Addiction and Performance

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Edited by

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This book is for you, the addict, and for the addict you

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FOREWORD

PERFORMING THE CREATIVE SELF

BAZ KERSHAW

The name of the conference that begat this book for me had a completely compelling ring about it. Addiction and Performance: the New Normal. Because who can wholly deny nowadays that sometimes they have been gripped by a thoroughgoing–or even absolute–dependence of one kind or another? Like a reliable watch being on your wrist for years. Or the daily morning beverage that is really unexceptional but which you actually pine for if it's missed. And never mind the shot of exercise that despite its aches and pains opens up your body to some pleasures of the Earth. Yet always there are fine lines between such "normal" dependences and less desirable habits of consumption. Obsessive timekeeping, fixation on a brand, gripping fitness standards: faint yet seductive shadows of the big bad spectres of "addiction".

Yet that "addiction" as a term is especially open to generalisation is very telling of human times in the early twenty-first century, when "carbon addiction" maybe vies with "celebrity addiction" for the most insidiously ridiculous global toxicity prize. Thus editors Zoe Zontou and James Reynolds in their Introduction to this remarkable collection very wisely point to the "generic nature of dependency" that I was vaguely rooting for above. Then they add, crucially, "addiction is now ubiquitous, offering a paradigm through which to understand compulsive consumption, and the place that holds in the crises of Western culture produced by late-capitalism". For me one of the real pleasures in reading the essays they have so expertly gathered here was that, one way or another, the authors never lose significant sight of the individuality of the people their writing includes, whether fictional, mythical, actual or otherwise. Figures whose "condition" throughout becomes the beating heart of a sustained and often subtly nuanced attention, linking them together like a matrix of pulsing data-points beamed from layers of GPS satellites orbiting the Earth.

Binge drinking theatres, drug experience films, family addiction auto/biographies, moralising temperance plays map onto limited-impact policies, normalised class-A substance uses, domestic environment empowerments, abstinence boosting propaganda with unerring accuracy. Making one rich topographical spread brightly registering addiction as virtually ubiquitous, especially on Atlantic axes where pullulating social time-bombs pinpoint UK Inc. as paradigmatically advanced. Slight downwards pressure on orbital focus shows highly distributed tectonic identity fractures result from spread of self-limiting stigmata, regularising pathologies and multiple mis-performances fissioning like neglected nuclear waste. Yet profile scans chart self-curing narrative recovery beacons, possibly on near horizons. Pulling focus opens hemispheric vistas of earlier uncharted arts applied affects. Close trace scrutiny detects bold civil rights and psychosocial resources merging in creative flows seeping strongly beyond established treatment zones. Refreshed artistic autonomy indicating critical to paradigm formation. Peripheral tuning detects addictive process intimacy emissions overall. Cryptic cyclical happy-storm coding refracts vita nova intra-human testimony expanding expression of overlapped worldviews. Widespread fallen angel fragments expose contra-stigmatic body-shift movement connectivity. Total network globally tests as positively glowing.

I risk this science fantasy synopsis because the stakes against human survival look to be rising everywhere. Yet widespread reactions to that typically shape-up like conundrums. The more that climate change scientists provide proof of unavoidable nature-culture interweaving, the less that increasing numbers of *Homo sapiens* behave as if it definitely exists. Currently the nay-sayers are winning out, like addicts who can not recognise their condition. So I read this fascinating collection with antennae out for clues as to why that should be, searching for illumination from the darkest of sources. I was strongly drawn to some very striking claims about addiction appropriately low-lighted by its Introduction. There is “an underlying genetic basis that links creativity and alcohol dependence” (Beveredge and Yorton, 1999); “representations of binge drinking remain attractive for audiences” (Milling et al); addiction borrows its strength from the strength of the human instinct for survival (Reynolds and Zontou); understanding addiction can illuminate “the intimacy which addiction has with humanity through the neuro-chemical operations of the brain” (Arnold) and more. The generalisations beyond the “case” of traditionally indicated addiction “issues” are too consistent across this range of authors to dismiss as inverted special pleading. Maybe because they chime with some submerged disquiet for “humanity”

wrought through the conundrums *produced by* a rising number of Earthlings who literally are at a loss in knowing what do with such knowledge. Quite reasonably, given it usually turns out to be a classic double bind (Bateson, 2000). For example, try thinking bravely about this: in the twenty-first century *Homo sapiens* is adapting environmentally so as to create its very own extinction event.

But how can "addiction" point a clear way out of such deadlocks? And why should "performance" *per se* become especially helpful in attempts to do just that? Zontou and Reynolds modestly state a revelatory version of a now commonplace political truism regarding consumption and capitalism:

> On the cellular level, addiction is produced by repeated stimulation of the body's dopamine reward system (…) Repetition, however, establishes a pathway in the brain between substance use and feelings usually triggered by positive survival behaviours such as eating and sex. The somewhat ironic implication here is that the addiction which forms borrows its resilience directly from the survival instinct (…) This is a paradox shadowed and shared at the level of culture by the ironic and self-referential nature of post-modernism, which requires the artefacts of modernism to draw on and thus perpetuate itself (p. 1).

This shift from the political through the biological to the cultural folds together types of human performance that neatly fit to Jon McKenzie's three main paradigms of cultural, organisational and technological performance as analysed in *Perform or else* (2001). Yet its equal stress on the biological plus human "instinct for survival" in the context of *addiction* opens a direct link to ecology and environment that has profound implications. Chief of those is that negative consumption becomes, as it were, servant to a biological addiction possibly rightly characterised as pathological because its processes are morbid and often fatal. Even as the sheen of celebrity, say, attracts horrified admiration as it draws us, prematurely, to an edge no one can avoid.

However, attaching *that* as the main qualifier of performance via the phrase "performance addiction" risks throwing humans straight back into the maw of the classic double binds noted above. Adding biological gridlock to existential deadlock gives no way out of the current *Homo sapiens* mess. And, incidentally, it also may make the *performing* of recovery narratives yet more inaccessible to substance addicts because performance *per se* is trumped by (you guessed it) *addiction.*

But performance is a much more capacious phenomenon (and therefore concept) than can be undone by human ingestion of harmful substances as, for example, is clearly attested by Nicholas Arnold's neat accounts of performing-induced transcendent states achieved *without* drugs.

I have argued for this possibly universal potential by noting common definitions of energy in physics and associated sciences, *viz.* it constitutes the capacity of materials to perform work (Kershaw 2007). That placing of performance as an often-time *latent* force in the universe–i.e. to dance into life most temperate zone flora need Spring–unlocks an always already nascent connectivity between environment, ecology and performing as such. Which puts humans as an integral part of ecology and environment and therefore subject to their ways and means, beholden to their beneficence, ultimately waiting on their powers. So at risk of over-repetition, because as significant others often have noted: *Homo sapiens*'s countless misrecognitions of that dependence are producing its current environmental pickle.

The notably varied stories of human addiction in this path-breaking volume mostly are roundly recognised *as* evidencing mis-performances. Yet of course all those are shadowed by the Earth's unfortunate (to say the least) current condition. "Shadowed" because a general lack of ecological connectivity in humans is source of the troubling it produces for everyone, whether they recognise it or not. But to reverse *that* vicious cycle requires a different take on performance *besides* its entanglements in human addiction, and of a kind which in this book is like the temperate flowers before Spring: everywhere fabulously latent. So yes to *addiction* potentially becoming a ubiquitous coinage of dependence; yet yes also to its always already other side in a myriad of human performance *compulsions* that are by no means only negative. For how else could *Homo sapiens* produce the triumphs of creative ingenuity that are crucial to the environmental threats it faces? But that is another story to which this collection could be, I believe, a very robust precursor and fully sustainable complement. And not only because these writers so openly, honestly, imaginatively and, yes, bravely foreshadow its likely main events.

Now the Afterword here follows on from a presentation at the "New Normal" conference by the founder of the aptly named Outside Edge independent theatre company–every one of whose members are recovering addicts–about their strangely named performance, *Substance misuse: the musical*. Phil Fox's main theoretical point was that what is best recovered *from* such practices are forms of "creative self" which become beyond the reach of addiction. His argument was both passionate and lucid, but in speaking calmly he had no need to emphasise the fact of his company's most critical successes. Some were with him and they spoke similarly. It struck me as profoundly hopeful that each of them was patently performing different aspects of their *collective* creative self.

Baz Kershaw
Earthrise Repair Shop
Devon, January 2014.

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This book started life over a conference dinner at Exeter University in 2011, an event which put the two of us together in the same room for the first time, along with Phil Fox of Outside Edge. So our first note of thanks goes to Anna Harpin and Kerrie Schaefer, the organisers of the conference “Health Acts: Applied Theatre, Health, and Well-being”. As can happen, one conference led to another, and the following year we held "Addiction and Performance: the New Normal?" at Kingston University, in partnership with Liverpool Hope University. Our next note of thanks is to Phil Fox for putting wind behind the idea of a conference on applied arts and addiction, and our third thank you is for the generous financial support that made it possible, assistance which came from Liverpool Hope, and also Kingston's practice research unit. Most of the essays in this volume were presented in some form at the conference, and it was immediately clear that they would collect into a book. We feel tremendously lucky to have been able to engage with these writers and their ideas at length and leisure. We are grateful to them for their support, in its many forms, so our fourth note of thanks is to our contributors. We would also like to say a special thank you to the artists and companies we have encountered whose work engages so bravely with addiction, and in myriad ways: Bryony Kimmings, Fallen Angels Dance Theatre, Hannah Hull, Happystorm, Hum London, Outside Edge, Portraits of Recovery, Robert Lepage, and Vita Nova. Thanks are also due to the artists, participants and photographers who have given their permission for their work to be reproduced here. We would also like to express many thanks to our publisher. Finally, a big thank you to our families, friends and colleagues for help and encouragement along the way!

INTRODUCTION

JAMES REYNOLDS AND ZOE ZONTOU

Addiction and Performance: the New Normal?

The concept of addiction has become significantly broader in recent times. Certainly, the major historical focus of addiction on alcohol and/or other drugs (AOD) has been extended into wider areas of social life. Indeed, it can be argued that addiction is now ubiquitous, offering a paradigm through which to understand compulsive consumption, and the place that holds in the crises of Western culture produced by late-capitalism. After all, the circular pattern that addiction follows can now be traced from the individual level, through to that of the cultural, and even to the global. On the cellular level, addiction is produced by repeated stimulation of the body's dopamine reward system. Drugs themselves do not necessarily make the user feel good; at least not once the initial "romance" is over. Repetition, however, establishes a pathway in the brain between substance use and feelings usually triggered by positive survival behaviours such as eating and sex. The somewhat ironic implication here is that the addiction which forms borrows its resilience directly from the survival instinct. And that, on one level at least, is why addiction is hard to shift; there is a bodily insistence that the drug of choice is needed to live, even when all rational and conscious evidence is to the contrary. This is a paradox shadowed and shared at the level of culture by the ironic and self-referential nature of post-modernism, which requires the artefacts of modernism to draw on and thus perpetuate itself. In recycling these artefacts, post-modern art destroys its own ground and moves ever closer to the self-consumptive pattern of a culture characterised by circularity.

Circularity in patterns of consumption is indeed becoming more of a rule, rather than just an exception. The results of a global study published in *The Lancet* are emblematic of both the paradox and paradigm of addiction: "Overeating [now] kills more than twice as many people as malnutrition" (cited in Radnedge, 2012, p.19). As study leader Professor Majid Ezzati puts it, "We've gone from a world 20 years ago where people weren't getting enough to eat, to a world now where too much food… is

making us sick" (2012, p.19). It is therefore unsurprising that self-help programmes modelled on the 12-steps of Alcoholics Anonymous have seen a significant proliferation in recent years. Work-, television-, food-, shopping-, social media-, exercise-, internet-, video game-, gambling-, cutting-, love-, sugar-, pain-, porn-, sex-, and other features of contemporary life are now frequently suffixed with "addiction" or "aholic", and many have generated their own support groups. But the continuing emergence of new fellowships, such as Underearners Anonymous (founded 2005), suggests that we may be reaching a pattern even in this process. It seems we have come full circle; what was conceived as a set of tools to help control consumption are used in this last example of fellowship as a means to support achieving greater powers of consumption.

Indeed, we behave as addicts, even if unconsciously, through repetition, routine, obsession, impulsiveness, rituals, immediate gratification, bingeing and abstaining. Such processes make addicts of us all, and the question *what is your drug of choice?* yields answers which suggest that addiction is now *normal*, because many people openly admit that they are hooked on something, and not necessarily a substance. Addiction today, rather than just being a stigma of difference, is now leaning into questions of universality. Notwithstanding the biological propensity the human body has for addiction, it is particular social groups who remain marginalised and stigmatised as addicts. As Zygumt Bauman reminds us in *Liquid times*, "The lot of the acknowledged losers, of the poor eliminated from the consumerist game, is a life of sporadic rebellion but more commonly of drug addiction: in general, a man shooting heroin into his veins does so largely for the same reason you buy a video" (2007, p.105)

This book reflects an engagement with two driving ideas; that addiction is becoming normalised as it becomes paradigmatic, and that understanding this requires us to investigate the relationship between addiction and performance. The scope of enquiry needed to engage with such ideas is reflected in the wide range of form and content presented in this volume. The broad study which this book offers emerges from an international, interdisciplinary conference held at Kingston University on the 4th and 5th of April 2012, in partnership with Liverpool Hope University. Titled "Addiction and Performance: the New Normal?", the conference asked contributors to explore questions regarding the prevalence and deployment of drugs, addicts, and addictions in performance: to engage with and trouble the problematic term "addiction" and the performativity of its negative associations; and to make connections across disciplines, and between addiction and performance. The conference brought together performers, applied arts practitioners,

therapeutic professionals working with arts-based treatments, and leading researchers. Through keynote presentations, paper panels, applied arts workshops, and practice research events, "Addiction and Performance" articulated vital new strategies capable of investigating and tackling this multifaceted field. The momentum of the conference is taken forward here, but this collection of essays offers an extended exploration of the relationship between addiction and performance, while still drawing on a full range of arts and social science disciplines.

The need for new models

The problem of addiction is multifaceted, but readings often emerge from the frameworks of an individual discipline; this has served to foreground therapeutic or biological perspectives over and above an interdisciplinary approach. Addictions are not formed or sustained in a vacuum, however, but are blended with, and supported by, a wide range of factors. Consequently, this book intervenes in the field by bringing together a variety of discourses (anthropology, applied arts, film, history, medical humanities, performance, philosophy, psychology, sociology), connecting them around the notion of a link between addiction and performance. Our approach recognises the need for a complex, interconnected reading of these areas, and offers an intricate reading of an intricate subject, a reading which thus facilitates connections between the work of addicts, artists, academics, service providers, and therapeutic professionals. The analysis presented is divided into four major themes, examining the cultural representation of addiction, questions regarding the performance of self, methodologies of applied arts practice, and performances of addiction.

Why "addiction"? The use of such a labelling term will always be problematic, but, for us, using alternatives diminishes the political dimension of the field. Although expressions such as "problem drug user" (PDU) may seem more rationalised and less inflammatory, they place an emphasis upon the relationship between physiology and chemical, and between drug policy and citizen, which serves to shift the focus away from the cultural context of drug use. What is proposed here by the use of the term is the retention of a strong focus on the cultural components of substance misuse, and contextual components including the political. Addiction is a whole person problem, and a whole society problem. And yet current approaches and definitions of addiction are dominated by two basic models: the medico-legal model and the moral model. In *The psychology of addiction* (1994), Mary McMurran provides a detailed

account of the conceptual construction of addiction as a "disease" by mapping out the development of this perception from the 18th century to the present day. She argues that the construction of addiction as we understand it today emerged from constant intersections between these two models, and in tandem with the evolution of capitalism. Toby Seddon (2011) furthers this argument by making a direct link between the origins of addiction as a concept, and the politics of late-capitalism. Seddon shows how the rise of consumer capitalism, along with the appropriation and extensive consumption of commodities, forms the root of modern conceptions of addiction. He makes strong connections between the birth of liberalism, welfarism, and the evolution of drug policy, particularly in relation to governmental attitudes and prohibition laws. The establishment of strict regulations and control mechanisms, he argues, together with concerns around public health, reinforced an epidemiological discourse. This, in turn, has led to what John Booth Davies (1994) refers to as a "mechanistic" understanding of, and approach to, addiction.

In the present volume, we have sought to collect work which moves us away from such a discourse, and to actively avoid a reductive reading of addiction, and of recovery from addiction as solely achievable through legislation, or through psycho-biological or therapeutic approaches to the individual. What is offered here reads health as a politicised concept, and recovery from addiction as entrenched in a politicised process: politicised because recovery changes the individual, which, by the same token, changes the society they live in. The essays gathered here manifest a cultural model through which to conceptualise addiction, a model capable of situating addiction's complex and multiple variables, and its effects in contemporary society. In particular, this book addresses the connection between addiction and the arts, and presents addiction as *cultural*. This is, of course, not a new step. Substance use has been understood historically as an act of resistance against dominant social and political systems. As Paul Willis argues, "the importance of drugs" has not always lain "in their direct physical effect, but in the way they [have] facilitated passing through a great symbolic barrier erected against 'straight' society" (1976, p.107). Substance use as a form of "resistance" is common among youth and/or cultural movements.

Drug taking, therefore, has functioned across time as a means and symbol of uniting individuals who do not approve of, or conform to, dominant lifestyles and ideological hegemony–although, inevitably, the rhetoric has changed dramatically over the years. Consequently, drug use can be perceived as a form of symbolic politics. And popular culture has played a crucial role in augmenting this symbolism. Shane Blackman

(2007, p.46) shows the significance of this relationship by connecting 1950s Beat culture with the use of heroin and cannabis: 1960s Mod culture with the use of amphetamine; 1960s and 1970s Hippie culture with the use of LSD, and 1980s and 1990s Rave culture with the use of ecstasy. Substance use, therefore, can be shown quite consistently to be a performative act of resistance and rebellion. It is also worth noting that people who consume drugs often come together as a response to social reaction, strict legislation, and even drug policy strategies; as Victor Shaw writes,

> Substance abuse, as an act or practice embodying specific beliefs and values, can obviously bring people together to form distinctive groupings and subcultures, different from other subculture collectives or the mainstream social system (2002, p.224).

It is not surprising, therefore, that people who consume drugs sometimes have the tendency to classify themselves–perhaps romantically–as different, outsiders, and as the witnesses, voices and representatives of social dysfunction. This tendency towards romanticising the cultural significance of drug use is evident in the history of the arts. Indeed, artists have been using drugs as a source of artistic inspiration for centuries. Drug use has been regarded variously as a vehicle towards creative achievement, or as the key to unlock the doors of the unconscious and the imagination. The commonness of such perceptions reminds us again that addiction cannot be read in isolation from cultural and historical networks of understanding. In the era of Romanticism, experimentation with drugs such as opium and marijuana were widely associated with the artistic "personality" and the creative process. Allan Beveridge and Graeme, writing in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* (1999) list just a few of the cultural icons who have perpetuated the romantic connection between addiction and the arts. They cite musicians such as Jim Morrison, Hank Williams, and Jimmy Reid; writers such as Dylan Thomas, James Joyce, Dorothy Parker, F Scott Fitzgerald, Eugene O'Neill, Ernest Hemingway, and Jack Kerouac, and visual artists such as Frances Bacon, Edvard Munch, Willem de Kooning, Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, and Amedeo Modigliani (p.646). To this list we might add many names, past and present, from the world of theatre, television and cinema. Alcohol has been seen romantically by such artists as "an agent of mystical transport" (p.646), through which higher insights are gained, or as a way of casting off restrictive social conventions, while addiction to alcohol has been perceived as the "reaction of a sensitive soul to the ugliness of existence" (p.648). Beveridge and Yorston see a conflict between the romantic

approach of artists who use alcohol, and "sober" medical understanding, but they do also ask an important question, namely, whether "there is an underlying genetic basis that links creativity and alcohol dependence" (p.648). Although not represented here, Bryony Kimmings presented a documentary at the conference, showing her researching and creating *7 day drunk* (2011). This piece looked at the themes of Beveridge and Yorston's essay, and was the result of a week of creative practice conducted at a medically maintained level of drunkenness. Kimmings' work demonstrates not only the potential of practice-based interdisciplinary research in addressing questions around addiction, but also effectively debunked the core myth that alcohol enhances creativity.

Such long-standing notes in culture resonate across time from Coleridge's, De Quincey's and Baudelaire's romantic perception of drugs, and into the 20th century. This transition saw a mass spread of drug consumption to all levels of society, regardless of class, gender, age and nationality (Coomber, 1994; Gossop, 1996). While historical evidence indicates that different psycho-active drugs have been used and misused in facilitating rituals and celebrations around the world, and for millennia–such as the use of alcohol in ancient Greece during the worship of Dionysus–it was particularly at the beginning of the 20th century that political authority began to see drug consumption as harmful to the individual, and society at large. Drug consumption was then approached as both a psychological and sociological problem that required attention, and drug users were connected with a series of negative social problems such as crime, prostitution, poverty, and domestic violence. Drug use became politicised. As a result, governments and social policy makers established drug prohibition laws, such as the Harrison Narcotic Act in the USA (1914), which introduced regulations, control measures and national action plans. Such measures, and the perceptions informing them, have had far-reaching effects in terms of changing perceptions of drug use and addiction. Although it would be naive to draw a straight line between early 20th century legislation and the "war on drugs" which was first declared in the USA by President Nixon in 1971, there are, undoubtedly, affinities in the underpinning drive to "stamp out" drug use. The "war on drugs" was declared again in 1976, and yet again by Reagan in 1982. The rhetoric is extreme, reflecting the severity of the problem. The fallout is the demonisation of drug use and drug users. The term "war on drugs" was conjured to reflect the seriousness of the drug problem by putting emphasis on the drug trafficking, crime and conspiracy associated with drugs. But in doing so, drug use has been blanketed as criminal, and people with problematic drug use issues have been stigmatised variously

as deviant, criminal, and mentally ill. This policy eventually led to actual war, bringing the US military into engagements in South America, the Caribbean and Asia (Gossop, 1996, p.166). To the present day, the rhetoric of this policy provokes debate, and its interventions remain questionable, perpetuating discrimination, stigmatisation, and the social exclusion of drug users. However, one of the undoubted results of these various "wars on drugs" is the political failure to fully comprehend and therefore address the complexities of addiction. The long view which a cultural reading of addiction invites us to only partly addresses the crippling legacy of such politicking. Nevertheless, this volume at least seeks to contribute to the process of overturning that negative inheritance, by offering an interdisciplinary framework which avoids much of the reductionism that characterises the discourse.

Seeing addiction

Blackman successfully captures the multifaceted nature of our inherited perceptions of drug use;

> Drug consumption has been accounted for as an ordinary feature of social life, a dysfunction for the individual and society, an example of mental deficiency, personality failure and social stigma, an expression of symbolic refusal and a sign of informed consumer choice and identity formation (2007, p.126).

On the one hand, medical society and theories of addiction can tend to reduce the problem by medicalising it and shifting the emphasis onto the individual and their behaviour. Addiction then becomes understood as a behavioural problem, as a question of the individual's inability to cope with life, or inability to control their excessive substance use. On the other hand, cultural theories read addiction in relation to the consequences of late-capitalism, which some commentators recognise have led to patterns of recreational drug consumption amongst the general population following those of commodities in general. Howard Parker and his colleagues (Aldridge, Measham and Parker, 1998) theorised this tendency, and show how drugs in modern society have become "normalised". This is a radical movement away from the extreme rhetoric of the "war on drugs", and the black and white thinking it encouraged. Janet Brodie and Marc Redfield's work (2002) also helps to move us away from a reductive conceptualisation of addiction, doing so by illustrating the multiple levels of perception involved;

> Addiction… appears to belong to culture as culture's proper disease. Over the past century, both the ruin and the superabundance of culture have been symbolised by the addict, who has proved capable of evoking by turns an urban, radicalised underclass, the glitter of the jet-set consumption or the hothouse of bloom of Wildean aestheticism (p.4).

Addiction is not, therefore, something outside of culture. It is, rather, synonymous with culture, offering an expression of society on a macrocosmic and/or symbolic level. As Boothroyd argues in *Culture on drugs: narco-cultural studies of high modernity* (2006), a considerable amount of important thinking done in the West derives from the engagement with drugs of influential figures such as Freud, Benjamin, Sartre, Derrida, Deleuze, and Foucault, and consequently it is not possible to draw a border between culture and drug culture. Consequently, the performative dimensions of drugs, drug use and addiction provide us with more than just an insight into an often hidden world; they are important and relevant ways of understanding much broader features of culture and society. If this is accepted, we may, then, be moving towards a level of nuance in our understanding of addiction that avoids reduction, and which does not automatically dehumanise drug users.

Part I of the book, therefore, explores "Representations in Culture", examining both the scope of the term "addiction", and its applicability in different art forms. This section captures changes and continuities in the cultural landscape by examining contemporary representations, and connecting those representations to their roots in the 19th and 20th century. Through analyses of film and drama spanning recent decades, this section of the book generates an up-to-date picture of the representation of drugs and drug use in culture. Investigation commences with a chapter by Jane Milling, Jonathan Owen, Ravi Maheswaran, and Kerrie Schaefer, which analyses representations of "binge drinking" by young adults in film and theatre over the last forty years. The way heavy drinking is presented, they find, has changed little; the public policies which have sought to intervene in such behaviour have therefore been shown to have limited impact. Their research demonstrates that representations of binge drinking remain attractive for audiences, regardless of policy attempts to highlight the dangers of alcohol, showing the need for a more nuanced conversation around social issues raised by excessive drinking. Andrea Rinke extends this discourse by exploring key cinematic milestones in the cultural landscape of addiction ranging from Preminger's *Man with the golden arm* (1956) to Aronofsky's *Requiem for a dream* (2000). She tracks important changes in cinema, highlighting over that time period the emergence of a distinctive narrative genre, that of the "drug experience film". Of equal

significance, Rinke demonstrates how these films have contributed to the normalisation of Class A drug use, moving away from depictions of addiction as deviant, and towards representations showing drug use as a question of consumer choice, and as part of a contemporary lifestyle. Reading across these initial chapters reveals an important contradiction regarding our perception of drugs; at the political level, drug use is still seen as problematically deviant, antisocial and abnormal, but socially, drug and alcohol use is more often perceived in celebratory terms, even as a liberating experience. Together, these two chapters offer a thorough and comprehensive review of mimetic representations of drugs and drug use in the contemporary period.

Two further chapters then examine specific instances of representation drawn from the cultural history of addiction, exploring its environments, and extending analysis into more localised examples. These show us the roots of contemporary perceptions, in relation to historical moments such as Romanticism and the Temperance movement. Jim Orford reflects from a community psychology perspective on how the family experience of addiction has been represented in biography and fiction. Through lenses ranging from Anne Brontë's *The tenant of Wild Fell Hall*, to Caitlin Thomas and George Tremlett's *Caitlin: life with Dylan Thomas*, Orford's analysis illustrates the commonality of experience of family members affected by addiction, and introduces the importance of performative strategies such as autobiographical writing as a means of empowerment in an addiction environment. Liza Williams concludes this section. Drawing on the history of the temperance play in 19th century America, and analysing its role in producing stereotypes around alcoholism, her analysis reveals how cultural representation has contributed directly to the shaping of social perceptions of addiction. This, in turn, has served to produce a moralistic and judgemental discourse about substance users, while disseminating propaganda promoting abstinence. Collectively, these chapters exploring drugs and drug use on stage, in film, in literature and across time, map out both a long view and a contemporary account of how addiction has been represented, and the complex interaction that such representations have in producing, and being produced by, social formations.

And performance

Blackman (2007) argues that alcohol and other drugs have become a commodity of culture, a contention borne out at the statistical level in the UK, where there were

> 1 million alcohol-related violent crimes and 1.2 million alcohol-related hospital admissions in 2010/11 alone. [Furthermore, the] levels of binge drinking among 15-16 year olds in the UK compare poorly with many other European countries and alcohol is one of the three biggest lifestyle risk factors for disease and death in the United Kingdom after smoking and obesity. It has become acceptable to use alcohol for stress relief, putting many people at real risk of chronic diseases. Society is paying the costs – alcohol-related harm is now estimated to cost society £21 billion annually (HM Government, 2012, p.6).

Additionally, according to the annual UK government report (2013), and despite recent reductions in illegal drug use, 2.7 million people in the UK take illegal drugs each year. Although cannabis was the most popular drug of choice, this figure includes 850,000 people who took Class A drugs. This is much more than incidental use; it is a fact of social life, and one that needs to be understood properly. Willis suggests that "drugs could be thought of as cultural placebos–keys to experience, rather than experience itself" (1996, p.107), and, indeed, such substitution is an actual feature of some drug use and policy in the UK. Kathy Gyngell, in her 2009 report for the Centre for Policy Studies, *The phoney war on drugs*, suggests that the UK drug problem is the worst in Europe. In an effort to reduce "drugs-related deaths by 20%", spending on methadone prescriptions was trebled "between 2003 and 2008" (p.13). The result is that 147,000 people are maintained on the heroin substitute methadone at an annual cost of £2020 per person, a total of almost "£300 million a year" (p. iii). Drug and alcohol data also reveals new patterns of addictive behaviours emerging into culture, such as the massive expansion in binge drinking in the female population, which is revealed by the statistics for alcohol poisoning: "13074 women in England were treated in 2008, compared to 6691 in 2003, an increase of 95%" (Khan, 2009, n.p.). There are other notable cultural trends. The *World drug report* from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2013) showed that 670,000 UK citizens aged 15-24 used "novel" psychoactive substances–"legal highs"–in 2011 (UN, cited in Bell, 2013, n.p.). These and other statistics are illustrative of the social time-bomb which a culture of substance use constitutes, and which the UK is not equipped to deal with just a few years down the line. Government responses to addiction have thus been forced to adapt in recent years, moving away an emphasis on criminalisation, towards a more holistic approach emphasising recovery, community and de-stigmatisation (HM Government, 2010; Lloyd, 2010).

Statistics never paint the whole picture. However, it should be fairly clear that drug use and addiction play an important role in shaping society

and individual lives at the ground level. It is unsurprising, therefore, that the addiction is increasingly normalised, and becoming paradigmatic in understanding human behaviour and culture. Parallel to this process is the emergence of "performance" as a driving concept in culture. From the use of performance enhancing drugs in sport, to the economic performance of globalised economies, performance, like addiction, is a multiply defined and multilayered concept. Indeed, the two concepts have much in common. The range and relevance of the connection between addiction and performance was consolidated in a keynote given by Baz Kershaw. Titled *"This is the way the world ends, not…!" On performance compulsion and climate change*, Kershaw expanded the concepts to take in global systems of production and everyday habits of consumption. He argued that together these are reinforcing an environmental crisis that is not just out there in the Earth's biosphere, but also integral to twenty-first century human subjectivity. All the fabulous new goods in the world–from hybrid cars to handset computers, miracle medicines to biomass boilers and so on–are like unrecognized drugs of choice as we become enthralled by their–and, crucially, *our*–apparently ever improving performance. Thus humanity's excessive use of resources becomes driven by ever changing compulsions that are normalised into invisibility, as if we, as a species, have evolved a performance addiction that stops us recognising even its most obvious destructive effects on the Earth. We must ask, therefore, how the creative ingenuity that got *Homo sapiens* into such a mess might be best performed to help the planet get out of it.

The strongest parallel between addiction and performance, then, lies potentially in their processes. However well we perform in our work, there is always a further target we are set; however much we take of our drug of choice, there is always more to be taken. The artist must always give more, go further or go deeper. The lack of a horizon to give reality to the whole scene suggests, for many, a spiritual sickness; an inability to recognise how much is enough, an inability to set meaningful, humanised limits. On these terms, it is perhaps not surprising that the 12-steps of Alcoholics Anonymous, with their emphasis on spiritual awakening, has provided the most successful (and transferable) structures and tools for recovery, nor that (as already noted) recovery programs for behaviours not traditionally described as addictions have proliferated in recent times. The performances demanded by contemporary culture are as binding as addiction, constituting a performance of self, which requires re-performance and re-performance (and so forth) to be sustained. Addiction and performance are very similar, therefore: through their circularity, they are in parallel as processes of

becoming. In part, it is this thematic affinity which underpins and connects the different chapters in this volume.

A key to understanding the connections between addiction and performance lies in reading the ways they create and perpetuate identity. Consequently, Part II tackles the theme of "Addiction and Performance of the Self", unpacking the social dimension of addiction and identity by drawing on the discourses of sociology, psychology, philosophy, and medical humanities. It also investigates further the impact of representations of addiction, particularly in the media. The importance of self-performance as intrinsic to recovery from addiction is explored first by Carole Murphy, in a chapter which excavates the self-limiting effects of stigmatisation and negative environmental factors. Murphy uses an interview-based methodology to show that an addict identity is perpetuated, by continuing stigmatisation, even after active addiction has ended, because it interferes with the individual's ability to perform "normality". This process can be the result of interactions with social services, or negative representation in the media, just as much as those of everyday life. Murphy demonstrates that stigma limits the performance of new identity, and, consequently, illustrates the need for radical changes in social attitudes towards addiction as these are capable of undermining effective treatment. Similarly concerned with questions surrounding normality and the performance of self, Elisabeth Julie Vargo shows through an analysis of the consumption styles of young Italian cocaine users how drug use in the context of a particular social group can constitute a normalising performance. Drawing on Erving Goffman's *The presentation of self in everyday life* (1959) and Michel Foucault's *Technologies of the self* (1985), Vargo illustrates the importance of reading environmental factors, not only in understanding patterns of drug consumption, but also in understanding how those patterns operate as means of creating identity. Katie Grogan then extends the analysis of addict identities and stigmatisation explored in this section into questions of gender, professional identity, and addiction. In doing so, she also troubles the notion of performance, characterising addicted female doctors' failure to perform both gender and professional duties as doubly stigmatising, and indeed, constituting a form of "mis-performance". Grogan's findings further illustrate the importance of performative, narrative strategies for recovery, in particular the personalisation of discourse as a way of combating the particularly disciplinary forms of stigmatisation facing women, and of bringing women's voices into the centre of the discourse around addiction. Kirstine Hoegsbro and Morten Nissen conclude this section by interrogating self-performance in recovery, applying Derrida's reading of authenticity, and reconfiguring the

concept in relation to key questions of narrative and subjectivity. They explore questions related to the performative strategy of self-narrativisation typical to groups such as Narcotics Anonymous. Thus Part II offers a vital elucidation of both the virtues and vices implicit in narrative performances of self, problematising preconceptions of their value, while extending our understanding of their potential.

Recovery capital

These approaches reflect recent developments in thinking regarding the treatment of addiction, as proposed by William Cloud and Robert Granfield (1994 onwards). These developments inform a policy shift in the United States from "a pathology and intervention focus to a recovery focus", with much greater attention to "the lived solution" (White and Cloud, 2008, p.22). Central to this shift is the acquisition of "recovery capital", defined as "the breadth and depth of internal and external resources that can be drawn upon to initiate and sustain recovery". Rather than seeing people in addiction as suffering a lack, the notion of recovery capital focuses treatment on readily available resources and solutions, capitalises on existing strengths, and helps to manage and protect recovery while enhancing resilience, hardiness and well-being. Recovery capital is an important concept because it indicates concrete strategies that can produce "turning points... Both as climactic transformations [or as] incremental change processes" with the capacity to "end addiction careers, trigger recovery initiation, elevate coping abilities, and enhance quality of life in long-term recovery". The emergence of recovery capital is a conceptual advance that coincides with aforementioned shifts in the UK's drug strategy, particularly in the document *Reducing demand, restricting supply and building recovery* (2010), which places some emphasis on recovery and recovery-focused approaches, and asserts the need for

> **Building recovery in communities** - this government will work with people who want to take the necessary steps to tackle their dependency on drugs and alcohol, and will offer a route out of dependence by putting the goal of recovery at the heart of all that we do. We will build on the huge investment that has been made in treatment to ensure more people are tackling their dependency and recovering fully. Approximately 400,000 benefit claimants (around 8% of all working age benefit claimants) in England are dependent on drugs or alcohol and generate benefit expenditure costs of approximately £1.6 billion per year if these individuals are supported to recover and contribute to society, the change could be huge (p.7).

However, the strategy makes no particularly concrete or interesting recommendations on what constitutes this "working with". Rather, it once again targets and demonises people in recovery for claiming benefits. Recovery is seen through its economic value (how much money the government will save), instead of as important for the individual and the community (how recovery benefits the health and wellbeing of individuals and communities). This emphasis on capitalised values becomes further apparent later on in the document, when the concept of recovery capital is only briefly discussed. Despite the report's foregrounding of the economic value of recovery, this reference to the concept–brief, and effectively overlooked–is nevertheless very interesting from our point of view. Notwithstanding, in the UK context to date, engagement with addiction through the arts remains relatively small-scale and under-theorised, being largely treated as an issue related, but subordinate to, concerns of poverty, criminality or mental illness. Only a handful of UK theatre companies–Outside Edge, TiPP, Geese, Vita Nova, Breaking Image, and RiDeout, for example–have addressed substance misuse with particular focus. Academic research into such engagement is thus limited, with exceptions being a special issue of the *Arts in Psychotherapy Journal* (1990), *Treatment of addiction: current issues for arts therapies*, edited by Diane Waller and Jacky Mahony (1999), a book chapter by McCoy and Blood (2004), articles by Sharon Muiruri (2000), and Savannah Walling (2008), Reynolds and Zontou (2011), and Zontou (2011, 2013). Elsewhere in the arts and humanities, research into the representation of addicts and addiction in cinema, literature and the media is more fully developed.

Thus Part III of the book explores the connections between cultural production and recovery further, extending the questions raised in Part II, but through the lens of applied arts practice. The theme of "Working through Addiction" is chosen to reflect the potential to process experiences from personal history through creative work: a direct engagement which, while recalling the past, might at the same time facilitate its release, and thus contribute to the production of a new future. This section therefore seeks to describe the complex range of cultural values that can be realised through applied arts work in the field of recovery. Alistair Roy and Mark Prest initiate this investigation by creating a direct link between drug policy and cultural production. Exploring Mark's work with Portraits of Recovery, alongside other case studies drawn from the visual arts, they express the value of socially engaged artistic practice. In particular, by framing access to the arts as a question of civil rights, they reveal the capacity of creative activities to overturn dominant, negative perceptions, and to construct cultural identity and community. Using the concept of