

## Julilly Kohler-Hausmann

History, Cornell University

**Toughness and the Construction of the Incorrigible  
"Drug Pusher" in New York's Rockefeller Drug Laws**

This talk examines the under-recognized roots of New York's 1973 within the welfare state. It argues that the drug laws were Rockefeller's attempt to resolve the political crises caused by the caustic interaction between ambitious political promises to control drug abuse and crime and the limited ability of the state's underfunded and often repressive treatment programs to do so. Facing political challenges and logistical impediments to his therapeutic programs, Governor Rockefeller argued that masculinist "tough" governing strategies, such as punishment and indefinite incarceration, were the only viable strategy to manage insurgent and unruly populations within poor communities of color.

## Michelle McClellan

History, University of Michigan

**War on Alcohol? Or Just a War on Women**

National Prohibition ended more than 75 years ago, but today federal health guidelines, warning labels on alcoholic beverages, and advice about avoiding sexual assault all remind women that alcohol is especially dangerous for them. This paper explores how such "de facto prohibition" goes beyond attempts to regulate maternal drinking during pregnancy to mark all women as a separate class who cannot escape a biological and social vulnerability to alcohol and its effects.

## Jill McCorkel

Sociology and Criminology; Africana Studies;  
Villanova University

**From Good Girls to 'Real' Criminals:  
Dissecting the Market Logic and Racial Politics  
of Incarcerating Women**

By now, the story of how America's "drug war" gave rise to the phenomenon of mass incarceration is a familiar one. Less familiar is the impact of this on women, particularly African American and Latina women, whose incarceration rates have been growing at historically and globally unprecedented rates since the mid-1990s. This paper examines the role that private prison vendors and racial logic have played in shaping punitive punishment outcomes, with a particular focus on how African American and Latina women are simultaneously being framed as a source of both pathology and profit.

## Donna Murch

History, Rutgers University

**Rethinking Maternalism in the Age of Crack: Women,  
Gender, and the War on Black Youth in Los Angeles**

Dr. Donna Murch's current work explores the militarization of law enforcement, the social history of drug consumption and sale, and the political economy of mass incarceration in late twentieth century California.

## Julie Netherland

Drug Policy Alliance; John Jay College of  
Criminal Justice; Columbia University

**Director of the Office of Academic Engagement  
for the Drug Policy Alliance**

As Director of the Office of Academic Engagement for the Drug Policy Alliance, Dr. Netherland advances drug policy reform by supporting scholars in doing advocacy, convening experts from a range of disciplines to inform the field, and strengthening DPA's use of research and scholarship in developing and advancing its policy positions. She is not presenting a paper but will guide participants in developing a consensus policy position paper on gender and drug policy.

## Trysh Travis

Center for Women's Studies and Gender Research,  
University of Florida

**Becoming Visible: Feminists See Substance  
Abuse in the 1970s**

"Becoming Visible" focuses on two case studies of early 1970s programs aimed at abusing women. Broadly speaking, neither second wave feminism nor its offshoot, the Women's Health Movement, recognized substance abuse as a women's issue." This paper examines two exceptional 1970s-era programs aimed at substance-abusing women, asking why and how their founders came to recognize it as a woman's issue, and exploring the impact of this recognition on how they theorized addiction and recovery. Neither program's approach has become normative, but their legacies have conditioned official feminist responses to the current "drug war" as well as treatment norms within today's substance abuse industrial complex.



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T-Man's War Against the Dope Menace

# GENDER AND THE DRUG WAR



THE BALDY CENTER PRESENTS

## GENDER AND THE DRUG WAR

THURSDAY, MARCH 31ST / AT 509 O'BRAIN

(For Lunch: RSVP by March 25: [herzberg@buffalo.edu](mailto:herzberg@buffalo.edu))

SUNY Buffalo Law School

The State University of New York

9-11AM:

GENDER, ADDICTION  
SCIENCE, ADDICTION  
TREATMENT:

Nancy Campbell, Claire Clarke,  
Michelle McClellan, Trysh Travis  
Commenters are "TBA."

11:15AM-1:15PM:

GENDER, DRUG USE,  
DRUG COMMERCE:

Tammy Anderson, Elaine Carey,  
Helena Hansen, David Herzberg  
Commenters are Gwynn Thomas,  
Global Gender Studies /  
Transnational Studies,  
University at Buffalo

1:15-2:15PM:

LUNCH (RSVP by March 25:  
[herzberg@buffalo.edu](mailto:herzberg@buffalo.edu))

2:15-4:15PM:

GENDER, POLICING,  
INCARCERATION:

Julilly Kohler-Hausmann,  
Jill McCorkel, Donna Murch  
Commenters are Susan Cahn,  
History, University at Buffalo

9-11am:

Gender, addiction science, addiction treatment

**Nancy Campbell:** Trauma, Addiction, and Gendered Brains and Bodies: Treatment in the Context of the War on Drugs

**Claire Clark and Katherine Marks:** Telescoping and the translational gap: Women's accelerated progression through addiction and the treatment community's delayed response

**Michelle McClellan:** War on alcohol? Or just a war on women

**Trysh Travis:** Becoming visible: Feminists see substance abuse in the 1970s

11-11:15AM:

Coffee break

11:15AM-1:15PM:

Gender, drug use, drug commerce

**Tammy Anderson:** Women's roles in drug trafficking: New conceptualizations for 21st century problems

**Elaine Carey:** A woman formed the first cartel? Historical imagination and realities of the U.S-Mexico drug war

**Helena Hansen:** White opioids for soccer moms and the "new face of addiction"

**David Herzberg:** Psychoactive pharmaceuticals, women consumers, and American drug policy

1:15-2:15PM:

Lunch

2:15-4:15PM:

Gender, policing, incarceration

**Julilly Kohler-Hausmann:** Toughness and the construction of the incorrigible "drug pusher" in New York's Rockefeller drug laws

**Jill McCorkel:** From good girls to "real" criminals: Dissecting the market logic and racial politics of incarcerating women illegal.

**Donna Murch:** Rethinking maternalism in the age of crack: Women, gender, and the war on black youth in Los Angeles

# GENDER AND THE DRUG WAR

**Tammy L. Anderson**

Sociology & Criminal Justice, University of Delaware

**Women's Roles in Drug Trafficking: New Conceptualizations for 21st Century Problems**

This talk uses a content analysis of scholarly and popular media to ask how women are involved in drug sales (both legal and illegal), and to assess how their involvement differs from men's. It concludes with a theory of gender and drug sales that, Anderson argues, could be used to inform policy and practice in a post-drug war era.

**Nancy Campbell**

Science and Technology Studies, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute  
**Trauma, Addiction, and Gendered Brains and Bodies: Treatment in the Context of the War on Drugs**

A potent convergence of gendered approaches to recovery and drug treatment with brain-based redefinitions of addiction and trauma has gained traction in the United States in the context of calls for a "trauma-informed treatment infrastructure." Explicitly feminist attempts to "gender" treatment—to recognize how gendered social and economic constraints structure women's drug use—have promoted the concept of trauma. Some treatment programs now recognize how gendered expectations shape drug use and therefore must be addressed in treatment. But brain-based redefinitions of both addiction and trauma beckon in ways that promote biomedical responses for some women and inhibit these for others. The role of social reproduction remains crucial to consider in terms of response to drug-using women.

**Elaine Carey**

History, St. John's University

**A Woman Formed the First Cartel? Historical Imaginations and Realities of the US-Mexico Drug War**

The Ciudad Juárez crime boss Ignacia Jasso la viuda de González, aka La Nacha, reputedly established the first Mexican cartel. Although she ran a criminal organization for over fifty years, the sensationalism around such a proclamation distorts the quotidian realities of those who have toiled in the drug trade. Using case studies, this paper explores Mexican women from 1930 to the present by focusing on their social experiences in trafficking.

**Claire D. Clark and Katherine R. Marks**

Behavioral Science, University of Kentucky

**Telescoping and the translational gap: Women's accelerated progression through addiction and the treatment community's delayed response**

In the scientific literature, the term "telescoping" refers to women's accelerated progression from the initiation of substance use to the onset of dependence and first admission to treatment. In this paper, we argue that although both the physiological and social dimensions of telescoping have been well elucidated by researchers over the past 25 years, these findings have failed to translate into improvements in treatment or policy interventions. We consider historical explanations for this translational gap and conclude with recommendations about how to address it.

**Helena Hansen**

Anthropology; Psychiatry; New York University

**White Opioids for Soccer Moms and the 'New Face of Addiction'**

Dr. Hansen's ethnographic study of new addiction pharmaceuticals examines the social and political implications of clinicians' efforts to establish addiction as a biomedical, rather than moral or social condition, as well as the ways that neurochemical treatments may be reinscribing hierarchies of ethnicity and race.

**David Herzberg**

History, University at Buffalo

**Psychoactive pharmaceuticals, women consumers, and American drug policy**

Prescription drug using women have made up the bulk of psychoactive drug users for over a century. This paper argues that these women drug users have been practically and symbolically important in America's other drug policy tradition: not drug wars, but consumer protections in licit pharmaceutical markets. In the 20th century, this consumer protection tradition has served as a cultural and practical resource for drug war reformers seeking less punitive approaches to drug dangers, but it has proved unstable and problematic as a basis for grappling with the social dimensions of drug and drug-war harms.