coping with the destructive capacity of disciplinary power. While focus group participants use their sense of uniqueness and individualism to construct positive counter-narratives, AA participants use the program as an institutional tool to create these counter-narratives.

d. AA as Self-Imposed Disciplinary Power

Another potential explanation for the differences between individual interviewees and focus group members is the proliferation of counter-discourses that takes place in AA. While AA serves as a system of beliefs to frame drug use as a behavior to be normalized, it explains this ideology in terms of the disease model to help users reduce or navigate shame. Furthermore, practicing abstinence allows them to regain the face (Goffman 1967) they lost when they used.

On a theoretical level, the panoptic structure of AA may remove participants from exposure to the destructive capacity of biopower (Bourgois 2009) by allowing members to consciously embrace their subjectification as a population to be normalized (Foucault 1995). The literature of AA, its constant discussion during meetings, and its relentless communication constitute layers of discourse rendering AA an entity of Foucauldian disciplinary power. Additionally, the constant ritual and regimentation of behavior as a means of internalizing the ideology behind AA functions similarly to the structure of the panopticon as a means of normalizing deviant behavior and regulating pleasure.

The label "addict" or "alcoholic" for users who participated in AA is a tool by which they define and explain the narratives of their drug/alcohol use. In particular, the medicalization of the term helps them cope with their shame in feeling unable to control their desire to drink or use drugs. Although individual interview subjects do not discuss these issues collectively like the focus group participants, a lot of them stray towards the same topics and understandings because they have internalized AA's

framework for navigating the stigmas attached to addiction. For Karen, the difficult part of joining AA was admitting to herself that she could not independently manage her life and admitting that she needed help. The fellowship of others who struggled with the same uncontrollable obsession provides a form of consolation for her to deal with that shame: "I think a lot of people stay away from Alcoholics Anonymous because they don't want to admit they can't take care of themselves, I was one of those people for sure…how come I'm not strong enough to do this on my own? I can take care of this by myself, when you just can't."

Several interviewees reiterate that loss of control over drinking or drug use is a defining feature of addiction or alcoholism, and they suggest that it is a major source of stigma because others fail to fully comprehend the loss of control that accompanies the onset of addiction in the disease model. Gary describes his difficulty explaining the loss of control to others more than once: "I think the one thing that is never going to be understood because I didn't understand it myself until I experienced it was losing the power of choice."

AA members' constant discussion of these issues is almost exclusively in the company of others who share common experiences and understandings of that loss of control. This finding problematizes Goffman's notion of "interchange" within his theory of facework. Interchange is defined as the corrective process by which an individual atones for his or her transgression against social norms (1967:19), and Goffman frames this process entirely in terms of addressing the transgressions externally, in terms of outsiders' reactions to it. However, atonement in AA involves insiders who share the stigmatizing attribute rather than focusing on solely external atonement towards those who do not possess it.

While to some extent this occurs through AA's ninth step, in which the member makes amends to those they have directly affected (Alcoholics Anonymous 2012), Goffman's process does not account for how AA is a far more internalized process of atonement. Though AA members possess a stigmatizing attribute, they generally can pass through their participation in AA as a "disidentifier," or some characteristic that provides social meaning different from the assumptions created by a stigmatizing attribute (Goffman 1963:44). Because AA is characterized by the voluntary internalization of disciplinary power's normalization, this process of atonement for a "blemish of individual character" is likewise internal. Goffman's understanding of facework can be extended to encompass a more personal cultural capital that is sought by individuals exclusively for internal satisfaction which is not perceptible to general society. The institution of AA is in many ways a hybrid

of the social processes of control theorized by Foucault and Goffman.

Meanwhile, focus group subjects lack the AA framework as a way of understanding and reinterpreting the discourses that define their position in society as users, and they take a more individualistic approach to understanding the discourses that subjectify them. They are rendered "abject" (Bergschmidt 2004) or "lumpen" (Bourgois 2009), existing outside the power structures of normalization as well as social solidarity. The focus group truly falls outside the realm of normalization: due to their resistance to the regulation of pleasure through the creation of a discourse that reconstitutes a particular pleasure-seeking behavior as a form of deviance. Alfred expresses his opposition to the idea of drug use as deviance: "Addiction is just a thing, calling it a disease and a sickness is applying a negative to it, (Alfred).

This staunch individuality as a technique to cope with labels and consequent insecurity presents a point of tension between focus group subjects and AA/12-step programs. Craig describes his experience with programs like AA negatively: "They force you to say that you're an addict. They make it mandatory that you say certain things on a day-to-day basis. I think that's brainwashing, personally." In addition, many individuals feel further stigmatized within AA or related programs because of the base assumption that seeking pleasure through mind-altering substances is wrong. Even among the focus group's most free-spirited members, there is some internalization of socially accepted norms.

e. Role of Harm Reduction Organizations

Debates about treatment for addiction have been framed as a dichotomous conflict between abstinence-based approaches like AA and harm reduction techniques. Although AA and harm reduction are both considered full-treatment approaches, harm reduction has yet to offer comparable institutional support. While AA helps users manage stigma by framing their use and recovery in dominant discourses of normalization, harm reduction participants do not share those experiences of solidarity and support in creating alternative narratives. Despite the fact that many focus group respondents participated in harm reduction programs, few cite harm reduction as a major part of their understandings of drug use and addiction even in questions specifically examining the role of treatment programs in influencing these views. Instead of referring to positive experiences with harm reduction programs, respondents more frequently reference negative experiences with 12-step programs. Alfred is one of the few who positively reflected on their harm reduction program as an outlet to control their use:

> A lot of the groups here [at this harm reduction organization] say, basically, it's okay if you use, it's your choice, basically, but they also give you the option of you can cut down, try to be abstinent even if you fail. To me that's better because you're letting people do it their own way, while having a support group in place of other people who do it maybe even people who are just supportive of others. To me, that's a lot better than an AA or an NA program because when you think about it NA isn't really applicable to the US as a whole. (Alfred)

Some programs additionally embrace the individualistic ideological approach to drug use expressed by Andrew: "I don't personally think it's a disease at all…. A disease to me is like a poison or something, you have to cure it. People get high because they like to…there's no bad in it."

Other subjects also learned to separate their drug use from the externally imposed discourses that marked use or addiction as a discreditable attribute. Many are conscious that alternative views which counter the negative mainstream perception of drug use also existed. These understandings reflect the platforms of up-and-coming groups, such as drug users' unions which have started in San Francisco and New York. These groups promote users' rights and fight the oppressive criminalized discourses and stigma that currently dominate the drugs debate (VOCAL 2013; San Francisco Drug Users' Union 2013). However, it is impossible to determine whether these common sentiments are due to personal experience with harm reduction or if they are independently-reached conclusions, as few respondents reference harm reduction organizations as pivotal influences on their understandings of substance use and abuse.

It is important to note that mainstream discourse mistakenly equates harm reduction with any non-abstinence or non-12 step program. This problematic oversimplification conflates the distinct ideologies behind treatment methods promoted by users' unions with techniques of disciplinary control such as methadone maintenance. As discussed in the literature review, methadone maintenance seems to exert destructive biopower by removing the pleasure associated with opiate use without solid proof that this method actually enhances a patient's life in terms of any increase in health or success (Bourgois 2000).

Furthermore, respondents associate this oversimplification of solutions to addiction and drug- or alcohol-related harm with the oversimplifications

of their drug use and identity that occur through labeling. Craig, who previously criticized mainstream accounts of addiction for failing to provide a comprehensive picture of users' experiences, feels similarly limited by his treatment options:

> For some people [12-step meetings work], great, good for them but there need to be more options…. There need to be more methods that work for people because everyone's different, everyone isn't going to fall under one category or another. There needs to be a variety of different routes to go to try and deal with it as best as you can, to meet the individual's needs as best as possible. (Craig)

Craig is frustrated by the application of the 12-step as a solution for all drug and alcohol users in spite of their highly idiosyncratic reasons for using. However, he does not situate this frustration with the 12-step program in conversely positive experiences with harm reduction programs. Dave suggests there are structural reasons for these limitations.

> Harm reduction, what's happening with that is that you have a lot of people who promote or talk abstinence, but because of funding they were forced to accept harm reduction, they have to teach harm reduction, but they don't even believe in it…but they really are abstinence people, so there's a conflict there. (Dave)

Dave views the U.S. as highly penal towards drug use in comparison to places like Europe. He voices the perspective of most focus group participants who believe that, in general society, there is no respect or sympathy for the circumstances or personal backgrounds of drug users, harm reduction or not.

f. Archetypal Characters

Given the way subjects' highly idiosyncratic perspectives and experiences problematize the generalizing discursive regimes that surround them, it is useful to look at a few individual cases. The first two, Sam and Luke, are archetypal illustrations of the major differences between the AA members and focus group participants, respectively. The third, Derek, illustrates perhaps the study's most important finding: the importance of individual needs-based treatment approaches and agency for users seeking

recovery. Additionally, Derek demonstrates the importance of nuance in understanding the dichotomies and definitions that dominate the mainstream substance use discourse.

Sam

Sam was a recovering alcoholic and drug addict who was five months into his first paid position as a drug and alcohol counselor. He was sober for over 11 years and was an active participant in and proponent of the "12-step social model" after becoming highly involved in the "aftercare" portion of his first 28-day rehabilitation experience.

Sam embraced the disease model during his first stay at a treatment facility that promoted AA. He says that he saw addiction as mostly biological and described meetings and other AA activities as the "chemo" necessary to arrest the incurable disease of addiction. This comparison constitutes the most extreme adherence to the disease model among the subjects. While others who subscribe to AA's disease model typically make efforts to distance the medical model of addiction from diseases not defined by conscious action (e.g. cancer), they nevertheless still repeat verbatim some of the tenets of AA doctrine that Sam references: "It's an obsession of the mind and an allergy of the body, I don't know if you've heard that before…. For one thing it's diagnosable…it's primary…it has symptoms… it's treatable, it's chronic, and it's progressive and fatal. All these things fit the disease model."

Sam uses AA's discursive framework to understand his history of drug use on his own terms and to successfully manage the shame imposed by disciplinary society. His involvement in the program required that he tell his story and "carry the message" of AA to other treatment programs so that he had the opportunity to rehearse and repeat his story as a drug addict and alcoholic in front of others coping with the same issues. AA is an institutional resource through which Sam inverts biopower and imposes upon himself in a way that puts him at peace with his transgressions of social norms. Additionally, he applies facework in an internal process of atonement by using AA's narrative to reframe his use in a way that regains the face lost due to his drug use and criminal behavior.

Sam's first admission to a rehabilitation program was a result of his arrest for the sale of illegal drugs. His narrative counters this criminalizing experience by describing his recovery in terms of his ability to provide for himself and his family and participate in society as a functioning, moral adult. This evokes what focus group participant Dave describes as the ideal AA product: "[The 12-step program is] structured to do two things: at

the end of the process they want good workers and good soldiers. They want to prepare you to go back to work and be able to function in a work environment…if you're a free spirit or you're a rebel or you just want to be left alone, that may not work for you."

Although AA functions as an arm of a highly Foucauldian structure of power relations imposed on drug users, AA still inverts the typical understanding of disciplinary society as an oppressive entity in that it is consciously self-imposed. Sam voluntarily participates in a daily regimen of ritualistic behaviors in order to control his desire to seek pleasure through substances. He starts and ends each day with prayer and practices being mindful of what he was doing throughout the day to remain sober.

Sam expresses fulfillment in his ability to live up to the expectations of disciplinary society. For example, he references his success in terms of how outsiders view his behavior, such as his daughter and even the judge who sentenced him before he went into treatment. After informing the judge that he had been awarded his six year token, Sam received the following response signed with the judge's first name: "It's seldom I hear from people I've sentenced…you have a lot to be proud of."

Sam contrasts this with times in his life when he was engaging in inappropriate behavior and frames these situations in terms of role conflict (Merton 1957): "I'm raising my daughter and I'm trying to be a father, but I'm also an addict." Here he describes his time living on a rural ranch with several friends:

> It's like the valley that time forgot. We were like the lost boys or something. We're smoking marijuana and getting a six pack of beer…and we're just out in the hills swimming in reservoirs and drinking beer and smoking pot, not in school or thinking about the future, just hanging out, that was good enough for us…. We're like children, but we're in our 20s. (Sam)

It is important to recognize Dave's insight that if an individual has failed to internalize the same ideals of working and functioning in "normal" society, 12-step programs may not work for them. Sam's willingness to embrace social norms therefore makes it possible for him to invert normalizing power structures in a way that makes him feel empowered and in control. If AA produces "good soldiers," then Sam is a decorated veteran.

Sam's description of addiction as a "soul sickness" illustrates that AA's disease model takes on a spiritual and emotional character in addition to being

rooted in biology. It is at this point of understanding addiction and drug use that Sam converges in some ways even with focus group participants, whose perspectives typically present an antithesis to Sam's 12-step ideology. Nearly all respondents explain their use as a coping mechanism for addressing insecurity or other issues independent of substance use. Sam describes the experience in relation to his childhood and adolescence:

> I always felt different, and I've found this to be true with a lot of addicts and alcoholics, there's kind of a hole inside of us, where we just didn't really feel like we fit in... I was trying to catch up, putting on a mask and trying to be a people pleaser, and a class clown, anything to be accepted because I really just felt insecure… the minute I cut class and tried [marijuana], it's like that feeling of ease and comfort came over me that I never had, you know…. I'll use despite negative consequences, I have a compulsion to use, I'll rationalize, I'll minimize, I'll go in denial, I'll use all the defense mechanisms in the world to get what I want to feel some comfort and ease cause it's so hard to just be, just living…. We have a hole inside us the wind could blow through. (Sam)

AA members like Sam attribute the program's success to its ability to address this sense of emptiness or insecurity through fellowship activities that build their self-esteem.

Even Craig, the younger focus group participant who refers to 12-step programs as "brainwashing," describes using substances to just feel normal and functional on a daily basis. The one exception to this commonality is George, whose dependency on drugs originated from the methamphetamine prescriptions he received for ADHD and narcolepsy. This implies that his addiction results from a more medical rather than emotional dependency on drugs. Although the two groups converge in their understandings of why they use, AA members clearly diverge from focus group participants who do not believe that deriving emotional satisfaction from external substances constitutes addiction. Regardless, this sense of insecurity is a key commonality among all interviewees given the consequential impact it has on their sense of identity and its significant role in exerting biopower over these users. For some, however, internalization of institutional forms of normalization exacerbates, rather than alleviates, this insecurity. This is most obvious in the case of the next archetypal subject, Luke.

Luke

Luke resists the socially accepted goals that Sam embraces. While Sam is a soldier on the front lines, Luke is, in terms of Dave's critique of AA, the "rebel" who "just wants to be left alone." However, in rejecting accepted means of normalization, Luke has been marginalized to the point that it severely affects his self-worth and ability to cope with daily life, with or without drug use. He is an ideal type in characterizing what Bourgois (2009) observes as the destructive effects of biopower on a lumpen population in Righteous Dopefiend. Unlike Sam, Luke has no recourse, institutionalized or otherwise, against the layers of discourses and labels imposed upon him. Instead, the constant sense of shame and judgment is something he struggled with and it is a major focus of his responses. One way this is evoked is through the deep sense of conflict with which Luke characterizes both his daily activities and his identity itself:

> That's one of the other things that I'm finding really challenging is that for the first time in my life I'm being told that it's okay to do these things that I've been told are not okay for as long as I've lived, and it's overwhelming. [Pauses] I guess therein lies the conundrum, how do I really get to believing that I'm okay? Because it'd be great to say I'm okay and feel it inherently. (Luke)

While AA participants' thorough internalization of social norms provides a sense of personal satisfaction and peace, Luke continues to struggle with the conflict between his wish to use and the social pressure to do what is "right." He is unsure of how to frame his use, given his desire to completely shirk societal expectations and to seek individual pleasure through substance use while holding moral qualms about rebelling against the expectations of "normal" society.

This contrast between Sam and Luke evokes the larger differences between the two groups of subjects and therefore can provide examples to support the previously described potential explanations for these distinctions. Luke's responses in particular support the idea that layers and intersections of stigmas provide one avenue through which biopower is destructive for some users but not others. Luke's recollection of coming out of the closet and later contracting HIV illustrates how he is subject to more stigmatizing attributes than Sam:

> I grew up very labeled, and I grew up very insecure, and as I kind of developed and realized who I was and how it wasn't part of the majority, yeah that does something to your psyche. You can let go of it and say fuck the world and champion your cause, or you can let it define and stifle you. When I realized I was gay, I was very proud about it… But when I became [HIV] positive, it just floored me. I wasn't ready for that, and somewhere along the way, I let it manifest in my drug use. It definitely increased because I ended up becoming a stereotype, which is so ironic. (Luke)

Although there is not enough evidence to assert causality, other focus group participants' similar responses suggest that the intersectionality of additional stigmatizing attributes may be a component to explaining the differences between the two groups. Luke's sexual orientation and HIV status are clear examples of how other stigmas can exacerbate the already overwhelming social judgment regarding addiction.

The way Luke framed his story also illustrates how some addicts are unable to manage public information about their identity as a user. AA respondents can hide outward signifiers of their status as a user or addict while participating in constant discussions at meetings to learn how to frame and understand their own stories independent of external, drug-related shame. In contrast, Luke faces incessant internal and external shame due to his drug use. In nearly every response he offers to a question, he returns to the sense of indignity and judgment he feels as a result of the unjust application of mainstream discourses to his use. While Sam is subject to the same labels, he does not describe generalized social stigma as central in his daily life to the extent that Luke does. This difference affirms that some users have the capacity to control visibility of their identities as users while others experience public stigma because they do not have the power to effectively compartmentalize this aspect of their lives.

For Luke, this is experienced as a struggle to find his own identity despite constant external impositions of various labels and norms. Below, Luke describes the way his identity straddles multiple social judgments, labels, and discourses:

> For myself, it's been this constant pattern of me liking things that are not accepted by society. I've had a hard time just reconciling the fact and saying it's okay. Plus I've had some situations that truth be told, are not okay, and

somehow I just have allowed myself to think that things are my fault, so basically I just load up with baggage, and in all of this [pauses] I have a hard time really owning up to any positive attributes that I may have because I'm so ashamed by the past and things that I've done and my failures and blah blah blah. But ultimately who cares, I want be happy. I want peace of mind. And I want to be left the fuck alone because everyone deserves that. Society is not very forgiving sometimes, myself included. I can only try to do better, but I do know that another thing I forgot was that I came to [this city] to better my life, and I'm worse off than when I got here. It's time to just get back on the ball, figure out my priorities and do them and the fun will come later… I think somewhere along the way I allowed people to disrespect me so much that I bought into it, and I've lost sense of self-respect and in turn I've become a skull of what I believe I can be. And I don't even know how to talk to people anymore. It's fucked up. (Luke)

In stark contrast to Sam, Luke constantly vacillates between his desire to live independently of social norms and the pressure he feels to adhere to them during his struggle to make sense of his own life. Sam gains agency within the AA discourse by constructing his own narrative through self-imposed normalization of his experience as a drug user. Meanwhile, Luke faces a nexus of conflicting discourses and ideologies which leaves him unsure of where he fits as an individual. This constant struggle with individual identity contrasts with the centrality of the group element in AA and the program's ideal of seeking help outside oneself. Relative to Sam, Luke is in the position of the lumpen or the "abject other," in which he does not feel he has an avenue through which he can be accepted by society. Beyond characterizing this experience as simply living outside the confines of mainstream society, Luke also describes how these constantly shifting discourses actually rob him of his basic human dignity by impeding his capacity to self-determine his identity. In effect, he is rendered sub-human, a "skull" of his true identity.

Derek

Sam and Luke present extreme examples of the differences uncovered by this study. On one end of the spectrum, Sam takes the disease model as defined by AA at nearly face value and embraces the discourses of

normalization that surround that model in order to navigate the shame and stigma that the population otherwise experiences. He uses these techniques of control to manage shame such that these oppressive regimes instead become his livelihood, rather than a mode of domination. Meanwhile, Luke faces an identity crisis due to his resistance to the ideology Sam embraces. He is marginalized to the fringes of society and rendered lumpen by the destructive powers of disciplinary society (Bourgois 2009). Derek, however, is difficult to associate with one category or another. Though he is an AA member, Derek's conceptions of his use characterize a middle ground that exists between these two ends. Instead of representing the general differences between the two groups, Derek's take on treatment ideologies problematizes the generalities of the drug debate, and in turn, evokes the larger issues that participants' responses pointed to.

Derek's individualism is most evident in regards to how he approaches his participation in AA: with great skepticism. While there are other interviewees in the program who do not accept all AA ideals unquestioningly, Derek is unique in how much more open and fundamental his critiques of the program are. For example, while most AA members accept addiction as a disease characterized by an individual inability to control drug use, Derek feels that whether or not it was a disease is irrelevant and that controlling it has to do with overcoming a weak sense of self-control rather than a lack thereof. He describes his take on the disease model here:

> I go to AA, and this I struggle with a lot too because in AA, it's a disease, and I hear that a lot and I'll be very frank with you, I was at [name of hospital] not too long ago, and there was this little boy that was there and he was getting ready to have some radiology done, and the nurse comes out for him and the nurse says, Jennifer can you come here, and I thought oh my god, it was a little girl, I had assumed it was a little boy because it had no hair, and it was a little girl that was suffering from cancer obviously, and I looked at that and I said to myself, no that's a disease. It would be like me going up to her and going 'I know what you're going through, I have alcoholism.' And I blew up a meeting, I said you know what how dare us, sit here, and this disease if you want to call it that is something I gave myself. I have a disease of the mind maybe, it's called lack of self control. That's where I find the moral dilemma in it because you know, cause I couldn't put things in

> perspective and thought well I'm going to shed some of
> my accountability and call it a disease (Derek)

However, he does appreciate some aspects of AA such as the group orientation and the sense of vigilance towards a precarious abstinence from drugs. Derek, like so many other drug users and drinkers who want to recover, simply takes the pieces of AA that work for him.

It is crucial to recognize the centrality of agency in Derek's understanding of his recovery and his nuanced approach to AA because it evokes the fundamental philosophical disagreement that arose in Peele (2011) and McKeganey's (2011) discussion regarding harm reduction and abstinence-based treatment methods. They debate over which ideology provides users with a greater sense of agency: an ideology that suggests users are entirely capable of resisting the urge to use entirely (McKeganey, in favor of abstinence) or one that suggests that they are capable of using in a way that controls for substances' harmful consequences (Peele, in favor of harm reduction). Derek's responses suggest that there may not be a single ideological approach which clearly settles that question.

At the time of the interview, Derek had been abstinent for two and a half years. While he acknowledges that AA had helped him, he is still adamant that the primary determinant of whether or not someone used drugs or remained sober is his or her own will: "I don't think either one [AA or NA] keeps me sober. I think a lot of that has to do with desire: a person that wants to change can change." This contrasts with some AA members like Gary and Karen who suggest that there are some points at which they lose control over their use and need the program in their lives to overcome that sense of unmanageability. This independent agency is the defining feature of Derek's interview. He uses the fellowship and solidarity he feels in AA, but he does not take it to the extent of Sam's self-imposed disciplinary power. Rather, the discursive techniques by which he frames his life are those that make sense to him as an individual.

> I do try to keep a humorous note about my life, because
> a lot of it is funny and a lot of it ain't. I believe there's
> a silver lining to everyone…. That's how I have to look
> at things because otherwise my whole life's been a waste.
> (Derek)

Derek's distinct perspective is paradoxically most representative of the challenges subjects face in attempting to frame their lives in terms of

standard ideas and definitions of addiction. It seems that Derek's self-determined understanding of his identity, history, and approach to recovery help him remain sober and healthy in spite of the negativity which underlies his perspective. Although AA can be viewed as a formal institutionalization of the discursive power structures that seeks to label and normalize drug users, even subjects who are highly involved in the program maintain caveats to their understandings of addiction which do not align their stories with AA's discourse.

Derek's experience fundamentally challenges the debate between McKeganey and Peele by questioning the falsely dichotomous ideologies that surround users in a nexus of dominating discursive power regimes. Unlike Derek who seems to have found that sense of self ("I just keep it real… I am told I march to the beat of a different drummer."), many others may never feel comfortable understanding their identity or sense of self. Research has also identified this process of identity construction as a crucial feature of reducing drug related harm (Friedman and Alicea 1995). Derek, like so many other users, is neither a "soldier" produced by AA's disciplinary regime nor a "skull" rendered entirely abject by the techniques of control exerted over less economically productive drug users. He problematizes the notions of naming and labeling themselves as a part of the mainstream drug debate.

DISCUSSION

This study was limited primarily by its time frame (nine months) and material resources. With more time or funding one could pursue this subject using more controlled or extensive methods. This could be achieved, for example, with a longitudinal study. One hypothesis is that the stages of treatment, as well as the types of treatment users receive, would be the strongest determinants of how they understand their addiction and navigate the stigmas and pressures they are constantly subjected to. A longitudinal study could use completion of a given program, years of sobriety, or type of treatment as independent variables influencing the dependent variable of user understandings of addiction, identity, use, and stigma. Such a study could reveal the causal relationship between recovery and experiences of addiction and stigma.

Similarly, data could be collected to explore a relationship between users' demographic characteristics (e.g. socioeconomic status) and their perspectives and experiences. Using demographic characteristics as independent variables would be useful in exploring several relationships that emerged from my findings. One example is the role gender plays in these

understandings and power structures. Due to the sample limitations, this study only reached one female subject. Gender and sexuality offer a number of complications and nuances in the power relations and social phenomena that surround substance use and abuse.

Another hierarchy of power structures within this domain of society that became apparent during data collection is the division that exists between "pure" alcoholics and other drug users and addicts. In particular, one could explore how this distinction manifests itself through the divide that exists between AA and NA. Finally, the artificial dichotomy that conflates all non-12-step treatment programs under the label "harm reduction" has left a vacuum in understandings of support systems for users who do not see abstinence or traditional treatment programs as viable routes to recovery. The emergence of users' unions and other support systems, such as the charitable organization through which focus group subjects were contacted, presents a new era in the domain of substance use policy and treatment and is therefore worth more thorough examination. The potential for alternative frameworks in this area is inexhaustible, but the integration of more user voices into this discussion is one of the most important steps future research should take.

CONCLUSION

This study set out to integrate the voices of users themselves into a discourse from which they have been absent. Simultaneously, their silence implicitly perpetuates the mainstream drug debate's construction of dichotomies and labels which serve only to exert control over drug users. Some users embrace these externally imposed identities and are normalized into productive members of society once again, rendered capable of masking the shame associated with their use. For those who resist these social norms, these techniques of biopower become destructive, exerting control by subjectifying them as a lumpen (Bourgois 2009) population who are robbed of basic human dignity and exist only as a deviant subculture.

Two fundamental findings of this study are the hierarchy of stigma and the diversity of disciplinary power that are prevalent in comparisons of subject responses, particularly between the two groups of subjects. For example, focus group participants feel more abject and pushed to the margins of society than individual interviewees. Some of this is a result of pre-existing stigmas that are readily visible such as race or socioeconomic status (e.g. sleeping on the streets). Some is even a result of stigmatization from other users. For example, the individual interviewees who distinguish themselves as only alcoholics but not drug addicts allude to a social distance between users

based on their drug of choice and other factors. Furthermore, Goffman's theories are applicable beyond simply the stigmatization of drug use, as his theory of facework is useful in understanding how some participants in the individual interviewee group use the 12-step treatment ideology to navigate stigma and disciplinary power. Though there is insufficient data to establish causality between possible explanatory variables that respondents allude to and their respective experiences, these dissimilarities are a rich area for potential research.

One of the most interesting explanations for these disparities is participation in AA. The "AA ideology" (Tournier 1979) generates a highly Foucauldian power structure, but it is characterized by a self-imposed entity of disciplinary power rather than by discursive control. AA members are highly conscious of this regimen, and this inversion of its typical form, from an oppressive externally imposed power structure to a self-determined mode of countering discourses of disciplinary society, seems to have a positive effect on their daily lives. These expressions of satisfaction are often described in terms of fulfillment of socially accepted norms and goals, which suggests that AA worked for people like Sam who are happy with those norms.

However, while this counter-narrative to stigmatization can be construed as facework, the unique form it takes presents a challenge to Goffman's (1967) notion of "interchange." While Goffman frames such processes by which a stigmatized individual corrected their stigma as directed towards other, "normal," (1963:5) members of society, AA is the institutionalization of the internal atonement that takes place for users. Members only make public the positive changes against their stigma in the company of others who suffer from the same attribute. This extends Goffman's processes of corrective facework by adding dimensions of both internalization and solidarity to them.

Conversely, a more individualistic perspective emerges from users who did not participate in AA. They express resistance to these societally prescribed goals and therefore do not embrace an ideology that gives them the means of navigating these discursive regimes of power by submitting to them like AA participants do. Rather, they experience biopower's more destructive capacities and live on the fringes of society, as an "abject" (Bergschmidt 2004:60) population. However, the ideology that many focus group participants embrace individually—that drug use is acceptable if it does not hurt others—is beginning to emerge in a more institutionalized form, through organizations such as drug users' unions.

Closer examination of the form in which their ideology is

institutionalized—under the umbrella term of "harm reduction"—alludes to one of the most crucial issues users' responses illuminated: that Foucauldian biopower gains its destructive capacity (Bourgois 2000) through its subjectification of individualistic people and circumstances into general populations and entities.

An obvious example is its ability to achieve this even at an institutional level, by conflating ideologies like those of the users' unions and the focus group participants with the ones that underpin technologies of social control like methadone maintenance. This is done through the identification of both of these entities under a single label of "harm reduction."

While this study did not solely or primarily consider treatment ideologies, such as 12-step or harm reduction, as a way of framing understandings of substance abuse, they became a crucial points of comparison. Treatment ideologies serve as examples of how the dominant discourses surrounding drug use tend towards dichotomies such as harm reduction vs. abstinence or disease vs. crime to understand and address drug and alcohol-related harm. While some have posed continuums of understanding as an alternative—the idea that the best solution is a combination of harm reduction and abstinence-based techniques—even these position the issues as a debate between two ends, with harm reduction as a single entity placed in opposition to abstinence, when it is more accurately characterized by an account of the complex, multi-dimensional relationship between an individual and their environment (Rhodes 2002).

This oversimplification of harm reduction is analogous to the process by which disciplinary power is exerted upon drug users: a single label is applied to a group of highly diverse individuals as a means of more efficiently controlling their behavior. This is evoked most emphatically by Luke, for whom the constant application of labels leaves him feeling completely empty as if the constant pressure of multiple labels has robbed him of his true identity.

While this study set out to challenge a set of dichotomous discourses that trapped these individuals in an oversimplified nexus of debates, the alternative way of understanding them through continuums is equally problematic in that it merely allows room for middle ground while still positioning these addiction paradigms as entities with two opposing sides. Although the use of more generalized terms is useful in discussing larger policy issues addressing substance use and addiction, these general understandings fail to be constructive when they are used at the expense of more individualized treatment approaches. A more comprehensive framework would acknowledge the voices of users and the crucial dimension

their unique circumstances and environments add to any consideration of substance use as a social issue. While drug users, drinkers, alcoholics, addicts, "skulls," and "soldiers" want their voices heard as individuals, techniques of biopower instead drive the discourses that are central in the substance use debate.

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The Reification of Liberal Democracy

Iyla Ollinger

University of California, Berkeley

Abstract

This essay argues that the liberal democratic voting system reproduces institutional arrangements that prevail in the present reified system. The ideas of Lukacs, Eagleton, and Marx are used to produce a synthesized definition of "reification" and applied to the American voting system. Democracy represents a system of identity between people and their government, but the system of liberal democracy becomes "thingified" as participation is reduced to voting. The case study of the non-partisan Rock the Vote campaign exemplifies the process of instilling passive participation in young voters and reproduces the belief that the current system is immutable and all-powerful. Voting, therefore, reproduces the institutional arrangements that prevail in the present reified system.

When asked about her contributions to the 2008 Rock the Vote campaign, pop musician Sheryl Crow responded, "I am so thrilled to be working with Rock the Vote at this very crucial time in our country's history. This is our moment to wake up and seize our power regarding the future of this nation and what it stands for" (RTV 2008). The Rock the Vote campaign states that its mission is "to engage and build political power for young people in our country" (RTV 2008). However, by focusing exclusively on increasing voter participation, the campaign contributes to the social reification of political participation by alienating the act of voting from the surrounding system of liberal democracy. Rock the Vote encourages all eligible citizens to submit individual votes without questioning the greater history and context that constructs the political domain. This paper applies the Marxist theory of reification, originally used to describe the economic system, to explore the consequences of focusing exclusively on one form of constituent participation in the political system. When citizens acknowledge the limited power of the individual act of submitting a vote, they gain the ability to examine and reconceptualize the larger political reality of a liberal democracy as something with the potential to be transformed.

The Marxist term "reification" is broadly defined as the objectification of social relations. The Marxist humanist Gajo Petrović , in *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*, defines reification as "the act… of transforming human properties, relations, and actions into properties, relations, and actions of man-produced things which have become independent… of man and govern his life" (1983:411). Thus, reification is a process that fragments a system of human relationships and alienates these individual pieces from the system to which they belong. Within a reified system, individuals only see a portion of a given social process in isolation rather than in context. As the division of labor deepens and tasks become more specialized, individuals feel greater disconnect between their immediate task and its purpose in a larger context, thereby creating social reification.

The concept of reification was further developed post-Marx by Georg Lukacs in his book, *History and Class Consciousness.* To understand the alienation caused by social reification, it is useful to conceptualize an individual's own consciousness of his position. According to Lukacs, establishing true consciousness requires "the relation [of man] to society as a whole." Only when this relation is established does man's true consciousness emerge (1971:50). Lukacs expands upon the concept by identifying the common misconception of viewing the world as separate from oneself, which he terms "false consciousness." He defines false consciousness as one's inability to recognize how class position and historical circumstances

shape subjectivity and social relations. When individuals possess a false consciousness, they see their separation from the larger world—the experience of social reification—as natural.

As reification dislocates social experiences, social processes take on powers of their own in the subjective experience of individuals. Even for individuals whose roles in production require direct interaction with other human beings, a personal sense of overall purpose is lost and a general sense of system-wide cause and effect is obscured. Reification also occurs at the level of the state; as Lukacs explains, "the formal standardisation of justice, the state, the civil service and so forth, signifies objectively and factually a comparable reduction of all social functions to their elements, a comparable search for the rational formal laws of these carefully segregated partial systems" (1971:98). When individuals see the current state as a product of its history, their view is inclusive of the various transformations and processes of change that shape the government. When individuals see the current state in isolation from its historical trajectory, they see the prevailing system of government as immutable and as a singular option.

Rather than questioning abstractions and desiring that they be clearly defined, individuals tend to focus on the best means to achieve their ends within the existing form of the state. This process of achieving ends without recognizing the totality of the current system can be termed "instrumental rationality" (Kolodny 2013). Instrumental rationality is observed in the pursuit of profit within a capitalist economy. In this system, workers trade their labor for a living wage, without recognizing that capitalists are exploiting their labor power to produce maximum profit. For these workers, the lack of consciousness of the capitalist economic system beyond their immediate roles precludes their ability to imagine an alternative. An awareness of the historical trajectory that has created the current economic system expands their consciousness and enables workers to recognize that no system is natural or unchangeable. This expanded consciousness positions workers to change the system rather than to merely work within its constraints. Successful revolution within a capitalist system can arrive only when the working class acknowledges its alienated state and reunifies "subject and object, torn grievously asunder by the effects of reification" (Eagleton 1991:98).

Our current system of liberal democracy produces a similarly limited consciousness that does not encourage citizens to question its reified character. Democracy represents a relationship between people and their government, but the system of liberal democracy becomes "thingified" as participation is limited to voting options that do not represent substantive

change. The process of voting, a particular form of participation, enables voters to partake in the political system without understanding or questioning the underlying historical and institutional processes of this system. For many, casting a ballot may provide the illusion of full participation, especially for those who fixate on voting as the apex of political participation, and these voters may be unaware of how voting constitutes just one process of a complex and opaque system. Therefore, the social process of voting reproduces the system and liberal democracy continues to foster a relation of passivity between the individual and the political structure.

Many voters continually fail to historicize the social processes that make up liberal democracy and do not acknowledge active forms of political participation that have potential to change the system. The right to actively participate derives from the broad freedoms of speaking out, assembling, and forming associations. Political scientist Patrick J. Conge defines political participation as

> Individual or collective action at the national or local level that supports or opposes state structures, authorities, and/or decisions regarding allocation of public goods. Three aspects of the definition should be emphasized. First, the action can be verbal or written. Second, it can be violent or nonviolent. Third, it can be of any intensity (Conge 1988:247).

Community organizing for public services and cooperative labor strikes against management are examples of legitimate political action as they characterize the legal right to organize and strike as a public good. Historically, political participation has utilized forms of assembly that extend far beyond the measurable and passive process of casting votes. Voting alone may reproduce the institutional arrangements that prevail in the present reified system.

The Rock the Vote campaign introduces young voters to the system of liberal democracy, but its emphasis on voting alone can result in passive participation and isolate engagement in the voting process from the greater context of all political action. As older generations become a smaller share of the total electorate, reversing the historical trend of political inactivity among young citizens becomes particularly important to maintaining the viability of a truly democratic system. Established during the 1992 presidential election, Rock the Vote initiated a mass media campaign on the cable music channel MTV using public service announcements in which celebrities urged young

adults to vote (Burgess et al. 2000). By 1996, this media campaign included radio announcements, joined with the MTV "Choose or Lose" Bus, and registered almost 40,000 voters (Burgess et al. 2000). In addition, Rock the Vote developed the first program to register voters by phone and the first website to offer online voter registration (Burgess et al. 2000). With the efforts of the Rock the Vote 2004 campaign, voting amongst registered young adults increased by 8 percent (Smith 2008). By the 2008 presidential election, the Philadelphia Inquirer writer James Sanders referred to the campaign as a "major political organizer with a voice" that registered 2.5 million voters through its online system (Sanders 2008). These early campaigns made substantial progress towards familiarizing young people with the social relations of liberal democracy.

The Rock the Vote campaign contributes to a relation of passivity between voters and the state that fosters a de-politicizing form of consciousness. Liberal democracy becomes "thingified" by the Rock the Vote campaign through various superficial marketing techniques that fuse pop culture, technology, and politics. This fusion is explained more clearly on Rock the Vote's website, where the group states that its mission is born out of the belief that "partnering with artists, musicians, actors, and technology companies is key to engaging with young people, driving a greater amount of them to vote in elections" (RTV 2014). Its goal as an organization is to increase voting numbers rather than to advocate for an expanded conception of active political participation. In its partnership with Sheryl Crow, in which the musician freely distributed her new album to anyone who registered three people to vote in the 2008 election, Rock the Vote alienated the act of voting from the larger political system (Stone 2008). Although the mission of the campaign was to increase voting numbers, Sheryl Crow's musical album was entirely unrelated to politics. Rock the Vote creates campaigns that are dedicated to raising voter registration numbers rather than encouraging young voters to question the power of the vote or educating them about other forms of political action that they can take.

The 2008 partnership between AT&T and Rock the Vote also demonstrates the passive nature of citizens within the liberal democratic system. Through the partnership, the Rock the Vote campaign used wireless applications including text message opt-in lists for voter registration updates and tools (Weaver 2007). The marketing techniques also included exclusive celebrity ringtones promoting the importance of voting, resulting in further reification within the voting system (Weaver 2007). Rather than encouraging active political collaborations among citizens, Rock the Vote has created an impersonal culture of mass voting registration.

Rock the Vote inspires young people to vote by utilizing various marketing tactics rather than encouraging them to question the purpose of voting and to explore alternate forms of political participation. Young people who are introduced to the liberal democratic system through this campaign are not made aware of the history of political change or the context of wider political participation. With an expanded understanding of how social processes are historicized, constituents would no longer perceive the current liberal democratic system as immutable. By acknowledging the boundaries of the system, individuals break from pre-established thinking and create a space which allows alternative political realities to be developed. I advocate for the more extensive education and organization that will allow individuals to reunify subject and object, generating the potential to transform the very society in which we live.

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Co-opting Civil Resistance:
The Depoliticization of
Mainstream American Hip-Hop

Dana Maier-Zucchino
University of California, Berkeley

Abstract

This research sets out to investigate the widespread criticisms of the condition of American hip-hop on the radio. Many consumers of hip-hop make the intuitive claim that rap artists have become increasingly uninterested in being forces of social change as the genre has evolved into a mainstream cultural institution. Rather, contemporary radio-rappers appear far more concerned with bank statements, bling, and "blades" (i.e. extravagant car rims). Although these types of claims are frequently bandied about, no quantitative analysis of the field currently exists to demonstrate these perceived thematic shifts. This project examines rap songs from Billboard's year-end hip-hop charts from 1990-2004, while coding those songs for a variety of both sociopolitical and nonpolitical themes. The results exhibit hip-hop's clear divestiture from sociopolitical commentary as the genre came to comprise a greater share of the overall music market. The purpose of this project is not to condemn or invalidate superficial lyrics in hip-hop. Rather, this research hopes to demonstrate that the staggering thematic imbalance and exclusion of sociopolitical commentary in radio-rap contributes to the reproduction of racial and class hegemony in America.

INTRODUCTION

Buildings lay in piles of rubble as children toss rocks gingerly among their young, callused hands. Worn faces of the homeless and poor seem to stare past the camera as a mixture of smoke from trashcan fires and cigarettes winds into the gloomy air. Off at the end of a block, a crowd has huddled together around several immense speakers and a dreadlocked man rhythmically nodding his head behind a record player.

Although America had not seen military combat on its shores since the 1940s, footage from the mid-1970s depicts what looks like the aftermath of a devastating blitzkrieg in New York's South Bronx (Lowe et al. 2004). This astounding portrait of urban decay constitutes the foundation of one of the largest African American cultural movements since the drive for civil rights in the 1960s. For those in the South Bronx plagued by unprecedented levels of drugs and gang activity in their community, local hip-hop events became important conduits for alleviating frustration with harsh social circumstances. Afrika Bambaatta, one of the pioneers of the early hip-hop movement, had been deeply gang-affiliated before attempting to cultivate less destructive outlets. As music historian Michael Holman states in the 2004 documentary, *And You Don't Stop: 30 Years of Hip-Hop*, Bombaatta actively held events to redirect gangster energy into hip-hop. Whether in rap battles or in dance-offs, crowds of people would encircle contenders to taunt their opponents and to cheer for their respective sides as they might in physical altercations. The squalid socioeconomic context of the South Bronx therefore played a fundamental role in shaping the initial character of hip-hop as a reaction to intense poverty and violence. The redirection of pervasive and frustrated energy into block-party events gave individuals a space from the harsh reality of life in the ghetto, and the carefree, party-based lyrics of early rappers reflect that understanding of the movement as an escape from their peripheralized existence.

Nearly every aspect of hip-hop's early development embodies a reflection of the black population's experience with marginalization in the South Bronx. In the 2012 documentary, The *Art of Rap*, 1980s rapper Brand Nubian delineates how any hope for institutional music education in the ghetto was little more than fantasy. He explains that blacks desiring to produce music were forced to rely on materials at their disposal, such as turntables and records which were much easier and cheaper to come by than trumpets, pianos, or drums (Ice-T et al. 2012). Through experimentation with those readily available tools, the musically inclined in the South Bronx discovered their capacity to make original beats and rhythms with existing

music, especially from the disco and dance genres. At its conception, hip-hop existed exclusively as an underground movement in which none of the material was recorded, let alone nationally distributed. Rap only began to boast an audience beyond its localized scene with the 1979 release of The Sugarhill Gang's internationally acclaimed single, "Rapper's Delight." Sylvia Robinson, a Sugarhill Records label executive, cobbled together The Sugarhill Gang from several random acquaintances after recognizing rap's marketability to a wider audience. In spite of the artists' lack of affiliation with underground hip-hop, the lyrics of "Rapper's Delight" pulled heavily from the scene's escapist, brag-focused party influence, with one of the verses plagiarized directly from the notes of another local rapper (Lowe et al. 2004). Local artists widely railed against The Sugarhill Gang due to its disingenuous roots and disconnection from the legitimate hip-hop subculture. Three years later, however, Robinson pushed Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five to release "The Message," hip-hop's first commercial release to directly confront the aggravation of surviving in the ghetto. As one of the more influential rappers during the genre's "Golden Era" (1985-1990), KRS-One has cited the 1982 release of "The Message" as the self-aware crystallization of hip-hop's "consciousness." The lyrics, "don't push me, because I'm close to the edge, I'm trying not to lose my head," paint an image of frustration and dissatisfaction with disturbing and inescapable social conditions. While the lyrics of "Rapper's Delight" and "The Message" deal with vastly different subject matter, both international hits define hip-hop's roots as a response to artists' experiences of societal marginalization.

Rapper Talib Kweli expressed in an online forum that hip-hop has always simultaneously been about escapism and social justice, and citing either as the "true" intended form of the genre represents an oversimplification of much more complex social relations within the genre (Kweli 2013). Though the two faces of hip-hop appear to be pulling in markedly different directions, both are integral in understanding the struggles of the urban black community. However, this paper argues that the music industry's overwhelming preference to commercially produce self-centered and materialistic hip-hop ultimately weakens the genre's capabilities as a vehicle for disseminating political ideology. This research seeks to answer how hip-hop, in spite of its associations with pushback against stark marginalization, becomes co-opted to reflect the interests of the white, mainstream majority culture. While a substantial amount of literature characterizes hip-hop as a tool of resistance for subordinated groups against oppression, this will be juxtaposed against the means by which societal pressures shift the focus of mainstream hip-hop artists away from the ghetto and into the penthouse.

These processes thereby demonstrate how elitist domination infiltrates and undermines bastions of civil resistance.

Many social scientists have pointed to the ability of hip-hop and rap to draw popular awareness to difficult issues (such as black incarceration, police brutality, and gang violence), theoretically catalyzing social action and putting pressure on legislators to enact policy change. However, formerly working-class artists frequently react against their systematic subjugation by emphasizing and idolizing the comfortable, bourgeois lifestyle that either eludes them currently or eluded them in the past. This trend seems especially prevalent in "popular" artists on the radio whose lyrics tend to focus on the conspicuous consumption of luxurious commodities associated with the bourgeoisie. Popular radio hits of recent years, including 2 Chainz's "Birthday Song," Nicki Minaj's "Moment 4 Life," and Kanye West's "Mercy," emblematize and reinforce this phenomenon. Through rapping about jewelry and designer brands such as Louis Vuitton and Lamborghini, the artists convey their frustration with the deprivation of those luxuries while simultaneously validating the merits of the existing system. Individual rappers who are successful in this oppressive system are encouraged to believe that the system has "worked," in spite of the systemic denial of luxury which afflicts their communities. Paradoxically, their lyrics serve to justify the very system responsible for their prior subjugation and therefore perpetuate the acceptance of the status quo.

By examining trends in the lyrical content of "popular" hip-hop artists throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, this project demonstrates that the assimilation of hip-hop into mass culture has largely eroded the political efficacy of the most widely consumed products of the genre. Billboard's top-charting hip-hop songs from 1990 to 2004 are coded for a variety of thematic elements, including violence, materialism, and political activism. An analysis of Billboard data seems to be an effective operationalization of "popular" hip-hop because the radio is often the primary disseminator of music in low-income areas characterized by limited access to the Internet, computers, and mp3 players. The coding reveals that while some artists in the genre continue to challenge the status quo, these rappers are generally sequestered to the periphery of the music scene, while more popular musicians continue to generate consent for the inequitable status quo. The processes responsible for this peripheralization of socially and politically aware hip-hop are explored through the application of a number of sociological theories regarding social domination and strategies for civil resistance.

LITERATURE REVIEW

To restate the focus of this study, the research examines the means by which hip-hop, as a mechanism for sociopolitical discourse, becomes appropriated by the hegemonic influence of the music industry and loses its socially conscious edge. As a result of this process, the themes of the most widely consumed hip-hop overwhelmingly center on superficial and often materialistic thoughts and behavior. As a self-defined political activist and musician, Talib Kweli states that hip-hop is necessarily multi-faceted—the genre has always been about both escapism and utilizing the musical platform to deliver sociopolitical commentary (Kweli 2013). While escapism comprises an important, even foundational, element of hip-hop, this paper sets out to argue that the American music industry constructs an institutional field in which politically conscious hip-hop is systematically sequestered to the periphery. In perusing the literature on hip-hop as an efficacious tool for expressing sociopolitical issues and mobilizing support, three important questions emerged: 1) can hip-hop be employed as a tool to significantly influence people's beliefs and behaviors? 2) does integration within the industry have a legitimate, visible effect on the lyrical content of rappers? 3) what barometers exist in order to gauge the politicization of hip-hop lyrics (i.e. what defines political hip-hop)?

A substantial body of work exists with respect to the first question regarding the capacity of hip-hop to influence individuals' ideas and actions. A. Akom conducted a study through instructing a university course featuring hip-hop as a tool for theoretical discourse. For their final projects, students selected topics and employed hip-hop as the method of dissemination to educate the public (Akom 2009). Akom was inspired by the resulting projects and concludes that hip-hop has strong potential as an educational force due to its status as a significant cultural institution for the younger generation. Derek Pardue (2004) studied a similar implementation of hip-hop pedagogy among incarcerated Brazilian youth in São Paulo, where hip-hop is largely viewed as inextricable from its sociopolitical context. It is important to note that Akom's study used academics to instruct students on the educational capacity of hip-hop, while Pardue's research features artists and rappers interacting directly with the youth. Pardue's study took place in FEBEM, a São Paulo correctional facility for youth aged 18 and under. Hip-hop facilitators instructed the youth to contextualize their negative experiences through rap lyrics in order to shift their destructive perspective towards one of productive awareness. By communicating their pain and frustration lyrically, the program's participants reached a more comprehensive understanding of their current situation as a product of

social pressures and political legislation. Pardue states that hip-hop embodies a "plausible and operational… form of education" due to its "heightened articulation of locality in the form of [the periphery] and programmatic sense of morality and social participation" (Pardue 2004:429). The capacity of hip-hop to inspire a deeper level of personal reflection therefore provides a tool for marginalized populations to more fully understand the causes and implications of their social position. While this may be true in Brazil, where hip-hop is insulated from the mainstream and therefore deeply embedded in the locale, the most widely consumed American hip-hop rarely illustrates such sensibilities.

Beyond implementing hip-hop as pedagogy, several authors have demonstrated hip-hop's ability to influence individuals' social interactions. Dimitri Bogazianos, for example, discusses how themes in hip-hop legitimate drug dealing and reproduce systems of criminality in the ghetto. He refers to 50 Cent and Jay-Z, who both had lucrative careers as crack dealers before becoming business moguls. These artists contribute to a mythology of the criminal and propagate destructive values to their audience by glamorizing their pasts in drug dealing and gang activity (Bogazianos 2011). Although the piece evokes potentially negative implications of hip-hop, other articles illustrate how the genre can be used productively as a means of racial dialogue. David Grazian analyzes how memory and culture are created and perpetuated through music, especially in black urban culture. By expressing how "spaces and places" define subcultural experience, Grazian illustrates how engaging with subculture has potential for bridging cultural divides (Grazian 2009).

The understanding of cross-cultural exchange through music is explored further in Cecilia Cutler's piece, "Keepin' it Real." Cutler centers her research on "white hip-hoppers" (WHHs) and explains that they are pressured to align their mannerisms and clothing styles with those of urban African-Americans in order to be accepted as "real" within hip-hop culture. While some whites attempt to advocate the "erasure of blackness and reinforce[ment of] white privilege" (Cutler 2003:229), WHHs gain a fuller understanding of black sociopolitical contexts through active participation in hip-hop culture. This cultural exchange can foster mutual understanding and can significantly influence how whites relate to the experience of blacks in America. In a similar vein, Rachel Sullivan's *Rap and Race* focuses on the ability of hip-hop to affect individual conceptions of racism and minority struggle. Overall, Sullivan's findings indicate that those who are more deeply embedded in the culture and consume the widest variety of hip-hop are those most likely to be sympathetic to and aware of the challenges and

barriers faced by minorities (2003).

Hip-hop, therefore, can be understood as pulling in two vastly different directions: on one hand, rapping about the struggles in the ghetto may cause their reproduction through the glamorization of violence and gang activity. On the other hand, rapping about these issues also has the potential to reduce gaps in cultural understanding and to raise awareness for salient issues that ail these marginalized communities. In either case, the implications are important for this research because the evidence indicates that hip-hop can have a significant impact on its consumers.

Although literature regarding the infiltration of hip-hop culture by the music industry is scarce, the following three articles have begun to explore the interaction between the roots of the genre's culture and the industry's economic imperative. In "Commercialization of the Rap Music Youth Subculture," Elizabeth Blair (1993) provides an analysis of how Marx's theories of alienation are applicable to the trends observable in hip-hop. Through commercialization, the intimacy and authenticity of the individual is fetishized and transformed into a commodity for mass consumption. She also discusses Gramsci's notions of hegemony, stating that the dominant culture precludes marginalized subcultures from resisting oppression by setting the "rules" and norms for determining what is acceptable (Blair 1993). This relates back to Cutler's research on how whites perceive and consume hip-hop: when this majority population supports materialistic, pop/radio iterations of hip-hop, it unconsciously reinforces norms that preclude the dissemination of politically relevant hip-hop. Blair's article was published in 1993, and this project intends to show how, after 20 years, the trends of hip-hop commercialization have only been exacerbated.

Ronald Brown's article, "Mo' Money Mo' Money" (2003), reinforces Blair's observations through his analysis of certain artists' lyrical progression as they become increasingly integrated into the music scene. In particular, Brown examines Tupac's lyrical subject matter and supports writer Charles Jones' contention that Tupac "regressed both mentally and spiritually as his financial status progressed" (Brown 2003:62). This is evidenced in the contrast between intimate songs from earlier in his career such as "Dear Mama" and "Brenda's Got a Baby," with later tracks like "Picture Me Rollin'," a song about purchasing a new Cadillac. This article also touches upon an important trend during the 1990s regarding the mainstream consumption of rap: white, suburban youth and young adults made the majority of the album purchases of the genre (Brown 2003). This phenomenon validates Blair's understanding of hegemony: the dominant culture reinforces the proliferation of material that is non-threatening to its position at the top of

the social hierarchy. Brown's piece also runs counter to Cutler's conclusion that hip-hop consumption promotes mutual understanding between the cultures. Instead, Brown asserts that white consumption of hip-hop has little to do with understanding the minority experience, and more to do with passively observing a different, "exotic" lifestyle. Brown argues that such consumption is unproductive because it merely reinforces stereotypes of black males as violent, misogynistic, and criminal.

Reebee Garofalo's "How Autonomous is Relative: Popular Music, the Social Formation and Cultural Struggle" continues the discussion regarding the music industry's overwhelming influence on the thematic direction of hip-hop. Though the piece does not specifically address hip-hop, it aims to redefine the meaning of resistant, politically charged music by analyzing trends within popular culture. She explains how, throughout the 1970s, any explicit anti-materialist content of rock music was significantly weakened as a result of its thorough integration into the corporate structures of the music industry. However, while music as a cultural commodity may tend to support the existing "structures of capital," Garofalo asserts that the efficacy of the consumer in re-appropriating the music represents the means by which the industry can be challenged (Garofalo 1987). This research seeks to demonstrate how the entrenched influence of corporations over consumers has only deepened since the writing of Garofalo's article over two decades ago.

While clear definitions of political hip-hop are not available in the literature, Theresa Martinez's "Rap as Resistance" identifies salient and recurring themes in politically conscious rap. These themes include distrust of the police, fear of a corrupt system that plans genocide, disillusionment with the Health Care system, anger at racism and lost opportunities, action in the face of oppression, and pleas for recognition (Martinez 1997). The article was written more than fifteen years ago, and this research strives to offer a well-deserved resurveying of the field to determine whether these thematic focal points are still relevant with the most popular contemporary hip-hop artists. Martinez's article also provides a framework for analyzing political hip-hop through an in-depth analysis of a few quintessential albums. However, this project necessitated a quantitative and thematic investigation of the tracks on Billboard's year-end charts for rap from the early 1990s to the early 2000s due to its specific concern with material reaching the largest audience.

In order to better understand the process for getting a song on the radio, an article from National Public Radio analyzed the amount of financial capital required to accomplish the feat. The results emphasize the

highly class-restrictive nature of corporatized, radio pop music. In "How Much Does it Cost to Make a Hit Song," Zoe Chace explains that for a popular music artist such as Rihanna, record labels spend approximately $1,078,000 to manufacture a pop song (Chace 2011). Such high costs of entry to the field imply that the industry becomes the primary determinant of the messages proliferating throughout the broadest cross-section of society. Songs aggressively pushed by record companies therefore rarely represent the interests of marginalized groups (ethnic minorities as well as women). Rather, the interests of the corporate, profit-generating machine emerge as paramount in determining the content of many "Top-40" songs.

METHODOLOGY

As discussed in the introduction, rapper Talib Kweli contends that hip-hop is fundamentally about both escapism and social critiques of the status quo. While he believes that neither aspect should be promoted at the expense of the other, many hip-hop consumers intuitively believe that the latter permutation of the genre has experienced a stark marginalization from mainstream culture. Hip-hop's popularity has grown immensely in the last twenty years, and a cursory survey of the field suggests that as it becomes more integrated into the mainstream, there is increasingly less institutional space for politically driven hip-hop. Prominent rap figures from the late 1980s and early 1990s, such as Public Enemy and NWA, frequently addressed issues central to the struggle of minorities of color in America. The most public, well-known rap figures of today, however, appear to be more concerned with the struggle of deciding on the purchase of a luxury commodity.
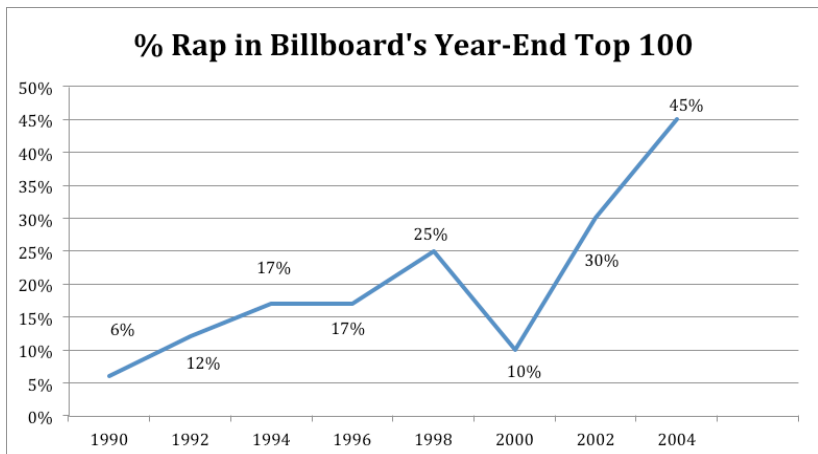
Because this study is most interested in the effects of depoliticized hip-hop on impoverished minority communities, the research utilizes Billboard's hip-hop/R&B year-end charts as a metric for which songs would be most likely to reach that demographic. Radio charts are analyzed because the communities of interest generally have less access to music through other means such as the Internet, CDs, or festivals/concerts. Due to the lack of data on hip-hop prior to 1990, the dataset begins in 1990 and ends in 2004. Hip-hop/R&B year-end charts for alternating years were examined and each charting song's thematic elements were coded based on Theresa Martinez's 1997 study defining "political hip-hop." Martinez coded several albums in the late 1980s and early 1990s and found that recurring political themes included black incarceration, distrust of police, fear of a corrupt system that plans genocide, disillusionment with health care system, anger at racism and lost opportunities, action in the face of oppression, and pleas for
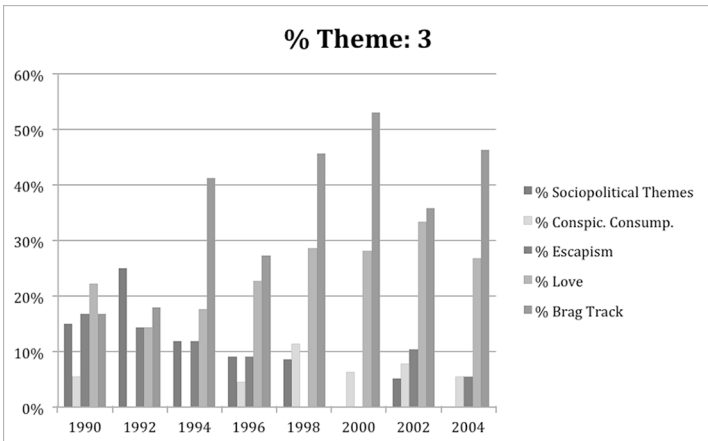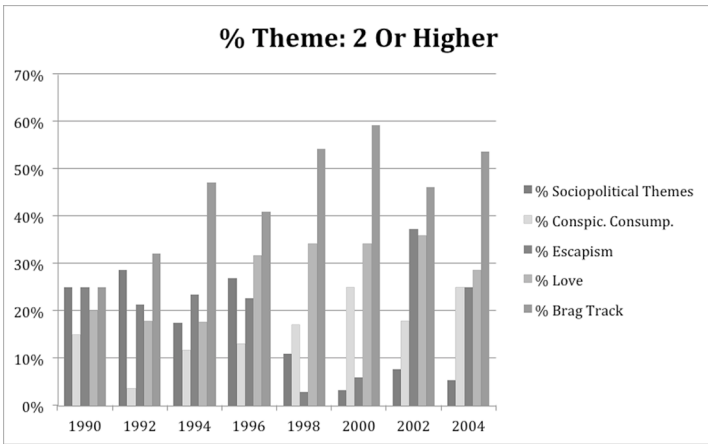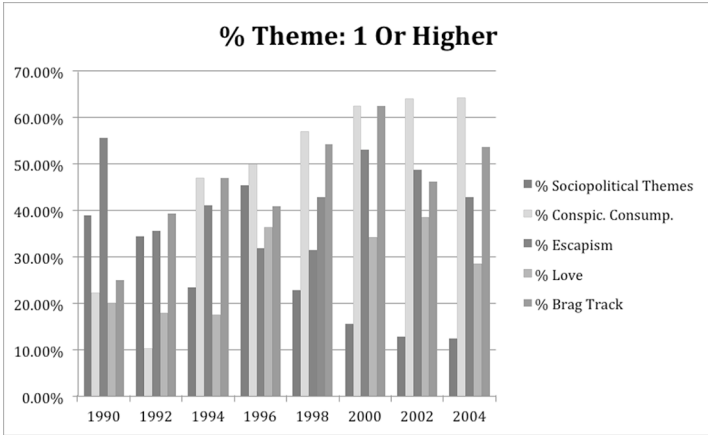
recognition (Martinez 1997). The theme, "frustration with street culture" was also added to this research design after it emerged as a prominent and recurring critique for socially conscious rappers.

With respect to nonpolitical hip-hop, I coded for themes regarding conspicuous consumption, misogyny, glorification of violence, escapism, love, and bragging. While most of these themes are self-explanatory, escapism warrants deeper explanation. Escapism refers directly to depictions of party scenes, such as smoking marijuana, dancing in the club, getting drunk on alcohol, and sipping "sizzurp" (cough syrup). To prevent the graphs from becoming cluttered, "glorification of violence" and "misogyny" have been removed from the charts because they do not constitute nearly as much of the thematic material as initially expected. The statistics on those omitted codes have, however, been included in the appendix of this paper.

Lyrics are coded on a scale of 1 to 3, with 1 indicating a passing mention of a theme, 2 indicating that multiple lines, or a verse, are dedicated to that subject, and 3 indicating that the entirety of the song focuses on a single coherent topic. Starting with 1990, 30 to 40 songs are coded for every other year through 2004. The data is then compared to the percentage of hip-hop songs in Billboard's overall year-end Hot-100, which is used as an indicator of the genre's general popularity. The research demonstrates that the dominant culture (i.e. white hegemony) co-opts these as minority forms of resistance as they are assimilated into the mainstream. In its co-optation of minority strategies of civil resistance, the dominant culture reshapes these resistance mechanisms in order to ensure the perpetuation of its hegemonic position.

RESULTS

% Theme: 1 Or Higher

Legend:
- % Sociopolitical Themes
- % Conspic. Consump.
- % Escapism
- % Love
- % Brag Track

% Theme: 2 Or Higher

Legend:
- % Sociopolitical Themes
- % Conspic. Consump.
- % Escapism
- % Love
- % Brag Track

% Theme: 3

Legend:
- % Sociopolitical Themes
- % Conspic. Consump.
- % Escapism
- % Love
- % Brag Track

The findings show an obvious decrease in mainstream rappers' discussion of sociopolitical themes while simultaneously revealing an increased focus on bragging and conspicuous consumption. Lyrics addressing "love" and "escapism" fluctuate from year to year, but both remain relatively stable topics. "Brag tracks" experience the most notable increase overall, doubling their share of the hip-hop lyrical space for codes of 1 and 2 or higher, and almost tripling in the code of 3 or higher. Themes regarding "conspicuous consumption" constitute the next largest increase in lyrical real estate, especially in the coding of 1 or higher, in which its rate of mention nearly triples. The code of 3 or higher most clearly demonstrates the disappearance of sociopolitical discussion in mainstream hip-hop as 0% of songs delivered substantial contributions to the theme by the end of the dataset in 2004. In sum, the results clearly confirm the paper's hypothesis that hip-hop's integration into the mainstream paralleled sociopolitical hip-hop's marginalization on the radio.

In the earliest year of coding (1990), a quarter of the songs in Billboard's year-end chart for rap songs score a 2 or 3 in themes relating to sociopolitical issues (meaning that the artist dedicates at least a verse to the theme). Of those songs, 60% focus entirely on some socially conscious concept and score a 3 in their respective sociopolitical themes. Two-thirds of those deal with the theme, "action in the face of oppression." This lyrical trend is reflected in songs such as Public Enemy's "911 is a Joke," where the artists address the unequal access to state services for those in the ghetto: "Now I dialed 911 a long time ago/Do not you see how late they're reacting/They only come and they come when they wanna/So get the morgue truck and embalm the goner" (Public Enemy 1990). In spite of the potential controversy verses such as these may have attracted, lyrics critical of the government and the impoverished condition of black populations nonetheless experienced marked radio attention. "Escapism," "love," and "brag tracks" already represent significant thematic focal points, (25% of songs scoring a 2 or higher in the "brag track" and "escapism" category, and 20% of songs scoring a 3 in the "love" category). "Escapism," in particular, comprises the most pervasive theme among radio-rap songs in 1990, as 55.60% of charted songs score at least a 1 in the category. As the data for 1990 indicate, the number of songs focusing extensively (scoring a 2 or 3) on sociopolitical themes was relatively equal to the number of those focused on escapism, bragging, or love.

The data from 1992 show relatively similar trends to the dataset from 1990, and in fact demonstrate a higher percentage of Billboard charted rappers addressing social issues and civil unrest. Eight of the twenty-eight

charted rap songs (28.6%) scored a 2 or higher in sociopolitical themes, with seven of those dedicating specific lyrical attention to "frustration with street culture". The "frustration with street culture" code covered a wide range of topics, including criticism of rampant gang membership, prostitution, and crack smoking, as well as criticism of the contemporary hip-hop scene for becoming commercialized and superficial. The following excerpt from Chubb Rock's Lost in the "Storm" emblematizes "frustration with street culture" through his description of everyday ghetto life: "He said a damn crack fiend just went and took his mama's life/ And now the kid's over there smoking the pipe/ little man blew himself away/ the conspiracy upon the first man/ death to the Klan pump the fists that's connected to the elbow joined by cartilage to the dark hand/ and the plan to conserve this confused violent land" (Chubb Rock 1992). Lyrics such as these address a number of societal problems that plague those in the ghetto and demonstrate the connectedness of hip-hop to the struggle of impoverished blacks. Chubb Rock opens the line with a criticism of rampant crack use in his neighborhood, then goes on to critique the pervasive racism responsible for perpetuating black people's social location in the ghetto. The 1992 dataset demonstrates promising results, with "frustration with street culture" emerging as the second most rapped about topic in the year, coming in behind only "brag tracks" in terms of lyrical prevalence. With almost 30% of charted hip-hop songs dealing extensively with sociopolitical commentary, 1992 showed a similar trend to 1990 and hints that charted artists in following years might produce more politically charged songs, before the intuitively experienced decrease in the 2000s. In succeeding years, however, the sociopolitical themes present in mainstream rap lyrics fade significantly.

The next dataset demonstrates a decline in sociopolitical focus and a perceptible increase in songs about escapism and "brag tracks." In 1994, the number of charted rap songs scoring a 2 or higher in sociopolitical issues dropped to 17.4%, down from 28.6% in the preceding year. Conversely, the number of songs scoring a 2 in "brag tracks" rose significantly from the preceding dataset, from 32.1% to 47.1%. Most interestingly in this year, songs commenting on "conspicuous consumption" increased by almost 40% from 1992: 47.1% of charted songs scored a 1 in 1994, compared to 10.7% in 1992. However, while conspicuous consumption in contemporary radio-rap is frequently tied to bragging about personal prowess and success, conspicuous consumption in 1994 was much more tied to escapism, as evidenced by Outkast's breakthrough single, "Player's Ball": "Low riders, seventy-seven Sevilles, El Do's/ Nothing but them 'llacs/ All the players, all the hustlers, I'm talking about a black man heaven here" (Outkast 1994).

While rapping about desirable cars has become a staple in radio-rap for artists to assert dominance over jealous "haters," Outkast's description of a "black man's heaven" illustrates how obtaining these material possessions represents a realization (albeit superficial) of paradise after suffering through the crucible of poverty.

Similarly, Biggie Smalls' hit "Juicy" focuses on the struggle of making ends meet in the ghetto, followed by attaining success and enjoying luxuries previously denied: "No heat, wonder why Christmas missed us/ Birthdays was the worst days/ Now we sip champagne when we thirst-ay/ Uh, damn right I like the life I live/ Cause I went from negative to positive" (The Notorious B.I.G. 1994). The juxtaposition of Biggie's conspicuous consumption of champagne with depictions of childhood poverty demonstrates how hip-hop's proclivities towards conspicuous consumption largely emerged from the desire to escape the systematic oppression experienced in the ghetto, rather than a drive to demonstrate individual superiority. Due to the conflation of nonpolitical and sociopolitical themes comparing the artists' social location in the past and present, examples such as these are coded under both categories (nonpolitical and sociopolitical). However, the lack of sociopolitical awareness compared to the rise of conspicuous consumption in the dataset demonstrates that this socially conscious manifestation of conspicuous consumption already represents a relatively uncommon trait of radio-rap.

Although the data from 1994 demonstrate a decrease in sociopolitical hip-hop on the radio in favor of superficial, self-absorbed, materialistic lyrics, 1996 saw a return to trends in prior years in terms of the percentage of charted hip-hop addressing social concerns, but "brag tracks" and "love" continued to dominate the genre. 27% of songs scored a 2 or 3 in sociopolitical themes, which represents almost a 10% increase from 1994. This trend is depicted in songs such as Nas' "If I Ruled the World," in which he pleads with listeners to imagine a society where blacks are not harassed by the police, are pulled out of poverty and, as a result, are no longer dependent on welfare support: "Imagine smoking in the streets without cops harassin… no welfare supporters, more conscious of the way we raise our daughters" (Nas 1996). In spite of radio-rap's increase in sociopolitical discourse, "brag tracks" overwhelmingly dominate 1996 with 40.9% of the most popular rap songs scoring a 2 or 3 in the category. Outkast's hit single "Elevators", for example, focuses on how their superior rapping skills have brought them success in the music industry, and Busta Rhymes, in "Woo Hah!," exclaims that he has "the game" in his hand and "will knock you out like Apollo Creed" if anyone confronts him (Outkast, Busta Rhymes 1996). Although

this year may initially provide grounds for optimism in terms of increased institutional space for sociopolitical commentary, the undeniable dominance of bragging in radio-rap surfaces as the primary lyrical focal point for the genre and begins to define mainstream rap music.

1998 echoed 1994 due to the undisputed supremacy of superficial material, with many songs dealing with "love," "conspicuous consumption," and "brag tracks." 1998 represents the sharpest decline in the amount of songs going into detail regarding social commentary: a meager 11% scored a 2 or 3 in sociopolitical categories. Only 15% of the top-charted songs even mentioned sociopolitical themes (earning a score of 1 in the category), down from 50% in 1996. Furthermore, 57% of the top-charting songs in this year scored at least a 1 in "conspicuous consumption," up from 50% in 1996 and 11% in 1992. "Brag tracks" are, again, the most numerous, with 54.3% of the dataset scoring a 2 or higher, and 45.7% scoring a 3.

It is important to note that while some artists in previous years tied "conspicuous consumption" to their oppressed lives before financial success, the theme becomes much more connected to "bragging" and asserting individual dominance over others by 1998. The Lox song, "Money, Power, Respect," represents the embodiment of "brag track" ideology: "First you get the money, then you get the muthafuckin' power, after you get the fuckin' power, muthafuckers will respect you" (The Lox 1998). The rappers go on to detail how wherever they go, women crowd around their luxury cars and crave the artists' attention (The Lox 1998). The systematic societal deprivation of money, power, and respect to the black community therefore produces varied reactions from black hip-hop artists. While some (e.g. Public Enemy, Mos Def, and Talib Kweli) respond with calls for sociopolitical upheaval, others (e.g. The Lox, Busta Rhymes, and Jay-Z) stake explicit claims to respect through bragging, purchasing expensive material possessions, or displaying misogynistic inclinations. Ultimately, the latter has largely become the institutional norm, and the data from 1998 demonstrate the emerging dominance of "brag tracks" on the radio-rap industry. The prominence of superficial, self-centered hip-hop that emerged most visibly in 1994 cements itself in 1998 and deepens its hold over mainstream rap music, resulting in the marginalization of sociopolitical commentary from the popular hip-hop.

Trends in 2000 depicted even greater bias for superficial rap lyrics and a clear rejection of socially conscious hip-hop as popular music. In this year, 62.5% of charted rap songs scored at least a 1 in "conspicuous consumption," while 40% of those scored a 2 or higher (25% of the total sample).   "Brag tracks" reigned as the most popular topic in rap music

yet again with 59.3% of charted songs scoring a solid 3 in the category. Jay-Z states in "Big Pimpin'," "Just because you give good head/ Imma break bread so you can be livin' it up," clearly staking a claim to respect as a result of his ability to provide economically for his sexual partners (Jay-Z 2000). The hook to "Big Pimpin'," with its chant about "spending cheese" and "pimping on B.L.A.D.E's" (riding on ostentatious car rims), reinforces this notion of respect as stemming from financial status (Jay-Z 2000). With radio-rappers increasingly focusing on their personal abilities and economic class, discussion of sociopolitical issues entirely falls by the wayside. 2000 is coded as the most superficial and brag-focused year so far, as only 15.6% of songs score a 1 or higher in socially conscious themes and only 3.2% score a 2. This trend, largely symbolized by Jay-Z's "Big Pimpin'" lyrics, clearly illustrates the superficial thematic direction hip-hop has converged towards on the radio.

Top charted hip-hop songs in 2002 continued to display an overwhelming preference for displaying wealth, partying, courting women, and discussing personal greatness, with little attention given to significant problems confronting young, black men in America. A whopping 64.1% of Billboard-charted songs scored a 1 or higher in "conspicuous consumption," a small increase from the last dataset's already impressive 62.5%. 48.7% of charted hip-hop songs in 2002 scored a 1 or higher in "escapism," with 28.2% of the total sample scoring a 2 or higher. "Brag tracks" experienced an almost 15% decline in popularity compared to the previous dataset, with 46.2% of charted rap songs scoring a 2 or higher in the category. Although this is a notable decrease, egotistical rapping still represents the most frequent theme discussed at length (scoring a 2 or higher) in mainstream hip-hop. Although the percentage of songs that score a 2 or higher in sociopolitical themes double from 2000, the number remained low: a mere 7.7%, with 12.8% scoring a 1 or higher. In short, 2002 reflects the same biases exhibited in 2000 as sociopolitical hip-hop is largely relegated to the sidelines in favor of more superficial and egocentric subject matter.

Mainstream hip-hop in 2004 exhibits more of the same inclinations as the years coded since 1998 for brag-centric materialism with a palpable neglect for sociopolitical discourse. Almost identical to 2002, songs scoring a 1 or higher in "conspicuous consumption" comprised 64.2% of the sample, with 25% of charted songs scoring a 2 or higher in the category. 53.6% of the songs in the 2004 hip-hop chart contained at least a verse (score of a 2 or higher) fitting in the "brag tracks" coding, with 80% of those (42.9% of sample) representing an entire song dedicated to the bragging (score of a 3). Only 12.5% of songs in the sample mentioned (score of a 1) sociopolitical

themes, and just 5.4% could claim a single verse (score of a 2) dedicated to social commentary. 1998 appears to represent a turning point at which top-charting hip-hop songs shift away from confronting sociopolitical issues and to fully embracing the self-centered, superficial blueprint. In spite of some peaks and troughs, the data collectively show a decisive decline in the amount of material dedicated to the civic struggle of poor African Americans, and a shift towards the ostensibly more marketable, ostentatious, and superficial rap music which dominates the market today.

Although though the data has not been as conclusive as expected, the findings of the research reinforce this project's initial thesis that integration into mainstream culture has reduced the ability of hip-hop to act as a legitimate platform for minority groups to express civil discontent on the radio. It appears that sociopolitical hip-hop was already having trouble receiving significant airtime on radio stations even since Billboard began charting the popularity of rap songs in 1990. Themes of "love" and "escapism" have been primary lyrical focus points throughout hip-hop's radio relevancy, which is understandable due to the greater universal appeal of these topics. What is troubling about the data, however, is the clear divestment of lyrical attention devoted to the criticism of societal injustices. Considering that only a quarter of charted hip-hop in 1990 contained significant social commentary, this process of thematic divestiture appears to have already begun in the earliest data in the sample. Although the underrepresentation of socially conscious hip-hop in the music industry begins earlier than anticipated, the data still indicates that this structural bias became much more pronounced as hip-hop's popularity grew throughout the 1990s. Throughout the decade, the substantial increases in "brag tracks" and the explosion of "conspicuous consumption" commentary reflect the most significant shifts in radio-rap's thematic focus.

THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS

For black rappers from the "hood," both the political and nonpolitical lyrics embody a struggle for respect and validation in a society systematically engaged in the marginalization of their community. The purpose of this study is not to claim that superficial, self-centered, or party-oriented hip-hop should not occupy a place within the genre. Rather, the goal of this paper is to illuminate the development of the commercial music industry's overwhelming preference for a particular brand of rap that facilitates the reproduction of an unequal and racist system while excluding its empowering and socially conscious counterpart.

Karl Marx's notions of alienation/fetishization and hegemony and

Antonio Gramsci's understanding of active consent primarily drive the foundational claims of the research. Partha Chatterjee's blocked dialectic, DiMaggio and Powell's understanding of institutional isomorphism, Thornstein Veblen's theory of pecuniary emulation, and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of classification struggles are also relevant to answering theoretical questions evoked by the findings. These last two social scientists in particular demonstrate how, as rappers become commoditized for mass consumption, some sectors of the masses may become influenced by their behavior and may seek to emulate it. Viewing these high-spending, designer brand-shopping rappers as models for personal behavior could theoretically have adverse consequences for low-income audiences, resulting in the reproduction of the status quo. Additionally, other more privileged hip-hop consumers (e.g. white males) have exhibited an undeniable role in the construction of the nature of the commodity, unconsciously employing their purchasing power to shape the genre into compliance with their hegemony. These two trends create a feedback loop of negativity, reinforcing hegemonic structures in society through the marginalization of sociopolitical commentary in mainstream hip-hop.

Karl Marx's theory of fetishization from Das Kapital helps explain the processes by which radio hip-hop has become disconnected from the social context responsible for its creation. Marx's concept of alienation/fetishization describes how an artifact, either tangible or theoretical, becomes commercialized and commodified. Through this process of commodification, the object loses its original, intrinsic value, and is redefined as a product for consumption (Marx 1906:168). Marx's concern primarily lies with how people disregard the underlying social connections that drive the consumption of goods; for example, consumers seeking to purchase an iPod may understand its value and cost as the number stated on its price tag, rather than considering the human labor cost that enabled its production. Although audiences similarly fetishize artists by idolizing them and objectifying them as "celebrities," the corporate record labels objectify the artists in a more Marxian sense by viewing them as resources to exploit for profit. By fetishizing black rappers as vehicles for profit, the music industry constructs an institutional field that rewards conformity to its superficial format for commercial success.

Hegemony, as defined by Marx, refers to the process by which the dominant culture shapes the rules and norms for social, political, and economic interaction. According to 2010 US Census data, whites comprise 72.4% of the American population, which implies that the proclivities of this particular group represent the dominant, "mainstream" market preferences.

Though the appeal of superficial hip-hop is not isolated to white consumers, it has inarguably been effective at incorporating them into a movement rooted in African American culture. In fact, according to a 1994 AdAge article examining SoundData's annual demographic report on the music industry, "about 75% of rap records [at the time were] owned by white teenagers" (Bialik 2005). As the hip-hop institutional field developed in the 1990s, the music industry began to place special weight on the preferences of the dominant demographic of white teenagers and young adults. In 2004, Mediamark Research Inc. conducted a study demonstrating that whites' share of the hip-hop market had fallen to 60% of total consumption (Bialik 2005). Although this is a decline from prior years, the overwhelming majority of white consumers during radio rap's formative years in the 1990s likely played a significant role in characterizing the hegemonic, normative structure of the genre for years to come.

Regardless of whether the music industry deliberately promoted superficial hip-hop for any specific demographic, trends toward superficiality created space for the preferences of a substantially white audience to influence and define the thematic direction of the genre. As white consumers came to represent hip-hop's target audience, rappers' urgent calls to challenge the status quo and to effect sociopolitical change fell to the radio-wayside in favor of brag-focused, violent, party-oriented hip-hop. This brand of the genre possessed a more relatable appeal and a much greater capacity for tapping into a wider population. The growth of a white audience therefore provided further legitimation for superficial lyrics and the marginalization of sociopolitical themes. Although white audiences' disproportionate share of the demographic may not have been the sole cause of this depoliticization, the expansion of this demographic's consumption of the genre likely both validated and accelerated the sharp decrease in sociopolitical themes from 1996 onward. In this way, the dominance of white, mainstream hegemony contributed to the alienation of socially conscious hip-hop in the music scene.

Corporate influences on the rap genre became increasingly pronounced as the music industry evolved, and they implicitly reinforced white-mainstream hegemony by playing a central role in the exclusion of sociopolitical radio-rap. As the music industry's institutional field has become increasingly monopolized, the most influential record companies have little incentive to encourage deviation from the financially lucrative system of superficial hip-hop. Statistics from the 2013 Music & Copyright survey reveal that 74.9% of all officially-released music is released either indirectly through a subsidiary of, or directly by, only three corporations: Warner

Music Group (15.8%), Sony Music Entertainment (22.4%) and Universal Music Group (UMG, 36.7%) (Music & Copyright 2014). As of November 2014, a cursory survey of the Billboard Hot-100 shows that the "Big Three" record companies are responsible for distributing 24 of the 25 rap songs on the list, with UMG and its subsidiaries alone accounting for 17 of those 25. In 2013, 20 of 23 rap songs in the Year-End Hot-100 were UMG-affiliated (Billboard 2014). The commercial music industry has not been compelled to alter its reliance on the topics of bragging, escapism, violence, and love for producing rap as these themes have successfully achieved the economic results it aims for.

Partha Chatterjee's notion of a blocked dialectic provides an additional theoretical framework for understanding how these mainstream, hegemonic influences push a specific breed of hip-hop to the masses. According to Chatterjee, hegemonic forces adopt compatible aspects of the subordinate movement in order to ensure their domination (Chatterjee 1993). By co-opting elements of the opposition movement, the subjugated population may feel a sense of validation, and therefore, will be content with the newly defined status quo. In reality, however, the structures of domination change relatively little in the actual system, and most importantly, the elite perpetuate their position at the peak of the sociopolitical hierarchy. This concept is based on Jurgen Habermas' understanding of the dialectical synthesis between thesis and antithesis as the driver of social progress. In this situation, the thesis can be conceptualized as white, mainstream hegemony, while the black struggle for racial equality represents the antithesis. Bragging about personal endowments and wealth does not threaten the status quo, and therefore, these elements are easily assimilated into the corporate structure of the music scene, while more radicalized lyrics become obsolete. Furthermore, due to the high cultural value many Americans place on individual success and its accompanying excesses, this manifestation of hip-hop possesses an inherent marketability to the general population. In order to produce a genuine dialectical synthesis, the white, mainstream hegemony would need to confront and reconcile the racial inequities addressed by socially conscious rappers. However, the seamless integration of superficial hip-hop into the music industry and American pop-culture validates certain hip-hop artists while simultaneously preventing legitimate development of the racial dialectic in America.

For many rappers, this imbalance of thematic focus does not seem problematic and their lyrics actually appear to legitimate the system as a whole. Antonio Gramsci describes the process by which subordinated groups unconsciously perpetuate their own domination as "active consent"

(Gramsci 1971). Although black rappers, especially those from less privileged circumstances, have an incentive to strive to alter the white-hegemonic status quo, their individual successes validate their lyrical disregard for fomenting social change. By attaining financial success for discussing inane topics in their music, black rappers on the radio may believe that the system functions as it should. Popular, brag-centric rappers may therefore unconsciously perpetuate the dominance of superficial hip-hop at the expense of material that could more effectively challenge the existing structures of racial inequality.

The existing structures of domination derive active consent from oppressed groups' acceptance and implicit legitimation of their own subordination. Through this process, the industry not only inadvertently reinforces the status quo of unequal race relations in America but also makes accomplices of black, brag-focused rappers in maintaining that status quo. Additionally, the continued domination of nonpolitical hip-hop supports the industry's rationalization to disregard sociopolitical rap due to the implied permission of consumers. As a result, successful, superficial rappers' active consent for mainstream hip-hop ensures the reproduction of white, mainstream hegemony by tacitly validating the materialistic, commercially accepted blueprint of nonpolitical radio hip-hop.

DiMaggio and Powell describe several forms of institutional isomorphism in their piece, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." Institutional isomorphism explains how institutions within (and sometimes between) an industry tend to become homogeneous over time. One such mechanism is mimetic isomorphism, which describes how institutions simply refer to a working model and copy it, hoping to repeat its success and capitalize financially. In mimetic isomorphism, the basis of this appropriation lies not in rationality, but in the success of an already established institutional blueprint (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). The brag-focused isomorphism in rap emerged initially from artists, but it was eagerly validated and reinforced by record labels and distributors when they quickly realized how profitable the model could be. As suggested by trends in this study's data, it appears that this institutionalized mimetic isomorphism may have emerged even earlier than 1990, finally reaching undisputed preeminence by 1998. Once entrenched, with rappers all over the country following the format, it became difficult to achieve commercial success through songs that did not conform to the accepted isomorphism. This helps explain why in 2000, when there was a dip in the overall popularity of hip-hop, the nonpolitical trends continued to dominate (even though the thesis of this paper predicts

a decline in superficiality with less popularity). As white-hegemonic influences assimilate nonthreatening elements of a black cultural institution, this blocked racial dialectic becomes ingrained as the radio-rap industry standard. The phenomenon thereby precludes hip-hop from acting as a legitimate vehicle for large-scale amelioration of American racial tension.

Thornstein Veblen's theory of pecuniary emulation and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of classification struggles offer additional insights into the effects of this systematic marginalization of sociopolitical hip-hop. As Veblen asserts in his Theory of the Leisure Class, members of the lower classes inherently strive to emulate actions and behaviors of the upper class. By pursuing bourgeois values, the lower classes often spend beyond their means. This process guarantees the proletariat's inability to actualize legitimate social mobility and directly contributes to the reproduction of existing class domination (Veblen 1899). Similarly, Bourdieu explains in Distinction how economic and cultural conditions shape individual preferences, which are in turn ordered hierarchically in society with bourgeois preferences at the top and working class preferences at the bottom. As a result of the higher social value placed on bourgeois sensibilities, those in the lower classes, especially middle class petite bourgeoisie, strive to align with upper class preferences. Bourdieu asserts the futility of these lower and middle-class classification struggles, explaining that the bourgeois will continue to culturally distance themselves even if those in lower social classes may be making apparent progress towards realizing bourgeois taste and behavior (Bourdieu 1987). As shown by this study's data, the rise of brag tracks on the radio clearly coincided with more lyrical dedication to conspicuous consumption. Consumers of hip-hop may fall into this trap of classification struggles because they may feel inspired to idolize and emulate superficial radio rappers who produce materialistically themed music.

The 2012 Radio Business Report, "Hip-Hop, Consumers and Retail," provides quantitative support for Veblen and Bourdieu's theories as to how they relate to consumers of hip-hop. The report presents a number of findings from BIGInsight's "Media Behaviors & Influence Study" to highlight consumption patterns of individuals who listen to hip-hop and compare them against those in the sample who do not. For example, the socioeconomic status of the average hip-hop consumer falls well below the average of the total sample. Only in the bottom three subsets of annual income below $15k, $15k-25k, and $25k-30k are listeners of hip-hop overrepresented in the sample. 9.9% of the total sample represented households earning less than $15,000, while the same was true of 15.5% of hip-hop listeners. The next income bracket, $15,000-24,999, contained 9.8%

of the total sample, but 12% of hip-hop listeners fell into this category. For the highest measured income brackets, however ($100k-149,999, and over $150k), 11.5% of hip-hop listeners could claim inclusion, compared to 16.3% of the total sample (Radio Business Report 2012). The unfortunate position of hip-hop consumers overrepresented in lower income brackets becomes exacerbated upon analysis of their spending habits.

Even though hip-hop consumers are more likely to earn less than non-hip-hoppers, they spend disproportionately more at "Specialty-Apparel" retail outlets. "Specialty-Apparel" stores are defined by their narrower focus on a specific target market, and as a result they tend to be more expensive than their department store counterparts (Lamb et al. 2008:363). Stores that fall into this category include Steve Madden, Gap, Louis Vuitton, Foot Locker and other stores that specialize in a particular industry niche. As enumerated in the study, "The Essentials of Marketing," consumers that frequent specialty stores are less inclined to be concerned with competitive pricing, and more focused on "branding image, selection choice, and purchasing assistance" (Lamb et al. 2008:363). For women in the total sample, 12.8% shopped for clothing at specialty-apparel stores compared to 19.5% of female hip-hop listeners. The difference is similar for men, with 10.2% of the total sample and 16.7% of male hip-hop listeners shopping for clothing at specialty-apparel outlets. Considering that hip-hop listeners are also much more inclined to shop at discount stores for nearly all other amenities, this data suggests that hip-hop culture encourages overspending on fashion as a means of commanding respect. Additionally, the data shows that hip-hop consumers more frequently respond to advertisements for electronics and clothing. For the entirety of the sample, 17.7% followed up on radio commercials for electronics, as compared to 32.5% of hip-hop listeners (Radio Business Report 2012). Although a number of factors likely contribute toward this trend, the data suggests that hip-hop culture may, to some extent, influence particular consumption patterns.

As discussed throughout this section, an amalgamation of social processes coalesces to drive the peripheralization of sociopolitical hip-hop. The widespread proliferation of brag-centric, superficial, party hip-hop on the radio fetishizes the reality of urban life by focusing on the success (and excess) of an individual's escape from poverty, rather than critiquing the structures responsible for producing that poverty. Furthermore, the industry's fetishization of the artists as mere commodities for profit dislocates them from their social contexts and reinforces trends of superficiality. The trends create economic incentives of acquiescence to the dominant culture and facilitate hegemonic co-optation of a minority movement of

resistance. This co-optation results in rappers' implicit acceptance of the status quo through their adoption of the industry's pre-approved blueprint of nonpolitical mimetic isomorphism. Consequently, a blocked dialectic emerges in which individuals, through their continued consumption of politically neutered hip-hop, validate the themes of superficiality and luxury. By adopting the defanged manifestation of hip-hop and alienating lyricists with social consciousness, the dominant structures in the music industry thereby preclude the legitimate progression of a substantive racial dialectic on American radio.

Furthermore, this proliferation of nonpolitical hip-hop carries serious implications for audiences, who may be more inclined to partake in brand-focused conspicuous consumption in order to emulate what they perceive to be an achievable upper-class lifestyle. Superficial, conspicuous-consumption-driven tracks may therefore encourage particular consumption habits that unwittingly serve to perpetuate the current disparate system. Ultimately, through underlying, inadvertent, hegemonic forces that pressure artist conformity, the music industry makes hip-hop artists complicit in producing music that does little to challenge the social and economic condition of the oppressed communities from whence the genre was born.

CONCLUSION

For radio hip-hop, the thematic elements of love, bragging, and escapism are a natural fit because the lyrics, for the most part, do not require deep thinking or reflection and are therefore more accessible to a wider (and whiter) audience. Interestingly, though not surprisingly, songs with commentary do mention escapism, which is understandable given that escapism may be an instinctive response to adverse, oppressive circumstances. This further reinforces Talib Kweli's understanding of hip-hop as a necessarily multi-faceted, complex genre predicated on elements of both sociopolitical strife and escapism. Nevertheless, many coded songs glorified escapism without providing social context; instead they narrowly idolized lavish party scenes while disregarding the struggle necessary to get there.

In spite of several select artists who demonstrated sociopolitical sensibilities throughout the decade, even the preliminary years of coding indicate the clear industry bias for nonpolitical rap, which has dominated the genre's mainstream scene since the 1990s. Although 1990 was expected to display the strongest inclinations towards confronting social issues, only a quarter of the songs from 1990 dedicated extended lyrical focus to sociopolitical concerns. This result is especially apparent considering that

singular codes for "nonpolitical" hip-hop are compared to the consolidation of eight different codes, referred to collectively as "sociopolitical" hip-hop. If one combines the codes for nonpolitical hip-hop into a similarly reduced category, the industry bias becomes overwhelming. In 1990, for example, songs scoring a 2 or higher in "sociopolitical themes" comprised 20% of the sample, while those receiving a 2 in "nonpolitical themes" represented 70%. By 2000, the percentage of songs scoring a 2 in sociopolitical themes had fallen to a meager 3.2%, and similarly coded nonpolitical songs rose over 20 points to comprise 93.75% of the sample. Detailed data on comparisons using this reduced coding of "nonpolitical themes" have been included in the appendix for the reader's interest (Appendix, Fig. 4-6). All things considered, there existed a relative balance between the amount of lyrical material dedicated to partying and the amount dedicated to social commentary in 1990. By 1998, the year with hip-hop's steepest decline in sociopolitical discourse, the deceased Tupac Shakur represented the only artist credited with scoring above a 1 in sociopolitical themes. His song, "I Wonder If Heaven Got a Ghetto," scored a 2 in "distrust of police," "fear of a corrupt system that plans genocide," "anger at racism and lost opportunities," and "pleas for recognition," while the song scored a 3 in "frustration with street culture." Despite Tupac's socially poignant, posthumous piece, the data shows a serious decline in radio-rap's sociopolitical focus.

Popular music inherently strives to connect with the largest number of people, and lyrics pertaining to love and confidence in oneself (arrogance in "brag tracks") appear to be the most marketable to a broader audience. However, Yasiin Bey (also known as Mos Def) in *The Art of Rap* explains how hip-hop "didn't start with pop-culture ambitions. It never had pop-culture ambitions… it's folk music" (Ice-T et al. 2012). So perhaps it was inevitable that once rap gained commercial traction, its capacity to embody a more significant socio-cultural movement would erode. But this raises the question of how an artist such as Tupac, who was enormously popular and widely regarded as one of the greatest rappers of all time, could continue to produce socially conscious lyricism on the radio up until his death in 1996. Clearly, the potential exists for rappers to confront deeper subject material on the radio, but industry bias largely precludes the proliferation of these topics in the mainstream. Rappers who attain popular success, as defined by their presence on the radio, exhibit an aversion to lyrics that refer to sociopolitical struggles. Lyrics are increasingly concerned with artists' personal prowess, financial success, love lives, and leisure time, and are less concerned with fighting for recognition and equality in an oppressive society. To describe the trend in terms of C. Wright Mills' "sociological

imagination," rap has become divested of the "intersections of history and biography" (Mills 1959:7) and is much more focused on the importance of the individual.

People tend to look back on the 1990s as an era characterized by more lyrically stimulating hip-hop, less focused on "bling" and more engaged with the social issues of the time. While my findings indicate that this is not an entirely incorrect impression, they also illustrate that lyrics of the most popular rap songs in the 1990s already displayed a clear industry preference for elements of conspicuous consumption, escapism, and bragging. Throughout the decade, popular lyricists like Tupac, Bonethugs and Harmony, Nas, and members of the Fugees continued to grapple with the struggle of growing up in poverty and facing constant oppression, which undoubtedly has skewed the public's current perceptions of what was popular at the time. As this paper's coding has illustrated, however, only about 25% of top-charted songs in a given year contained extensive social commentary (demarcated by the score of a 2 or higher). Unfortunately, considering the stark decline to about 10% in 1998 and 2000, the fact that even a quarter of charted songs in prior years dealt with sociopolitical issues is surprising.

Billboard's year-end charts for rap songs only go back to 1990, when only about a quarter of those charted songs gave extensive attention to social issues. It is for this reason that it would have been interesting to obtain data from before this year: such statistics would shed further light on the correlation between rap's popularity and its thematic regression. It would also be fruitful to investigate top-selling albums before this period to better understand rap's central themes prior to Billboard's involvement. Thus far, it appears that the industry only granted the genre serious attention after its content had demonstrated itself to be less subversive and commercially viable.

The Garofalo research discussed in the literature review describes a similar trend that occurred roughly three decades prior in rock music as the genre entered the mainstream between the 1960s and 1970s. Reebee Garofalo's piece examines how after the 1960s, explicit anti-materialist, anti-establishment content in rock music experienced a significant decline as a result of becoming ingrained in the corporate structure. She argues that music as a cultural commodity tends to be appropriated to support existing structures of capital (Garofalo 1987). Judging by the data collected in this study, a similar process has occurred in hip-hop throughout the 1990s into the 2000s. Yet Garofalo states that the efficacy of the consumer can catalyze re-appropriation and prevent corporate influence from neutering

music's sociopolitical discourse. Unfortunately, because hip-hop's discourse emerged out of the struggles faced by blacks in America, and as a result did not apply to the most substantial consumer demographic (white males), this re-appropriation becomes all but impossible, at least in the mainstream.

Media can have a profound impact on the way individuals perceive themselves and the world around them, and the egregious underrepresentation of "conscious" hip-hop on the radio demonstrates the industry's disinterest in disseminating positive, empowering messages to disempowered groups. The music industry has never claimed to be an agent of social change, nor does it aspire to be; for the record companies and corporations like Universal Music Group and Billboard, financial profit drives the production and sale of records. In spite of this, artists like Tupac Shakur have proven that socially conscious hip-hop has enormous marketing potential. Kendrick Lamar appears to have taken up Shakur's mantle in the contemporary mainstream, releasing the enormously successful *Good Kid, Maad City* (*GKMC*) album in 2012 to widespread critical and commercial acclaim. *GKMC* paints an evocative portrait of life growing up in Compton, characterized by pervasive pressures to conform to gang life, substance abuse, and misogynistic paradigms. Lamar released his latest album, *To Pimp a Butterfly*, in 2015 which even more directly challenges America's treatment of blacks. The record features stinging indictments of race relations in America, and many songs extensively confront black experiences of racism, poverty, distrust of police, and frustrations with street culture. With "To Pimp a Butterfly" on pace to reach the number 1 position on Billboard's album charts, Lamar underscores that hip-hop's ethnically-rooted, sociopolitical consciousness does in fact have the potential to profoundly resonate with mainstream-American audiences.

However, socially conscious hip-hop artists like Kendrick Lamar represent anomalies on the radio, and it is clear that the industry largely neglects this group of socially conscious rappers in favor of glorifying superficiality and materialism. By constructing a system that largely sequesters sociopolitical hip-hop to the pop-culture periphery, the music industry erodes the progressive potential of the genre and pressures its artists to play a complicit role in reproducing the invisibility of the very population responsible for its existence.

FUTURE RESEARCH

This research leaves many opportunities open for further research into how corporate structures influence music production and distribution. Given that the under-representation of socially conscious rap appeared much

earlier than expected, it would be interesting to examine popular tracks from the era just before Billboard began keeping charts (1984-1990, frequently referred to as the "Golden Age" of hip-hop). This data could shed light on the role Billboard may have played in shifting the lyrical focus of American rappers. It also may be useful to construct a survey based on Sullivan's 2003 study, "Rap and Race: It's Got a Nice Beat, but What About the Message?," in which she surveys youths to gauge differences in hip-hop preference across genders and various ethnicities. If particular demographic groups consume rap differently, this will shed further light on whose preferences have more influence on trends in the music industry. Additionally, juxtaposing the development of American hip-hop with the definitively political nature of hip-hop in other countries, such as Brazil or Yemen, could yield important insights into the capacity of hip-hop as a vehicle for social change when not restricted by the corporate hegemonic forces of the music industry. Overall, examining hip-hop as a tool for fomenting social change will continue to offer meaningful insights into the efficacy of minority civil-resistance movements to challenge oppressive hegemonic structures.

APPENDICES

Section A: Tables Including "Glorification of Violence"/"Misogyny" Codes

YEAR	% SOCIOPOLITICAL THEMES	% CONSPIC. CONSUM.	% ESCAPISM	% LOVE	% GLORIFICATION OF VIOLENCE	% MISOGYNY	% BRAG TRACK
1990	38.90%	22.20%	55.60%	20.00%	21.05%	10.53%	25.00%
1992	34.50%	10.30%	35.70%	17.90%	13.79%	31.03%	39.30%
1994	23.50%	47.10%	41.20%	17.60%	11.11%	22.22%	47.10%
1996	45.50%	50.00%	31.80%	36.40%	4.35%	8.70%	40.90%
1998	22.90%	57.10%	31.50%	42.90%	22.22%	22.22%	54.30%
2000	15.60%	62.50%	53.10%	34.30%	27.27%	27.27%	62.50%
2002	12.80%	64.10%	48.70%	38.50%	17.50%	17.50%	46.20%
2004	12.50%	64.30%	42.90%	28.60%	22.81%	28.07%	53.60%

Fig 1: Percentage of Songs Scoring a 1 or Higher in the Following Themes

YEAR	% SOCIOPOLITICAL THEMES	% CONSPIC. CONSUM.	% ESCAPISM	% LOVE	% GLORIFICATION OF VIOLENCE	% MISOGYNY	% BRAG TRACK
1990	25.00%	15.00%	25.00%	20.00%	15.79%	0.00%	25.00%
1992	28.60%	3.60%	21.40%	17.90%	10.34%	6.90%	32.10%
1994	17.40%	11.80%	23.50%	17.60%	5.56%	11.11%	47.10%
1996	27.00%	13.00%	22.70%	31.80%	0.00%	0.00%	40.90%
1998	11.00%	17.10%	2.90%	34.30%	0.00%	2.78%	54.30%
2000	3.20%	25.00%	5.90%	34.30%	15.15%	12.12%	59.30%
2002	7.70%	17.90%	37.30%	35.90%	2.50%	7.50%	46.20%
2004	5.40%	25.00%	25.00%	28.60%	12.28%	10.53%	53.60%

Fig 2: Percentage of Songs Scoring a 2 or Higher in the Following Themes

YEAR	% SOCIOPOLITICAL THEMES	% CONSPIC. CONSUM.	% ESCAPISM	% LOVE	% GLORIFICATION OF VIOLENCE	% MISOGYNY	% BRAG TRACK
1990	15.00%	5.50%	16.70%	22.20%	0.00%	0.00%	16.70%
1992	25.00%	0.00%	14.30%	14.30%	0.00%	0.00%	17.90%
1994	11.80%	0.00%	11.80%	17.60%	0.00%	0.00%	41.20%
1996	9.10%	4.50%	9.10%	22.70%	0.00%	0.00%	27.30%
1998	8.60%	11.40%	0.00%	28.60%	0.00%	0.00%	45.70%
2000	0.00%	6.30%	0.00%	28.10%	3.03%	12.12%	53.10%
2002	5.10%	7.70%	10.30%	33.30%	0.00%	5.00%	35.90%
2004	0.00%	5.40%	5.40%	26.80%	1.75%	3.51%	46.40%

Fig 3: Percentage of Songs Scoring a 3 or Higher in the Following Themes

Section B: Statistical Comparisons Using the Reduced "Nonpolitical Themes" Code

YEAR	% SOCIOPOLITICAL THEMES	% NONPOLITICAL THEMES
1990	38.90%	94.40%
1992	34.50%	75.86%
1994	23.50%	82.35%
1996	45.50%	86.36%
1998	22.90%	94.29%
2000	15.60%	100.00%
2002	12.80%	97.44%
2004	12.50%	96.43%

Fig 1: Percentage of Songs Scoring a 1 or Higher in the Following Themes

YEAR	% SOCIOPOLITICAL THEMES	% NONPOLITICAL THEMES
1990	25.00%	70.00%
1992	28.60%	62.07%
1994	17.40%	82.35%
1996	27.00%	81.81%
1998	11.00%	91.43%
2000	3.20%	93/75%
2002	7.70%	89.74%
2004	5.40%	96.43%

Fig 2: Percentage of Songs Scoring a 2 or Higher in the Following Themes

YEAR	% SOCIOPOLITICAL THEMES	% NONPOLITICAL THEMES
1990	15.00%	63.16%
1992	25.00%	44.83%
1994	11.80%	64.71%
1996	9.10%	59.09%
1998	8.60%	82.86%
2000	0.00%	90.63%
2002	5.10%	82.05%
2004	0.00%	83.93%

Fig 3: Percentage of Songs Scoring a 3 or Higher in the Following Themes

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In Pursuit of the Universal: A Bourdieusian Perspective on the Free Speech Movement

Souma Kundu and Wailam Wong
University of California, Berkeley

INTRODUCTION

The Free Speech Movement began at UC Berkeley in 1964 in response to the school administration's decision to ban on-campus political activities. The purpose of the student-led protest was to protect the right to free speech and academic freedom within the country's larger political climate. The debate first surrounded civil rights and later opposition to the Vietnam War. Under the assumption that the sidewalk bordering the university at the intersection of Bancroft and Telegraph was public property, student groups had historically used this space as a platform to sound their political voices. In reaction to active student recruitment on Bancroft Strip leading to participation in controversial civil rights demonstrations across the nation, the University faced strong political pressures from state legislators to curb student involvement in such events. When it was discovered by a reporter that Bancroft Strip was in fact legally University-owned, the administration assumed grounds to officially ban political activity on campus property (Freeman 2004). While the movement was predominantly student-organized, this paper focuses on the positions taken by intellectuals at the university understood through Bourdieu's delineation of the scientific field and its agents. From the perspective of this paper, responses of intellectuals are understood as actions taken to preserve the autonomy and the value of the "pursuit of the universal" within the scientific field (Corporatism of the Universal 1992:103).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Bourdieu conceptualizes the work of agents in the scientific field as continually constructing competing visions of the world that objectify and classify groups to assert the agents' own legitimacy within the field. In the case of the Free Speech Movement, agents in the scientific field are engaged in a classificatory struggle concerned with defining the usage of physical space to ensure the greatest autonomy and pursuit of truth by the scientific field. Intellectuals, defined as faculty members, hold widely varying stances concerning their support or opposition to the movement that can be understood through the Bourdieusian framework of the scientific field. Their stances reflect different interpretations of the classification of three stakes: the movement, the role of the intellectuals, and appropriate administration of the University in the categories of responsibility and limits of influence (Symbolic Violence 1970:185-186). Bourdieu would explain these varying stances by correlating each stance with the respective benefits accrued from controlling each stake in the scientific field. This concept will be further explored in a series of actual intellectuals' written statements revealing their opinions on the movement.

According to Bourdieu, true intellectuals must fulfill two conditions of scientific occupancy: they must belong to an autonomous field and they must engage their expertise in a domain of political activity outside it (Corporatism of the Universal 1992:99). For the purpose of this paper, our primary focus is on the first condition. While there seems to be a general consensus among intellectuals that it is in their best interest to maximize autonomy, intellectuals disagree on the objective conditions required to ensure such a state. In the absence of autonomy, Bourdieu warns of the "intrusion of the powers associated with one field into the functioning of another" such as the intrusion of political and economic power into the scientific field (Historicity of Reason 1997:104). The second criterion determining intellectuals' positions on the movement concerns whose actions they perceive to be in violation of scientific value of the pursuit of truth. This perception is based on whom the individual intellectual views as responsible for upholding the values and autonomy of the scientific field.

In order to assess most clearly the intellectual opinions on the movement, we analyzed public letters written by individuals, or by committees and departments declaring their stance on the Free Speech Movement. The particular perspectives discussed below do not reflect a comprehensive review, nor do they reflect a perfectly random sampling, but show a small selection demonstrating the spectrum of opinions justified

along the same lines of reasoning asserted in the previous section.

Stake #1: Classification of the Free Speech Movement

        Bourdieu states that agents in a field engage in classificatory struggles to "preserve or modify the constructed space of positions" aimed at "defending the interests of their members" (Political Field 1981:242). In the context of the Free Speech Movement, "the constructed space of positions" refers to the accepted roles and responsibility of the faculty and administration. When the administration appears to suddenly ban the political advocacy on a traditionally political space, the existing order of the social world is disrupted, resulting in a struggle to redefine the roles and responsibilities in this new context. A point of contention amongst various faculty members is how to situate the Free Speech Movement within the political or scientific fields. Within the political field, the Free Speech Movement is contested on the constitutional basis of authority, and on the basis of affording political freedom. Within the scientific field, the Free Speech Movement is contested on the basis of intellectual freedom of speech.

        Official declarations by the Departments of History and Anthropology define the movement within the political field. The History department warns that unless the university stops violating students' on-campus exercise of political rights, ensured by the First and Fourteenth Amendments, it will be causing "a disastrous and perhaps irreparable breach in the University community" (UC Archives 1964-1985). The Anthropology department encourages the Chancellor, President, Chairman of the Board of Regents, and Governor that "political freedom on campus" should ensure "that the rights guaranteed by our Constitution are actually available to every citizen"(UC Archives 1964-1985). Thus, both departments draw on the political necessity of the movement rather than an intellectual necessity for their support. Law professor David Louisell chastises his pro-Free Speech Movement colleagues for increasing the "ever-lurking potential of partisan political interference" within the autonomous intellectual domain (Louisell 1966:114). Political science professor Albert Lepawsky shares Professor Louisell's concern and argues that the movement is a political issue which lies outside the realm of the scientific. Lepawsky states that the issue of free speech is an issue of "preserv[ing] the political freedom for scholars" rather than an issue of intellectual freedom (Lepawsky 1965). It is important to note the subtle distinction between the stances of the Departments and of Lepawsky and Louisell. While the Departments use their positioning of the movement

in the political field to suggest that political freedom is a stake within the realm of intellectual freedom in support of the movement, the two professors use their positioning to suggest that political freedom and intellectual freedom are interconnected, but distinct to the extent that the political facet should be subordinate to intellectual freedom. This particular nuance will be further discussed in the following section. Professor Wilson McWilliams of the Political Science department remarks that there is "no way that you can separate the free speech issue from the academy" (UC Archives 1964-1985). In other words, he classifies the movement as simultaneously situated in both fields as an issue of intellectual and political freedom of expression.

Stake #2: The Ideal Role of the Intellectual

Bourdieu breaks the commonly-held notion that scientists are engaged in a disinterested pursuit of knowledge solely driven by intellectual motives. However, there is an inherent political and scientific dimension to all scientific inquiry. This paradox is a two-fold stake created by a "general interest in a particular scientific activity" as a scientific dimension of discovery and a political dimension of recognition for discovery (Scientific Field 1975:21). Additionally, while Bourdieu sees political activity as a necessary part of being an intellectual, he is careful to distinguish between such engagement as a cultural producer and full-time politicking (Corporatism of the Universal 1992:99-100). Political involvement is most effective when intellectuals have the greatest autonomy and thereby the greatest symbolic effectiveness in assuming a political position (Corporatism of the Universal 1992:99-100). Therefore, it can also be asserted that certain actions by intellectuals are necessary to protect such autonomy of the scientific field. The various opinions held by intellectuals during the Free Speech Movement in regards to their perceived ideal involvement, can be understood along the aforementioned theoretical framings.

Professor Stanley Fish from the English Department staunchly opposes the idea of any faculty involvement in the movement, based on the idea that 1) the interests of the movement did not extend to the faculty 2) if faculty were interested in such political involvement, they ought to leave academia. Thus, Fish's recommendations and personal opinion on the role of intellectuals clash prominently with Bourdieu's belief that 1) intellectuals can effectively convert scientific capital to political capital and 2) temporary alliances can form between the faculty and students (Symbolic Violence 1970:188).

English professor Henry Nash Smith writes an open letter to students, faculty, and the administration, stating the need for faculty neutrality and general stance as "an ungrateful unbiased third party" (UC Archives 1964-1985) – implying a level of anticipated resentment from both parties. While Bourdieu may agree with the intention of remaining autonomous and detached from the influences of competing interests, he would disagree with the notion that it is possible to completely shed one's underlying interests in any and all actions as a third party member participating indirectly in a struggle (Scientific Field 1975:25).

Professors Louisell and Lepawsky contrast with Smith by recognizing the need for active participation and recognizing the faculty's stake in the outcome as a means of protecting the interests of intellectual freedom above political freedom. They also acknowledge the general role of political behavior as "an important part of intelligent conduct" and as such something that "must therefore be incorporate[ed]" (Scientific Field 1975:25) within the university, but they view the actual Free Speech Movement as a threat from the political field to intellectual freedom. Consequently, they closely align themselves with Bourdieu's concept that intellectuals must protect their autonomy, and in this case Louisell and Lepawsky's justification is that "any conflict arising between the intellectual and political way of life must be resolved in favor of the primacy of the intellectual over the political" (Scientific Field 1975:25).

Political science professor Wilson McWilliams and biology professor Leon Wofsy take a similar stance of active participation with the same interest of protecting intellectual freedom and the autonomy of the scientific field. However, McWilliams and Wofsy categorize the pursuit of free speech as an issue inseparable from academic freedom. In other words, they construct the movement as a political activity of primary importance within the intellectual field as opposed to Louisell and Lepawsky, who characterize the Free Speech Movement as political activity secondary to the importance of the intellectual way of life. Additionally, McWilliam's and Wofsy's stance in favor of free speech can be seen as a protection of the scientific value of free speech as the freedom to engage in competition for the pursuit of universal truth.

Stake #3: The Ideal Administration of the University

As discussed with the previous stake, the intellectuals have an interest in defining the responsibilities and proper limits of the University administration as well. It is important to note that these are the definitions according to the intellectuals, not reflexively by administrators themselves.

Thus, the competition of different definitions belongs in the competitive arena of the scientific world for legitimate worldmaking (Symbolic Violence 1970:185-6).

The stated role of the University of California is to pursue knowledge and intellectual discovery. Bourdieu would interpret the "very real effects" of this self-proclaimed mission statement as the necessity to actualize the stated "values of neutrality and disinterested devotion to the public good" (Historicity of Reason 1997:124). While this quotation originally referenced the state, the university administration is a comparable body of governance and arm of the State.

At its founding, the State Constitution guaranteed the administration a level of independence by granting "full powers of organization and government" (Histories and Discoveries 2015) subject to limited oversight by the state. Professors Louisell and Lepawsky, opponents of the Free Speech Movement due to the perceived threat to the autonomy of the scientific field, also see the University's "prime mission … in the cultivation of the intellectual freedoms." Allowing the continuation of the movement increases the politicization of the university "to a point which threatens the university's overriding responsibility for the intellectualization of American life" (UC Archives 1964-1985). In an article published in the California Law Review shortly after the movement ended, Louisell expresses his fears that the concession of university discretion over free speech will "undermine [faculty] autonomy by inviting increased intervention of civil authorities" (Louisell 1966). Thus, Louisell and Lepawsky speak to both of Bourdieu's conceptions of intellectuals' duties as 1) protecting the autonomy of the field and 2) engaging in the political activity outside the field for intellectualization. However, Bourdieu would disagree with the way in which Louisell and Lepawsky acquiesce the protective duties to the administration instead of actively protecting it themselves. Instead, he would advise them to "use the state to liberate themselves from it" meaning that while using the state to ensure economic stability, they must separate economic reliance from the pure freedom of intellectual inquiry (Corporatism of the Universal 1992:105). Noting the contemporary political context of McCarthyism and mandatory anti-communist loyalty oaths signed by faculty, the scientific field was very evidently in need of defending itself from such political discrimination exercised by "the clutches of scientific administrators" (Corporatism of the Universal 1992:103).

An opposing viewpoint on the role of university administration came from Professor Wofsy, who agreed with Mario Savio's conviction that administrators impede upon the activities of a "real university" (Wofsy

1999). This contrasts with Louisell and Lepawsky's classification of the role of the administration by highlighting the need for limits to their exercise of power and thereby the protection of the role of the intellectuals as the pursuers of knowledge. This criticism aligns with Bourdieu's disapproval of state bureaucratization. State bureaucratization subordinates the importance of ideology to practical considerations such as employment, to continue to reproduce itself as an apparatus with practical existence void of ideological "heart and mind" (Political Field 1981:197).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In our final analysis we use a frame of two Bourdieusian interpretations to understand opposing stances that intellectuals held in the Free Speech Movement. The first interpretation is of Bourdieu's remark that the intellectuals should "use the state to liberate themselves from it" (Corporatism of the Universal 1992:105). Louisell and Lepawsky interpret this idea to mean that the existing order (pre-Free Speech Movement) already adequately limits state interference in the sense of being subject to civil regulations like the rest of society. This is based on the understanding that courts "place special trust in institutions of higher learning" (UC Archives 1964-1985). Inviting formal legal intervention by settling the matter in courts exposes the intellectual field to undue influences and thereby threatens the autonomy of the university. Louisell and Lepawsky also see the need to "preserv[e] the University as an intellectual sanctuary" to preserve the autonomy of the intellectuals (Lepawsky 1965). In contrast to Louisell, who presupposes that there is no violation of the freedom of speech (UC Archives 1964-1985), the Departments of History and Anthropology evaluate the situation as a clear encroachment of such freedom based on existing Supreme Court decisions. Thus, they interpret the same quote, to "use the state to liberate themselves from it," to mean that the existing order is already an infringement upon the autonomy of intellectuals. Consequently, they draw upon the purported values of the founding state as interpreted by the Constitution and decisions of the Supreme Court to defend against the undue influences of the arm of the state (the university) in efforts to purge the intellectual field of such external censorship.

The second analysis involves Bourdieu's general requirement for intellectuals to defend the interests of their members by protecting the autonomy of the field. The point of contention in this case involves whether or not faculty feel that it is necessary to defend the interests of students as potential members of the field. Professor Fish, expresses his

incomprehension with why some of his colleagues "would self-identify with [students] whose interests were not their own," (Oral History Project 2013). While it is possible that Fish still conceives of students as "potential members" of the scientific field, he clearly does not equate faculty interests with student interests, and may be understood as defending the interests of the members "only in so far as they also serve themselves while serving others" (Political Field 1981:183). Wofsy and McWilliams, however, take a stance in opposition to Fish and support the movement alongside the students, drawing on a passionate intellectual solidarity, as opposed to political justification by the departments. This alternative stance interprets Bourdieu's general requirement as necessarily extendable to students as potential entrants into the scientific field.

　　　　While it may appear problematic that contrasting faculty actions can be interpreted as justified by the very same Bourdieusian framework, Bourdieu himself might attribute these divergences to the struggles that arise between faculty who have differing interests to establish the legitimate method of protecting the conditions of autonomy of scientific pursuits. This particular idea leads to innumerable possibilities to further contribute to the discussion brought about by this paper through an understanding of how the positions occupied by these intellectuals relates to their positions held regarding the movement. While exploring this relationship of position and the potential benefits of recognition and of scientific discovery, was well beyond the scope of this paper, we believe it to be a matter worthy of pursuit.

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Alex Matthews got her B.A. in sociology from UC Berkeley in spring 2013. After graduating, she moved to Sacramento and worked as a political reporter for six months before joining the Peace Corps. Since January 2014, Matthews has been serving as a youth development volunteer in central Morocco.

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Iyla Ollinger, a San Francisco native, completed her undergraduate degrees just across the bay at the University of California, Berkeley. While at Berkeley she studied Sociology and Psychology and served in various leadership positions, but it was through her Research Assistantship for the UCB/UCLA Middle School Diversity Project that she found her passion for education. During the last two years of her undergraduate career, Iyla worked and studied abroad in France, Turkey, Argentina, Chile, and Mexico. She plans to continue living abroad and mastering Spanish before returning to the US to complete a PhD in education with a focus on ESL program development.

Dana Maier-Zucchino graduated from UC Berkeley May of 2014, receiving degrees in Sociology and Political Science with Magna Cum Laude distinction. Since commencement, he has pursued his musical passions, drumming with Southern Californian psychedelic-pop group, Deep Fields. When he is not performing or writing with the band, Dana works full-time at a branding/marketing firm in West Hollywood. While graduate school remains an important component of his long-term academic goals, Dana has said the deviation in his life-trajectory has been "pretty cool."

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"For me free speech was not a tactic, not something to win for political ...
To me, freedom of speech is something that represents the very dignity of what a human being is...
It is the thing that marks us as just below the angels."

- Mario Savio, December 1994

"The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it."

–Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach"