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The Undergraduate Journal of Sociology

Introduction

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Contents

Molly Caitlin Loughlan: SC107 Introduction to Social Anthropology

- [Observation of Religious Practice - Jehovah's Witness Congregational Meeting](#)

Abbie May: SC101 Researching Social Life I

- [Imagine that you are designing a study to find out whether giving final year undergraduate students training in writing CV's increases their chances of finding a job after graduating. Outline two potential study designs- one using an experimental approach and one using an observational approach. Critically evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of both.](#)

Celine McLeish: SC164 Introduction to United States Sociology

- [What are the main characteristics of Michelle Alexander's The New Jim Crow? In your answer refer to the connections between historical racial segregation, inequality and the mass incarceration of African Americans. What do you think are the social and moral costs of such a situation?](#)

Mihaela-Georgiana Mihailescu: SC106 Media, Culture and Society

- [Viewpoints: Should Media be regulated?](#)

Fiona Mullins: SC107 Introduction to Social Anthropology

- [Is it Ethnocentric to say that the Progress from Hunter-Gatherer Societies to Complex, Industrial States is a Linear, Positive Development?](#)

Candia Northcote: SC106 Media, Culture and Society

- [What is meant by globalisation? Make an assessment of the arguments for and against globalisation in media theory.](#)

Courtney Osbourne: SC111 The Sociological Imagination

- [Is the position of women in more economically developed countries comparable to those in less economically developed countries?](#)

Stephanie Omol: SC111 The Sociological Imagination

- [How have Tribal Associations Impacted Political Power, Status, and Class in Kenya?](#)

Zoe Pope: SC164 *Introduction to United States Sociology*

- [In Tocqueville's Democracy in America, the US is asserted to be a prime example of a democracy however he also highlights its weaknesses. Do you think Tocqueville's observations on US democracy are still valid today?](#)

Georgia Searl: SC111 The Sociological Imagination

- [Radicalisation. The views of the Non-Radicalised and the media – Prejudice or pure repugnance](#)

Adam Wells: SC107 Introduction to Social Anthropology

- [Fieldwork Essay: Participant Observation of a public ritual and analysis](#)

Scout Woodford: SC111 The Sociological Imagination
- [Outline the issues concerning the disposability and normalisation of negligence.](#)

 Shuhei Yoshida: SC106 Media, Culture and Society

- [Outline and discuss the main arguments for and against media regulation](#)

Chia-Jung Yu: SC101 Researching Social Life I

- [What social factors determine the sort of music people in the UK listen in 2015?](#)

Second year essays

Dolapo Akinbolagbe: SC205 Policing, Punishment and Society

- [To what extent are the boundaries between the prison and wider society becoming eroded?](#)

Stephanie Alabaster: SC205 Policing, Punishment and Society

- [To what extent are the boundaries between the prison and wider society becoming eroded?](#)

Anna Bakalarczyk: SC203 Researching Social Life

- [Impact of nationality, race and inequality on the identity of young Black females](#)

Aisha Arouche: SC291

- [‘A binary of sameness/difference informs theory and research on lesbian and gay parent families’. Discuss.](#)

Tim Chechlinski: SC203 Researching Social Life

- [Research Proposal: The Contact Centre: The Modern Factory](#)

Abigail Clennell: SC288 Religion in Modern and Post Modern Societies

- [What and how is the relationship between religion/religiosity and integration among migrants in the Western societies (Europe, North America and Australia)?](#)

Nicolae Craciunescu: SC213 Social Psychology

- [Short Essays on Social Psychology](#)

Megan Davenport: SC201 Continuity and Controversy in Sociology: Sociological Analysis II

- [According to de Beauvoir, woman has been defined as the 'other' of man. Discuss.](#)

Angella Denman: SC203 Researching Social Life

Becoming an international migrant; a Zimbabwean mother's perspective.

- [Research Proposal](#)
- [Research Report](#)

Abigail Futter: SC288 Religion in Modern and Post Modern Societies

- [What and how is the relationship between religion/religiosity and integration among migrants in Western societies?](#)

Ingrid Masovn Haave: SC288 Religion in Modern and Post Modern Societies

- [What and how is the relationship between religion/religiosity and integration among migrants in the Western societies (Europe and North America)?](#)

Shane Howe: SC203 Researching Social Life

The Management of identity, within 'settled' Gypsies

- [Research proposal](#)
- [Research report](#)

James Ingham: SC204 Sociology of Crime and Control

- [Book Review](#)

Daniel Jarman: SC289 Power, Wealth and Poverty in a Global Age

- [Is capitalism a social system? Why or why not?](#)

Gabrielle Johnson: SC203 Researching Social Life

- How does working for a Domestic Violence Charity affect the Employees?

Elliott Connor Jones: SC204 Sociology of Crime and Control

- Critical Book Review

Jessica Nunn: SC205 Policing, Punishment and Society

- To what extent are urban spaces becoming configured to control the poor?

Lauren Patterson: SC205 Policing, Punishment and Society

- What are the causes and consequences of mass incarceration in the USA?

Joanna Robinson: SC288 Religion in Modern and Post Modern Societies

- Religion, Migration and Integration

Tasmin Robinson: SC213 Social Psychology

- Assessing issues in Social Psychology: Self and Interaction

Molly Scott: SC213 Social Psychology

- Assessing issues in Social Psychology: Self and Interaction

Kaitlin Trenerry: SC276 Anthropology of Birth, Sex and Death

- In what ways can same-sex sex among men reinforce masculinity?

Chloe Ward: 203 Researching Social Life

- What is the purpose of Sex and Relationships Education in the United Kingdom?

Third year essays

Samuel Allen: SC304 Globalisation and crime

- Why and how did the murder and ill-treatment of civilians by state increase massively in the 20th Century?

Aurelia de Maleissye-Melun: SC304 Globalisation and Crime

- Why and how did the murder and ill-treatment of civilians by states increase massively in the Twentieth Century?

Stephanie Gibson: SC311 Children and Young People: Criminological Approaches and Current Debates

- [Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of a Human Rights approach to youth justice](#)

Nicole James: SC326 Psychiatry and Mental Illness

- [What factors underpin the stigmatisation of those with mental illness?](#)

Rebecca Langham: SC304 Globalisation and Crime

- [Using key theories about the rise and spread of the Rwandan genocide, explain how the genocide might have been prevented.](#)

Margaret Lewitt: SC301 Current Disputes in Sociology: Sociological Analysis III

- [What does Du Bois mean by the term 'double consciousness'? How useful is this term for thinking about 'race'/ethnicity today?](#)

Michelle Ndegwa: SC301 Current Disputes in Sociology: Sociological Analysis III

- [What does Du Bois mean by the term "double consciousness"? How useful is this term for thinking about "race"/ethnicity today?](#)

Iulia-Alexandra Neag: SC304 Globalisation and Crime

- [Using key theories about the rise and spread of the Rwandan genocide, explain how the genocide might have been prevented](#)

Ilham Nur: SC361 American Society: Ethnic Encounters in the Making of the USA

- [What kinds of social and political changes did the Black Power movement promote? Would these changes have stopped the discrimination now being seen against African Americans in criminal justice and education?](#)

Daniel Roberts: SC361 American Society: Ethnic Encounters in the Making of the USA

- [Frederick Douglass famously said that slavery was part of a set of crimes that 'would disgrace a nation of savages'. Was this crime remedied by the treatment of African Americans in society, education and the criminal justice system in the 20th and 21st centuries?](#)

Madalina Radu: SC301 Current Disputes in Sociology: Sociological Analysis III

- [Critically assess the term 'male gaze'](#)

Alice Sherlock: SC311

- Trafficking of children and young people is a global problem. Discuss the causes of trafficking children and the problems of control

Emma Woonton: SC301 Current Disputes in Sociology: Sociological Analysis III

- What does Du Bois mean by the term 'double consciousness'? How useful is this term for thinking about race/ethnicity today?

Outline and discuss the main arguments for and against media regulation

Olivia Bailey

With its increasing prominence in modern life, it is evident that the media can shape or impact many aspects of society. 'From print through telegraphy, radio, film, television and now digital and networked media, communication technologies have both shaped and been shaped by the diverse process of social, economic and political life' (Lunt, 2011: 1). As the Department for Culture, Media and Sport reported, in 2012 the creative industries such as television, film and music generated almost £8 million per hour to UK economy, outperforming any other UK industry sectors, showing its wealth of economic value (Gov.uk, 2014). With such value, as emphasised in these statistics, comes great power, which is where media could go as far as to shape cultural identities or alter social behaviour or interaction. As an attempt to combat potential negative impacts of the media, governments construct policies to ensure that the benefits of the media upon their audiences, or society, are maximised. In short, 'regulations try to ensure that something happens or is prevented from happening' (Long and Wall, 2014: 208) within media texts to best provide for audiences and is the means to carry out the goals of the policies set by companies or governments. Although, ideally the regulation of media would work to benefit society, providing entertainment that meets 'the perceived needs of the public' (Long and Wall, 2014: 220), many argue that in doing so, it stifles the voices of the opposition, or those who do not conform to the ideology of their government or regulator, creating a media that is perhaps viewed as one sided. It is evident here that regulation has its critics. With a particular focus on how media is regulated in the UK, I will discuss in this essay the many arguments for the regulation of media, such as protection for audiences, as well as exploring the views of those against it, an example being the limiting of creativity.

As the media grew in popularity, there was a simultaneous rise in anxiety of audiences as many became worried about the influence of media upon 'vulnerable' audiences. This was primarily rooted in television, as Feintuck and Varney (2006:1) note it was the leading broadcast media, but has since grown into a wider issue, facing film and increasingly, the internet. Children are often the concern of this media influence, many arguing that due to the impressionistic nature of youth, the media exposes them to things it should not. Miller (2014:8) notes that key themes detected by the British Board of Film Classification (BBFC) include recreational drug use, sexual images and violent behaviour, which could lead them to reflect this in their own behaviour with 'imitation of violent acts' (Long and Wall, 2014: 291). Regulations with regards to sensitive content like this mean that films are classified with age restrictions, and must be viewed and assessed as to which age group they are appropriate for before they are released to the public. Further, television programs that are deemed inappropriate for young audiences are shown later in the evening when they are sleeping rather than exposed to the television. These are supposedly triumphs of media regulation, a positive result that perhaps justifies the necessity to regulate and demonstrates the argument for it. However, counterarguments could claim that this culture of censorship does not entirely protect vulnerable audiences but rather make the blind to various realities, for example teens growing up viewing only censored media might fail to learn the dangers of drug use because regulation does not permit them to see material which could potentially be educational. Further, parents are often likely to decide for themselves what they let their children view, many perhaps being confident in their

children that they know rights and wrongs and therefore would not imitate the violence they see on screen. This brings the effectiveness of the regulations into question, as with an increase of internet use and ease of accessibility young people could turn to the web to view restricted material, redirecting them as opposed to protecting them, which further displays the argument against regulation.

In its early days, the BBC was perhaps the most relevant sector of British media, described as 'the spokesperson for the whole country' (Creeber, 2014: 29). Its founder, John Reith, imposed the values of British broadcasting that are reflected in their policies today. His aims were not simply the generation of money for money's sake, but the maintenance of high standards of broadcasting information that caters to every member of its audience. Reith pushed to keep British broadcasting British as a response to what is referred to as 'Americanisation.' As Feniruck and Varney (2006: 21) observe, though traditionally regulated at a national level, the media had been becoming a more international market, and in particular American media becoming popular, showing rise to the phrase 'Americanisation'. Even today, with the sheer variety of culture represented in the media the BBC still battle to keep British culture alive and visible, using money from TV licences to invest in British film projects, set and filmed in Britain to feed its national identity. Britain today, however, is an extremely diverse and multicultural society and is not simply broadcasting to the atypical 'white British' viewer. As many media companies are aware there is now a broader and ever changing population to represent, in which many communities feel that they are being overlooked or even stereotyped in. Creeber (2004: 27) discusses the thin conventions of those represented within the BBC and their failure to reflect the racial, cultural and religious differences in Britain, and argues that the media made in the interest of the viewers is in rapid decline. It could perhaps be argued that in British entertainment media such as reality television, ethnic minorities are often added as a form of tokenism and often portray stereotypes. Whilst here, Reith set out to maintain a national identity and serve all audiences, it seems his policies sometimes fall short. Since Creeber's writing in 2004, media companies like the BBC have recognised the necessity for diversity and regulation has helped enforce this. Although even today many still argue that the representations are not enough, Lunt (2011) describing a public survey by UK regulatory body, Ofcom, finding that people were eager for more ethnic media. Regulation, as it is put here, is in fact used to 'enable marginalised groups of people to access media representation, or to promote aspects of society or culture that are not served well by unregulated media' (Long and Wall, 2014: 217). Although the effectiveness of regulation can be questioned here, evidently an argument can be made for its ability to help minorities get a platform in media, giving them a voice to ask for change and regulation, making sure they are represented correctly and as often as necessary.

A common argument against the use of media regulation arises within the discussion of state controlled, UK regulatory body, Ofcom. Though it does have its aforementioned advantages, many critics accuse Ofcom of being overly interested with associating audiences with products, and encouraging consumerism:

> Ofcom was also the institutional culmination of a significant shift in the focus of UK television regulation, away from the allocation of relatively scarce spectrum to achieve public service objectives and towards the control of market power (Smith, 2006: 929).

The shift discussed here by Smith explores the significant departure from Reith's vision for British broadcasting, not making money for money's sake. As Iosifidis (2011: 212) explains 'Competition law' as being at the heart of Ofcom's objectives, in attempt to tackle market

failures, criticising Ofcom as regulator that prioritises its economic value over cultural. Since the creation of the BBC, which funds its programming through obligatory television licence, there was a call for different types of television media, and the creation of ITV brought a more informal form of entertainment for the public but also a more commercial one. Funding its broadcasting through advertisements a new form of media was born, one that can generate money in other parts of British markets, the type that Ofcom is accused of abusing for economic benefit. In his work, Lunt (2011) speaks of the depth of market and consumer research that is done in order to feed this market focus, questioning specifically the motives of Ofcom in relation to public interest, and the purpose British broadcasting serves. Summarising the shift in detail, Iosifidis claims that that Ofcom's creation has seen 'subordination' of the citizen interest, which is defined as "'long-term social benefits broadcasting brings to society, democracy, culture, identity and civic engagement' stating that it has shifted to the consumer interest, defined as 'short-term benefits to individuals expressed through viewing choices, pay-TV services, online and web services.' (Iosifidis, 2011: 213). These statements portray the argument that Ofcom does not support a public broadcast service for all but rather, provides obstacles for viewers by focusing on economic value, restricting certain content to those who can afford to pay for subscription, making it an elitist industry that is not necessarily beneficial to all in society.

On the other hand, in somewhat current affairs there have been very clear reminders of the necessity of media regulation, specifically in terms of the press. As Long and Wall (2014: 217) explore, the UK National Union of Journalists (NUJ) are expected to adhere by a strict code of conduct, to ensure the legitimacy and ethic of the information relayed by the media in Britain and Ireland, in which the general public hold the utmost trust. Although the ninth principle claims that journalists should produce 'no material likely to lead to hatred or discrimination on the grounds of a person's age, gender, race, colour, creed, legal status, disability, marital status or sexual orientation', (Long and Wall, 2014: 217) tabloid newspapers such as the Daily Mail often come under scrutiny for doing exactly this and henceforth breaching the code of conduct. Repeatedly, headlines released by the newspaper firm have been criticised for producing fear and hatred among readers specifically targeting ethnic minorities, occasionally met with rewording of their headlines in response, but often no action real action is taken. Though journalists are supposedly 'expected' to abide by said principles, it is evident that they are not always carried out, bringing question upon the ability to truly regulate news media. This was not the case however when, as reported by the BBC (2014), journalists at Britain's then leading newspaper, The News of the World, were found to be hacking the phones of their subjects, breaking not only principle six, 'does nothing to intrude into anybody's private life', but the law too. This revelation saw the newspaper shut down, and those responsible facing prosecution and legal action for violating the privacy of many in the public eye. Its downfalls considered, it is still possible to view these conducts as an argument for the regulation of media, as it evidently does attempt to work in the interest of the public.

In opposition with this outlook on regulation, many feel that to enforce regulations means a failure of Freedom of Speech which is supposed to be our human right. Further, many associate regulation with censorship, which is more commonly associated with dictatorship which makes the subject controversial in a democratic society like the UK, since it is important that 'the ability to communicate beliefs, ideas and views is held central to democracy' (Feintuck and Varney, 2006: 9). Additionally, since many theories suggest that the media has a large impact on the behaviour and the opinions of the public, it seems it often becomes intertwined with politics. Curran and Seaton (2009: 4) give insight into the strain that the state put on journalists and the press in the past, politicians seeking

ways to repress those writing 'unsympathetic' articles, something that one journalist accounts as 'state censorship'. Now, governments are set on maintaining a press that is free from political biases and regulated independently as opposed to by the state. Though, the idea of the state controlling the press and the media would repress ideas that do not reflect their views could hint at a much wider issue, one of media ownership and how powerful individuals can impose their ideologies on masses. Since Rupert Murdoch owns such a large share of the newspapers in Britain today along with shares in companies like Sky and the creation of Ofcom depleted other independent regulatory bodies, it may perhaps be perceived that the media lacks in variety of opinions since being largely in the hands of the powerful and has the ability to become biased and one-sided. This all contributes to a lack of voice within the media, which is something that regulators do not combat.

Since the media has widened, bringing such a variety of mediums to the public, one could argue that it has brought with it, just as many issues. It is evident that there is a necessity for regulation, since violent videogames, films and the increasingly popular and difficult to regulate Internet are causing what Long and Wall (2014: 291) describe as 'moral panics' as they became a threat to societal values. As I have explored in this essay, a common argument for the regulation of media is that it does, in fact protect vulnerable audiences. Many will argue that it is in fact ethics and morality that are the heart of regulation, even if it may be portrayed as repression in some forms. However scandals such as phone hacking may prove that regulation is failing to enforce itself on journalism, those going online to seek content beyond their age restrictions may prove that regulations fail to be effective. Arguments against regulation appear to reveal that the public are sceptical about the effects of regulation, even if it may not seem disagreeable in theory. Both arguments make valid justifications or criticisms of the media's regulation, and perhaps reveal its necessity. In my opinion, something as powerful and influential as the media needs regulation to ensure that it promotes healthy society, not promoting hatred at specific groups like some newspapers appear to today, and one that is not touched by politicians or state. Regulation is subsequently, perhaps more in need of reform than due to its many evident failures.

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Does Anti-Catholicism still exist in 21st century Britain? Could acts of Anti-Catholicism be causing the reduction in practicing Roman Catholics?

Jessica Bertenshaw

Throughout much of history, Catholicism, like many religions, has been subject to a huge amount of criticism and condemnation, likely due to its often controversial traditions and doctrines (on issues such as homosexuality, contraception and abortions). Surprisingly, I have found that very little study has been dedicated to the investigation of this condemnation which is commonly described as 'Anti-Catholicism', as opposed to the almost overwhelming amount of research dedicated to 'Anti-Islam' or 'Anti-Semitism'. I would suggest that this because these two prejudices have held more prominence throughout history, and as a result, 'Anti-Catholicism' is often 'brushed under the rug'. This is a view held by many, with Author and Professor Philip Jenkins deeming Anti-Catholicism the 'Last acceptable prejudice' (Jenkins, 2003: 1). That is, Jenkins saw that Anti-Catholicism is still widely accepted in 21st century society. It is because of this 'acceptance' that I am dedicating my journal to the study of Anti-Catholicism within 21st Century Britain as I feel that there is a need for more attention to this subject.

I will also be investigating whether or not this Anti-Catholicism can be implicated in the reduction of practicing Roman Catholics in 21st century Britain. 'Faith Survey' reported that weekly mass attendance fell 30.7% between 1993 and 2010 alongside a 10.9% reduction of the total catholic population (Catholics in England and Wales, 2016). These statistics, therefore, suggest that Catholicism no longer holds as much prominence within 21st century Britain and that less and less people are practicing the religion. I will be attempting to decide whether this Anti-Catholicism can be implicated as having a role in this stark reduction of practicing Catholics in Britain.

Like any sociological investigation it is important to refer to the work of C. Wright Mills. In the book 'The Sociological Imagination' Mills saw that 'neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both' (Mills, 2000: 3). By this, Mills is arguing that an individual's life is shaped by the history of the society in which he lives. In relation to this sociological journal, an individual's choice to stop practicing Roman Catholicism can likely be attributed to the society around them; In this essay I will be focusing on Anti-Catholicism within society and whether or not it could be implicated for causing a Roman Catholic to stop practicing their faith. Due to the length constraints of this essay I cannot investigate every single instance of Anti-Catholicism and instead I have chosen to focus mainly on historical instances of Anti-Catholicism, Anti-Catholicism within the media and Anti-Catholicism within the everyday life of an individual.

Relation to my life

I have chosen to dedicate my sociological journal to the study of Anti-Catholicism not solely because I recognize that study is necessary, but also because it is something that is close to my life. I come from a long line of generational Catholics and as a result, I was also brought up as a Roman Catholic something which I feel attracts a great deal of controversy and in some cases, disapproval. Although never exposed to any serious Anti-Catholicism, casual Anti-Catholicism occurs within my everyday life; such as casual jokes/mocking from my

friends and, an arguably, more sinister breed of Anti-Catholicism exists within the media that I am exposed to daily (e.g. within music videos such as Madonna's 'Like a Prayer'). I agree wholeheartedly with Jenkins when he describes Anti-Catholicism as the 'last acceptable prejudice', Jenkins describes how:

> A statement that is seen as racist, misogynistic, anti-Semitic, or homophobic would haunt a speaker for years (...) yet it is still possible to make quite remarkably hostile, or vituperative public statement about (...) Roman Catholicism, and those comments will do no harm to the speaker's reputation (Jenkins, 2003: 5).

In other words, Anti-Catholicism has yet to be put in the same category as being 'Anti-Semitic' or 'homophobia' and as a result, any acts of Anti-Catholicism is generally accepted. This, I feel, is noticeable within everyday life (such as within the general public, the media and institutional systems), as a Roman Catholic this of course would affect me and is likely why I have such a big interest in this subject.

A brief history of Anti-Catholicism

Before speaking about Anti-Catholicism within 21st century Britain I feel that it is necessary to investigate the history of Anti-Catholicism within Britain in order to fully grasp the severity and the longitude of this 'Last acceptable prejudice'; Arguably it is the fact that Anti-Catholicism has existed so far back in history that makes the fact that exists in the 21st century so shocking.

1532

Serious Anti-Catholicism can be dated back to King Henry VIII and the English Reformation. The English reformation occurred as a result of Henry's desire to extricate himself from a marriage which he felt threatened the future of his dynasty (Pettegree, 2011). In 1532, in order to end the marriage, Henry decided to pass a legislation that ended the influence of the papacy in England and instead appointed the King as the ultimate head of the church (Pettegree, 2011). Furthermore, any kind of allegiance to the Pope was considered treason thus resulting in the execution and consequent martyrdom of Thomas More and John Fisher.

1563

Following on from the English Reformation, and in the time of Elizabeth I, the next major act of Anti-Catholicism came in the form of John Foxe's highly influential book 'Foxe's Book of Martyrs' wherein Foxe detailed the sufferings of Protestants at the hands of the Catholic Church (Foxe, 1830). First published in 1563 and considered an act of Anti-Catholicism, Foxe's book served as what many deemed a form of Anti-Catholicism propaganda (Mazzeo, 1964) and was hugely popular among 'simple folk' and as a result, likely contributed greatly to Anti-Catholicism within England.

1666

Arguably, the next big stand in Anti-Catholicism occurred within the 17th Century; after the Great Fire of London in 1666, the memorial plaque at London's Monument stated that Catholics were to blame and it was only after the 'Catholic Emancipation' in the 19th Century that the government had the inscriptions removed (Geoghegan, 2010).

1780

In 1778, an act was passed to repeal the Anti-Catholic legislation that placed a great deal of limitations on Roman Catholics. This was poorly received by Protestant England, and in particular George Gordon who led 60,000 to the House of Commons to present a petition in opposition to the act that 'encouraged popery'. As a result, Anti-Catholic riots occurred in London and lasted for many days with violence targeted towards Catholic homes and chapels (Geoghegan, 2010).

1850

Despite the Catholic Emancipation, Anti-Catholicism continued into the 19th Century; many acts of Anti-Catholicism arose, particularly during 1850. For example: many articles were printed 'slamming' the catholic church, Queen Victoria expressed her sympathy to Anti-Catholicism, the burning in effigy of many catholic leaders and even violent acts such as stones being thrown at the windows of Cardinal Wiseman's carriage (Broderick, 1976).

1874

Following on from this, in 1874 the Prime Minister at the time, William Ewart Gladstone, wrote a public letter stating that 'The temporal power of the pope (...) that great, wonderful and ancient erection, is gone' (Bebbington, 1993: 112). Thus, demonstrating his allegiance to the secular powers.

Examples within the 21st century

It is with little doubt that one can state that Anti-Catholicism still exists within the 21st Century, with suggestions that 'modern Britain is a country founded in large part on Anti-Catholicism' (Reidy, 2010), however it does not exist on the same institutional scale as it has throughout history. Despite this, Anti-Catholicism is still prominent within daily life but in a different medium than it once was. I would argue that the Anti-Catholicism of the 21st century is, in some ways, more influential because it exists in some of the places which hold, arguably, the biggest influence over a large proportion of Britain's population, such as within music, literature and film.

Music

Artists and Musicians hold a huge influence in 21st Century Britain, many people consider their opinions/ideals very important and thus, they can be extremely influential. Thus, in terms of Anti-Catholicism, any instance where a musician may demonstrate an allegiance with Anti-Catholicism is now available to a huge number of people, through Twitter, Facebook and YouTube. One example of this is Madonna, namely her 1989 song 'Like a Prayer' and the accompanying video (Appendix 1). In this video, many elements were deemed to be supporting Anti-Catholicism: the burning of crosses, stigmata and a sexual moment with a Saint. For many, including the Vatican, this video was hugely inappropriate and was consequently condemned. I would argue that the video is somewhat representative of Anti-Catholicism, although not personally offended by the video, I could see why many Roman Catholics would perceive the burning of a cross to be an act of Anti-Catholicism.

Another example of Anti-Catholicism within the 21st Century can be found in the form of Comedian Tim Minchin's song 'The Pope Song' (Appendix 2). In the song Minchin writes "Fuck the motherfucking Pope" and "that motherfucking, power hungry/ Self-aggrandized bigot/ in the stupid fucking hat". Although perhaps not intended as an act of Anti-Catholicism, Minchin's song is often perceived as offensive towards Catholics and many may as a result label it as an Anti-Catholic song. I personally do find the song offensive, although arguably the origins of the song (the church sex abuse scandal) may be founded in some element of truth, I find that the use of language in relation to the Pope, the most sacred leader of the Catholic church, is extremely offensive and I couldn't fathom Tim Minchin writing a similar song about one of the leaders of Islam. Once again, this fits into the description of Anti-Catholicism being the 'last acceptable prejudice'.

Literature

As well as in the media, many suggest Anti-Catholicism can also be identified in some part within books such as Dan Brown's 'The Davinci Code' published in 2003. This book caused a massive amount of controversy among the Catholic Population upon its release, largely due to the idea that many felt the book portrayed a violent Catholicism. As a result, many Catholic officials encouraged the shunning of said books, with the Archbishop of Northern Genoa Bertone stating that 'This book is a sack full of lies against the Church, against the real history of Christianity and against Christ himself,' and led him to wonder:

> If a novel came out which manipulated all the history of the Holocaust or of the Shoah, what would have happened? (The Guardian, 2005).

Here, Bertone supports Jenkin's idea that Anti-Catholicism is 'the last acceptable prejudice' and states his belief that this can be demonstrated through this Novel.

Film

Literature, however, does not appeal to or reach to a large number of Britain's population and instead, much Anti-Catholicism is demonstrated through the medium of film. Interestingly, I can refer to the example of 'The Davinci Code' again but this time instead of the novel itself I can refer to the film adaptation. Like the novel, many Catholic officials called for a boycott of the film with Archbishop Angelo Amato describing the film as 'full of calumnies, offenses and historical and theological errors' (The New York Times, 2006). Clearly, the film sparked outrage and accusations of crude Anti-Catholicism with the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops suggesting that it is "morally offensive" (Kohn, 2006).

Why would Anti-Catholicism have such a large effect?

In this Modern age the media is an all-consuming presence within our everyday lives, and as a result, in the case of Anti-Catholicism, instances where an individual (reporter/celebrity /author) may act in favour of this movement can now be witnessed and seen by a huge number of people who can then be influenced on a large scale.

As a young Roman Catholic in particular, one is influenced greatly by the media around them. With a huge number of Britain's young people absorbed within media on a nearly daily basis, it would be ridiculous to suggest that the media world wouldn't have a big and powerful influence over them.

This, I feel, relates in part to the classic social theory of 'Social Learning Theory'; this suggests that individuals will be influenced greatly by those they perceive to be a role model and will consequently attempt to recreate the behaviour shown (Bandura, 1977). In relation to Madonna, many people likely see her as someone to 'look up to' or 'to be like' and as a result, may observe her behaviour, in this case the Anti-Catholicism within her music, and may try to adopt the same behaviour themselves. As a young, and likely impressionable, Roman Catholic they may see their role model displaying Anti-Catholic values and as a result, decide that they do not want to be associated with the religion themselves. Therefore, according to the arguments of Social Learning Theory, seeing people in the media demonstrate acts of Anti-Catholicism could result in an individual deciding to no longer practice Catholicism and thus, could explain the reduction in the number of Roman Catholics attending Church.

Furthermore, if Anti-Catholicism is a common feature within the media, the general public may as a result, feel that it is a perfectly acceptable thing to partake in themselves. Particularly young people may see Anti-Catholicism within their favourite song, book or film and as a result, perceive this to be perfectly acceptable. Consequently, people of the general public may begin to exhibit Anti-Catholic beliefs and this will likely affect practicing Roman Catholics as they may feel isolated in their beliefs which could potentially result in them deciding to stop practicing their faith. Following on from this, as more and more people show their allegiance with Anti-Catholicism, the more mainstream it becomes. If a Roman Catholic saw or felt that Anti-Catholicism was the 'mainstream' belief they may find themselves unwilling to reveal that they are a Roman Catholic and may eventually result in them completely disregarding their faith and no longer choosing to practice their faith.

I decided, to better understand the effects of Anti-Catholicism and how it would affect someone's faith, I would create a questionnaire which I would then present to my sister, a young practicing Roman Catholic (Appendix 3). The results of this questionnaire were extremely eye-opening for me and I feel that it fits perfectly into what I have been arguing throughout this journal. When asked the question: 'Have you ever experienced any criticism or adversity as a result of your faith?' she answered with the following story:

> I was in the pub with my friends and they all started mocking Catholics so I said 'I'm Catholic' and they didn't know what to say. I felt as if after that day they thought of me differently.

I feel that this supports my earlier argument that seeing Anti-Catholicism within the media will result in people feeling that it is acceptable to express similar ideas in everyday life. These individuals, for example, may have seen Anti-Catholicism in a film or a song and then

felt it was okay to mock the religion themselves. I would argue that it is highly unlikely that they would ever express anti-Islamic or anti-Semitic remarks in a public place such as the pub.

This idea is furthered in her admission that: 'When I was younger I definitely questioned my faith because everyone would mock me for my religion.' I feel that this is particularly shocking because not only did she feel unwilling to admit her faith because of the Anti-Catholicism but she also felt herself questioning her entire belief system as a result of it. All of these answers support what I have argued so far throughout this journal as it is clear from these findings that Anti-Catholicism led the respondent to consider stopping practicing the religion and for many, it may have succeeded.

Conclusion

In conclusion, through the writing of this journal I have deduced that Anti-Catholicism is still prominent in 21st Century Britain and is arguably as serious, albeit in a different way, as it has been throughout British History. No longer is Anti-Catholicism considered an institutional entity and instead it exists through the medium of media such as through the music industry, through literature and through film. Arguably, in this modern age where the media world, and figures within the media, holds such a huge influence over much of the population, I feel that Anti-Catholicism could be implicated for the reducing number of practicing Roman Catholics.

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Return to CONTENTS

Appendix 1

Madonna- 'Like a Prayer' (1989): Madonna was subject to controversy for this music video that used anti-Catholic imagery and symbolism.

Appendix 2

Tim Minchin- 'The Pope song' (2010): Minchin received a huge amount of criticism from Catholic organisations for this song that adopted very anti-Catholic and offensive language.

Appendix 3

Roman Catholicism in the 21st Century:

Respondent 1

1. What is your age? *22*

2. *How long have you been practicing Roman Catholicism? : Since birth*

3. Have you ever experienced any criticism or adversity as a result of your faith?

   Many, many times. I was in the pub with my friends and they all started mocking Catholics so I said 'I'm catholic' and they didn't know what to say. I felt as if after that day they thought of me differently. They associated me with what they perceived Catholicism to be and as a result, stereotyped me even though they'd known me before. I once was questioned constantly about my faith by a man during my time at University and he didn't give me a chance to support my answers or to speak in defence of Catholicism.

4. Do you feel that Roman Catholics are subject to more criticism than other religions?

   Not necessarily, but in Britain particularly I feel that anything media-related never minds bringing up/attacking Catholics. I feel that if someone brought up something about any other religion, such as the Muslim faith, there would be a big uproar which is just not seen in reaction to anything said against Catholicism.

5. Have you ever felt unwilling/ashamed to admit that you are a Roman Catholic?

   Many times, particularly when I was growing up at Secondary School, but no longer.

6. Have you ever questioned your faith? *Yes*

7. What reasons can you give for this questioning?

   When I was younger I definitely questioned my faith because everyone would mock me for my religion. But I think you always question your faith as it is such a difficult thing to believe in. But I definitely feel that people can influence that around you.

8. *Can you think of any examples of anti-Catholicism that you have faced during your life?*

   - *Question programs can be, but because it's a debate it's not necessarily one-sided*
   - *People mocking me for my religion*
   - *Groups like ISIS killing Christians maybe*
   - In a lot of media, Catholics, out of all Christians, Catholics are the ones to get treated as if they're bad (comedy programs, debates etc.)

9. Why do you feel anti-Catholicism is so prominent?

   People assume the rules are very unchangeable and that every Catholic believes in them. Because we are a big religion it's noticed more and blamed on us.

Outline and discuss the main arguments for and against media regulation

Kanoka Furukoji

Media has become an increasingly inevitable part in our life; unconsciously we consume various types of media everywhere at any time of the day. A statistic suggests as of June 2015 on average 490 minutes, over 8 hours, a third of our day consists of consuming media daily (Karaian, 2015). It is significant to take a close look at media, the possible effects it possess when it is becoming an essential part of our daily lives. As any other technology or concept developed, there are both pros and cons for media. For example, the pros of being able to communicate to the mass is followed by the con of the large influence it can posses; media regulation can be introduced in order to cope with these aspects. The essay will discuss both arguments for and against media regulation through historical and contemporary incidents alongside social experiments. Specific focuses for arguing against are: censorship, the use of power for personal and institutional advantage, and the creation of limited media 'fit' to regulations. Arguments for include: protection of all individuals including media influence on discrimination, stereotypes, education, and values of society. Though to open the discussion first, an introduction to media regulation will be given with its definition, different forms and purposes.

To start, the term 'media regulation' will be examined before exploring further depth of the concept. One may question what media itself is. The Collins dictionary defines the term as: 'the means of communication that reach large numbers of people, such as television, newspapers, and radio' ("Media", 2016). The essay will refer media as this definition; contents created which communicate to the mass, and would like to note other key medias in the current generation that must be kept in mind including the internet, movies and magazines. Regulate is defined as 'to bring into conformity with a rule, principle, or usage' ("Regulate", 2016). With this is in mind, a definition for the entire word 'media regulation' can be defined as: the deliberate act of controlling the exposure, consumption, ownership and content of media. It must be emphasized that it is a deliberate act, meaning certain intentions motivate regulation, an aim to be accomplished. To get a better understanding of how media regulation operates, the three major forms media regulation takes should be introduced. Media can be regulated by: individuals, the government/country and companies or businesses themselves (Long & Wall, 2012). When individuals act as the regulator, the main concern is consumption and content. In the case of consumption, a parent can individually select what is appropriate to show for their children. A familiar example in Japan would be *Crayon Shin-chan*. Although it is a cartoon targeted for children, content tends to be vulgar, and many parents prohibit their children to see the program, as they believe it has a negative impact on them. In terms of individual effects on content, this is more indirect. The public choosing not to consume a certain media creates pressure and less demand on certain contents; leading to changes in content to serve such aims of: wishing to increase in profit or reaching wider audiences. The second form of regulation is in relation with the government and country itself. This includes: the country's constitution which are not limited to regulating media only, but a wider scale of existing systems in the world; organizations under direct control of the government controlled what can, and cannot be included; and regulating ownership, this is seen in the Rules of the UK Office of Communication where religious bodies cannot own certain media bodies. The third form of regulation is self-regulation, where the media companies and businesses themselves create

regulations voluntary with possible intention to avoid harsh regulations by the government (Long & Wall, 2012). The vast forms and extent of media regulation poses a question why, and what purposes media regulation holds. The media must be regulated as it holds significant power, as the rise of the Nazi is seen inevitable without the power of radio demonstrates. It influences the population in several ways including of ideology, identity and values they develop. Some purposes of media regulation include of: promotion, preservation, and preventing certain aspects of culture such as language, protection of individuals, and meeting standards of production (Long & Wall, 2012). Media regulation is an essential element in order to have a healthy effect of media on society due to the tremendous effect media can pose.

Media regulation can be used for the sole benefit of an organization or individual especially when they are authorities posing significant power. Censorship is under the category of media regulation, although it is an extreme type. This opens a discussion for arguments to be against media regulation. Media has been historically a powerful and effective tool in achieving policies of manipulating the mass, as many medias are passively seen without suspicion rather for entertainment. Taking an example from the text *Power without responsibility*, it discusses Britain enacting Regulation 2D in the 1940's, where control of the press by the Home Secretary was ensured to suppress opposition towards the government and war (Curran & Seaton, 1997). It is clear in this case of censorship, media regulation is used for the sole benefit of the government. This leads to citizens unable to explore different perspectives, shaping them into the ideal citizens or even to the extent of puppets the government wishes. The dynamics have changed slightly in the current time, and the following example of The New York Times supports further reasons for going against media regulation today. The New York Times, a well-known newspaper has contents such as the "ROOM FOR DEBATE", which the Times itself explains itself on the website as: 'invites knowledgeable outside contributors to discuss news events and other timely issues' (The New York Times Company, 2016). During times of critical tension between Iraq and the United States of America (November 1990 ~ January 1991), there were displays of '200 editorials, columns, and letters to the editor concerning Iraq' (Page, 1996: 21). In a time frame of 2 months this on the outside seems fascinating, conveying 200 opinions creates a sense of acceptance of diversity on views present in the company. However, this spurious diversity can be seen from the following finding: 'the vast majority of these column writers occupies positions in mainstream institution and organization associated with the foreign-policy establishment' (Page, 1996: 23). This finding suggests media being regulated in order to enforce one side of an argument on an issue of political importance. Although one could argue that it is hard for any individual to produce a perfectly balanced, and neutral material having no personal preference on one side, the statement that follows suggests a fundamental danger in media regulation:

The distribution of *Times* editorial and op-ed views was not democratically representative in the sense of reflecting citizens' preference…Several of these options, endorsed by large numbers- even majorities- of Americans, were barely mentioned' (Page, 1996: 32-33).

Avoiding to express an opinion believed by majority, suggests there is more to media regulation than simply a biased opinion due to personal preference of media owners and creators. "Major newspapers (and their owners) typically gave public support in the expectation of obtaining regulatory favors in general and ownership of new channels" (Tunstall & Machin, 1999: 191). The passage suggests the depressing relationship present between powerful authorities and mass media. For anyone, success of their carrier is desirable; as Puppis' (2009) research on expansion of foreign music also suggested

(alongside texts of Tunstall & Machin), having connections with authorities are key; in terms of funding, obtaining other connections and opportunities. If media creators continue to appease authorities, modifying the media in their favor, media is simply a propaganda tool to implant citizens ideas of powerful authorities. Furthermore, as we see currently as the oligopoly of media expands, there is decreasing the appreciation to diversity of media and smaller productions. Any form of extreme regulation leads to increasing creation of media only 'fit' for regulations, 'There is no natural scarcity of ideas and information' (Peters, 1963: 15). We could argue that by creating regulations we create boundaries for media, as we see from the last example to argue against regulations. Whilst copyrights were created as a system to reward creative thoughts, with incomes from them, now it is restricting creators with fears especially in the music industry, pieces being too similar to another (Peters, 1963). Media regulation can be argued is a disadvantage to society due to its creation of negative effects on society, with implementing prejudiced views with power of authorities, and creating limited media suitable for regulations.

Supporting arguments against media regulation may seem rather convincing, as it is concerned with our right to know about the world, ideologies, creating a wider range of free media available. Although, media regulation cannot be completely denied as it plays a significant role in protection of not just vulnerable individuals but everyone. The section discusses media regulation as a way of protecting individuals from discrimination, stereotypes and encouraging a better community as a whole. A famous case of significant effect media had in Japan is the portrayal of Tsutomu Miyzaki. He was a serial killer of young girls, continuously the center attention of the news. With repeatedly being referred to and known as an otaku, which is one who is obsessed with area(s) of anime, games, and idols, this ultimately created an extremely negative and dangerous stereotype of otakus (Hashimoto, 2007). This draws us to an attention to the need of regulating media due to the depictions having long lasting effects upon ideologies and individuals.

One may argue to regulate media with limiting the use of expressions, and content, of how groups are portrayed are against freedom of speech. However, there is a need to maintain the media as a platform where socially acceptable and positive attitudes are expressed. This is as media is consumed by the mass, and especially true as younger audiences view the media as a reflection of society, educating children from young ages how the world works, and what is normal in the world (Murphy, 1987). If discriminating language were heard daily on television from a young age, this would become a norm to a child. The serious effect media has on individual behavior can be further discussed through examining the effects of sexual scenes in mass media. Both experiments discussed in Greenfield (2004) and Malamuth & Check (1981) texts showed results of R-rated and sexual movies being showed resulted in 'significantly more accepting of the use of aggression against women in sexual and nonsexual interactions' (Greenfield, 2004: 743). This specific effect of media extends to all women around the globe creating the possibility of great harm, and especially when these media depict unrealistic fantasies of positive outcomes after violent sexual scenes. Media cannot be encouraging activities that harm society, or individuals, and such aspects must be aided with regulating the media in terms of content.

Today even young children are subject to sexualization on media; media is defining their roles, how children should act, and be physically looking or dressed. Due to these messages embedded in media, as a report from American Psychological Association's Task Force states, there is 'increased eating disorders, greater incidence of depression, and lower self-esteem' (Randazzo & Farmer & Lamb, 2015). It can be argued that media regulation should

be continually used for the protection of all individuals in the moral sense. Also, regulation can be further pushed more in sectors where there is growing negative effects to be dealt with. As 'a Kaiser Foundation study has found that 1 in 9 television shows intended to be viewed by teenagers include a scene that depicts sexual intercourse' (Wollek, 2011: 121-2). With the still rising consumption of media, companies themselves creating media should have the obligation to indicate and produce material for its appropriate audiences. Media regulation is a form of protection for all, in creating ranges of appropriate media for every individual and can encourage a positive community with educating positive attitudes, ideologies and behaviours.

As observed throughout this essay, the power of media in any form such as newspapers, magazines, movies, cannot be underestimated. It can affect and shape one's stages of growing up, ideology, values, lifestyle, knowledge and experience within his/her lifetime, such as being a victim of sexual violence or attached stereotypes. Media regulation comes in different extents and forms of control: by the government or companies themselves, individual choices and pressures; yet all having a different aim but a common goal of pursing it. To simply support one definite side to go for or against media regulation cannot be done, as according to the different motives of regulation they can make a positive or negative effect on society. Media regulations that benefit the soles of a single government or company cannot be agreed upon, as the use of regulations and the platform of media should not be utilized for the manipulation of ones benefits whether this is for financial, political support or fame. Further, extreme regulations may encourage in the shifting of media to what is 'fit' to the regulations, rather than creative thought or enjoying the diverse media. Media should be platform of communication of ideas and entertainment. Yet in order to operate media for everyone to enjoy, and make a positive impact through it, there must be levels of regulation on a moral level applied. This includes considering and controlling appropriateness for audience, and potential negative impacts they can have. In all, media should be regulated and deregulated flexibly on the benefits it can give for the society as a whole.

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Why might you decide to use in-depth interviews for a research project? What are the potential limitations? Give examples of studies which have employed this technique well and discuss critically why in your opinion they are good examples.

D'anne Fearon

An in-depth interview is a method of collecting data in which a researcher asks a sample of people a series of questions surrounding a particular topic. Interviews, although qualitative in nature, can be used as a tool of data collection in both qualitative and quantitative studies, however, both each approach practise interviews in distinctly different ways. In regards to quantitative studies, interviews are used as a conjunctive tool as questionnaires, whereby the interviewer asks its sample a set of questions directly from a questionnaire, with the aim of extracting quantifiable data or data which can be coded; interviews conducted in such a manner are 'structured'. This essay however, will focus on the latter sociological approach and its use of interviews, interviews in a qualitative model are called: qualitative interviews or [as they are better known] in-depth interviews.

As previously stated, interviews are qualitative in nature, as a result of this, unlike quantitative interviews, in-depth interviews aim to understand the meanings that respondents give to social elements within the topic framework provided by the interviewer and are conducted in a manner which is semi-structured. In this essay, I will outline the benefits and limitation of in-depth interviews, providing examples of which I believe have executed said benefits well and averted possible limitations, hence, displaying why a researcher may choose an in-depth interview as their method of data collection within a research project.

Overall, in-depth interviews can be seen to focus primarily on the perspectives of its respondents, focusing on words rather than quantifiable data; in having such a focus, in-depth interviews are beneficial in the following areas: gathering information about meanings, developing rapport, approaching sensitive issues and avoiding the problem of social desirability bias. All of said factors are important to the integrity and validity of data and the overall study of a researcher, hence suggesting why in-depth interviews would be chosen as a research tool within a project.

Firstly, in relation to gathering information about meanings, as stated above, in-depth interviews can be viewed as having an intrinsic purpose to uncover and analyse meanings respondents give to elements of the social world; this is achieved as a result of interviews' semi-structured nature. In being semi-structured, the interviewer is not bound by a set of questions, but is rather free to veer off into the direction that the respondent takes conversation. In doing this, it can be argued, that the researcher is able to tap into multiple indicators of the research topic and how, in the eyes of the respondent, each indicator is meaningful to the topic at hand. An example of this is Malbon's research on "clubbers" in 1999, in Malbon's second use of in-depth interviews he found that conversation drifted to the "clubbers" wider lives (e.g. their relationship to work, loved ones, study etc.) (Malbon, 1999: 33, quoted in Bryman, 2012: 470). From this example, it is clear that the freedom from in-depth interviews provides researchers with the tools to better identify meanings that their respondents give to certain topics, as, also shown in the example above, different

indicators arise throughout conversation due to the semi-structured nature of qualitative interviews. Overall, the indicators expressed by the respondents are ultimately the meanings they give to the social world, in that the indicators used are descriptors for how respondents view the topic in question (e.g. being a clubber, to the respondents, means being a young, powerless individual).

Secondly, a researcher may decide to use in-depth interviews as their tool of data collection if their research concerns sensitive issues. In-depth interviews can be argued to be the best research tool when dealing with sensitive issues due to its ability to create rapport between interviewer and respondent, as a result of its previously explored semi-structured nature.

Generally speaking, in-depth interviews are guided by one specific topic, in which the interviewer questions its sample in relation to the topic at hand, rather than concrete questions, this gives the both the interviewer and the respondent a level of freedom; thus allowing for rapport to be built. The Merriam-Webster dictionary describes rapport as "a relation marked by accord or affinity" (Webster (2011), 01/03/16, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/rapport), as interviewers are not restricted to a list of concrete questions, it is arguably easier to generate rapport as the interviewer is not bound by a particular set of questions, thus giving respondents greater reign over the direction of the conversation. Overall, the semi-structured nature of in-depth interviews puts respondents at greater ease, ultimately creating a sense of rapport from the get-go; which is beneficial for research as it may decrease the time of the interview and thus the cost and the integration of discussions of sensitive issues easier.

Focusing on sensitive issues, in-depth interviews could be argued to be the most viable choice of data collection for the reasons outlined above. Approaching sensitive issues in any sociological study is a significant issue due to the ethical issues that could arise. When studying issues such as: drugs, criminal activity, sex etc. the researcher must be sure to ask questions that could not be seen to cause irreparable mental [or physical] harm to the participants of his/her study; it can be argued that using in-depth interviews minimises the likelihood of said harm and eases the approach to sensitive issues overall.

Firstly, the rapport built from the flexibility of in-depth interviews means that the integration of questions concerning sensitive issues will be easier, as respondents feel more comfortable both with the interviewer and knowing that they can explain their answer explicitly in their own words and are therefore more likely to answer questions and answer them truthfully.

In addition to rapport, it could also be noted that in-depth interviews are ecologically valid, which goes to benefit research in terms of sensitive issues. Generally speaking, in-depth interviews are conducted in a place most natural to the respondent (e.g. their place of work, home, leisure space etc.), as a result of this, it could be argued that respondents would be more comfortable and more in control; at their most comfortable, it may be argued, that respondents would be less hesitant to answer sensitive questions. Overall, the combination of rapport and high ecological validity within qualitative or in-depth interviews, allows for easier integration of sensitive issues and ensures that the respondent more willing to answer questions concerning sensitive issues. Hence, one could argue, in-depth interviews to be the most practical tool when researching sensitive issues.

A good example of in-depth interviews and sensitive issues is Pager and Karafin's *Bayesian bigot? Statistical discrimination, stereotypes, and employer decision making (2009).* Pager and Karafin's study used in-depth interviews in aim to identify and understand the differing attitudes held by employers in New York City's low-wage labour market concerning black and white workers and how said attitudes affected the employability of black people. From the features explored above, I believe this study to be a good example of the use of in-depth interviews, particularly in terms of ecological validity and sensitive issues.

To begin, this study used fifty-five interviews, of which included "a full range of entry-level employers" (Pager and Karafin, 2009: 75) across New York City's labour market, while in a quantitative study, fifty-five cases is not large, it can be argued that in the context of this study this is a significant number of cases, especially being that there were two main researchers on this project. Also, this study shows to have conducted interviews with multiple industries within Manhattan, examples include: retail industry (46 percent), the restaurant industry (31 percent), or the service industry (11 percent) (Pager and Karafin, 2009: 75), of which included a range of independent firms, local chains and national chains. With this being said, while the actual sample size may have been small, the range of employers accounted for within this study, leads me to name Pager and Karafin's study as one which used in-depth interviews well, as it took into account the limitation of sample sizes in qualitative studies and so used a ranging type of labour market employers, in order to be able to state that information found could be generalised to account for the attitudes of employers within the low-wage labour market as a whole.

Another study which I believe to have used in-depth interviews well is the study of cancer patients by Leydon et al. (2000: 909-913). This study both deals with sensitive and longitudinal issues. An issue such as cancer is especially hard for researchers to combat due to its ethical nature, not only is the researcher dealing with the problem of interviewing patients, there is the issue of causing mental harm to patients through interviewing them during their ill state and causing them to relive the time in their post-cancer state. However, in allowing the patients to outline in their own words why they did or did not seek more than surface level information concerning their cancer gives us greater insight into this area and may allow for future support to be given to combat this issue. Thus, the nature of in-depth interviews and the use of rapport by the interviewer minimises the ethical issues present within a study such as this, and thus in-depth interviews in this context can be said to be well-used.

While it is irrefutable that in-depth interviews provide significant benefits, they also come with significant limitations which must also be explored. Firstly, the name of in-depth interviews itself presents the initial problem of qualitative research: time. Interviews alone take a considerable amount of time to prepare and conduct, this time is extended for in-depth interviews. In regards to the interview itself, in-depth interviews are seen to go through a three-stage process of gathering information: the preparation stage, the contact stage and the follow-up stage (MacDougall & Fudge, 2001: 117-126) all of which take time and resources. In addition to these stages, given that in-depth interviews seek to understand meanings, interviewer questions must surpass the 'surface level' answers of respondents and use follow-up questions to obtain the deepest understanding of answers given by respondents (Ritchie et al., 2013: 141). Having such a responsibility not only takes time to conduct, but also makes the transcription and analysis of data excessively harder for the researcher, as the answers given by respondents will be the result of how they individually view and given meaning to the social world, coming to a general consensus or

generalisation of meaning will be difficult for the researcher (Boyce & Neale, 2006: 3). When considering the combination of the stages and detail involved in in-depth interviews, they can be seen to be extremely time-intensive, hence making them extremely expensive also; all of which presents a major limitation of using in-depth interviews and thus may deter a researcher from choosing in-depth interviews within their research project.

Secondly, in reference to expenses, in-depth interviews can be said to be the most expensive qualitative research method. With fast changing technologies and related human interaction issues, there is an increased need for timely evaluation of systems with distributed users in varying contexts (Pace, 2004, quoted by Adams & Cox, 2008: 17-34), however, in-depth interviews call for a significant amount of training. Due to the detailed nature of in-depth interviews, interviewers would need to have a certain degree of skill in interviewing and transcription, of which they would need to be trained (if not already skilled). While this is time-consuming it is also considerably expensive, the alternative of hiring skilled interviewers would also be expensive for a researcher, as a result of this, researchers may be forced to seek funding of research or governmental boards in order to conduct research. Although this takes the financial off of the researcher, the process of finding a funding board may be time-consuming and thus would delay the actual conducting of the research. Lastly, in being expensive to conduct, the idea of longitudinal studies using in-depth interviews is extremely limited. While this is not significant in every case using in-depth interviews, it may mean that understanding attitudes and social norms over time would be less achievable, which is particularly important when looking at hidden populations, which is one of the acclaimed benefits of in-depth interviews. As a result of all expressed, it could be argued that the sheer scale of preparation involved in in-depth interviews are significant limitation of the research tool, as the level of expense and time needed to start the research may mean that the relevance of research may be compromised due to the ever-changing nature of society as explained in Pace's quote.

Another significant limitation of in-depth interviews would be their low external validity. As referred to in the analysis of Pager and Karafin's study, qualitative studies, particularly in-depth interviews usually have small samples when compared to quantitative studies. This could be argued to be linked to the issue of expenses or time, as explained above. Being this as it may, with having such small sample sizes, no matter how diverse, findings of research conducted in this way would not be able to claim much external validity, as samples themselves can only represent the ideas of so many. As a result of this, in-depth interviews may never be able to claim to hold the answers to the views of the "average person" in society as the samples used would not be big enough to claim such a thing, where a census (used mostly for quantitative studies – e.g. British Social Attitudes Survey) could, purely due to the size of its sample and the diversity of its respondents. Overall, while the findings of in-depth interviews may be valid, but not common. It is because of this, some may argue, that in-depth interviews may tend to focus on hidden populations in society, as they are niche sectors, with lower populations there are less people said research can be applied to. However, it must be noted that while hidden populations are niche sectors in society, they can still be transnational and the attitudes and customs expressed by the hidden populations in one area, may not applicable to the attitudes or customs of the same hidden population in another area, meaning that in-depth interviews remain low in terms of external validity.

The final potential limitations of in-depth interviews are in regards to validity. Firstly, where it can be argued that the issue of social desirability bias is reduced in the use of in-depth interviews, due to the development of rapport, this argument can be contested.

Where in-depth interviews are face-to-face, respondents may feel obliged to say things that are socially acceptable in front of the interviewer although those things may not be their actual views. This calls into question the validity of the data found through in-depth interviews, as a result, a researcher may choose a more quantitative form of data collection (e.g. questionnaires) as it provides respondents with anonymity, so they may present truthful answers. Lastly in terms of validity, a note must be made about interviewer bias. Where in-depth interviews are concerned with meanings, there is room for error in terms of interpretation as an interviewer may interpret an answer given in a different way than what was meant by the respondent. As a result of this, validity of the data found would be compromised as the views outlined in the study may be different to the views actually held by the respondents. In addition to this, it could also be argued in some cases that interviewers may be able to manipulate information in a way that satisfies the theory that they have concluded.

On the other hand, by this standard, the argument that interviewers may manipulate information can be considered to be flawed as qualitative interviews use the deductive approach to formulating theory – it is from the response of the cases themselves that lead the interviewer to his/her theory, thus the potential for the interviewer to manipulate information to suit his/her theory is unlikely.

To conclude, in-depth interviews have been shown to provide many significant benefits to a research project, which may lead a researcher to choose this as their research method. The personal nature of qualitative interviews allows respondents is able to communicate in their own words, rather than how the study dictates they are more likely to be engaged in research. While in-depth interviews do have potential limitations, that is inevitable as all research tools have limitations, but I believe that there are solutions to many of the limitations of in-depth interviews, which makes the decision of using in-depth interviews considerably easier for the researcher. Overall, it can be concluded that, in-depth interviews are best suited to research projects which seek to understand the attitudes and societal norms, they should not seek to represent the views of society as a whole but rather to those who would be otherwise unaccounted for.

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Is ethnography the best way to research deviant or subcultural populations? What challenges could be there in terms of research ethics? Justify your answer using examples from published research

Sasha Gentle

An ethnography is a 'research method in which the researcher immerses themselves in a social setting for an extended period of time' (Bryman, 2012: 711). During this period of time, the researcher 'observes behaviour, listening to what is said in conversations between others and with the fieldworker, as well as asking questions' (Bryman, 2012: 711). To express the nature of the method in simpler terms, it can be seen as 'the study and descriptive recording of human cultures and societies' (Ryan-Flood, 2016: Lecture Week 23). Not only is ethnography the method, but also the 'written product of research based on that method' (Bryman, 2012: 466). Ethnographies can be used to research deviant populations as well as subcultural populations, which are small groups of people in society that have a different set of norms and values to wider society. Those that belong to a deviant population follow norms and values that are frowned upon by wider society, therefore 'departing from usual or accepted standards' (Google Definitions, 2016). This essay aims to evaluate whether using ethnography is the best way to research deviant or subcultural populations, looking at the positives and negatives of the research method, supported by published examples. As well as this, it will show how successful ethnographies are, and whether there are any ethical issues involved with using the research method to research deviant and subcultural populations.

There are four types of ethnography, including 'playing an overt role in an open or public setting (for example a park), playing an overt role in a closed setting (for example a school), playing an overt role in an open or public setting, and playing a covert role in a closed setting' (Bell, 1969) Bryman, 2012: 434). Playing an overt role in an ethnography is where the researcher is openly researching a group of people, who have been informed about the research and have given informed consent to being part of the research, whereas playing a covert role in an ethnography is where the researcher 'does not reveal his or her true identity' (Bryman, 2012: 710). 'Ethnographers are far more likely to be in an overt role than in a covert role' (Bryman, 2012: 435); as shown in Bell's work, there are many more published examples of overt ethnographies than there are covert ethnographies. This is because taking a covert role when carrying out ethnography causes more complications for the researcher, such as the ethical issue of deception – in order for the researcher to keep their identity concealed, the participants in the ethnography would not have received any information about the study, and therefore cannot give informed consent to participate in the study. A plus side however to covert ethnographic research is that it is easier to gain access to the group or subculture the researcher aims to study, as 'this strategy obviates the need to negotiate access to organisations or to explain why you want to intrude into people's lives and make them objects of study' (Bryman, 2012: 433), as opposed to researching overtly and having to gain access from the gatekeeper. Gatekeepers are required to grant a person access to closed settings, and can be defined as the 'actors with control over key sources and avenues of opportunity' (Atkinson, Hammersley, 2007: Chapter 2). In addition to this, researching overtly allows the researcher to gain access into open or public settings without being seen as deviant or 'disguised' (Bryman, 2012: 433).

One example of an ethnographic study is Sudhir Venkatesh's *'Doin' the hustle': Constructing the Ethnographer in the American Ghetto* (2002). During his near decade ethnographic study of 'poor, urban, predominantly African-American communities in Chicago, Illinois' (Venkatesh, 2002: 92), he found that:

> ...relations between fieldworker (the researcher) and informant (the participant being studied) form a constitutive part of ethnographic research, then reconstructing the informants point of view... this can aid the researcher in the more general objective of determining patterns of structure and meaning among the individual group, and/or community under study (Venkatesh, 2002: 92).

This suggests that ethnography is a good research method to use to research deviant or subcultural populations, as it gives the researcher an idea of what the everyday lives of the population being studied are like, they build up a rapport with the informant over a long period of time, providing the researcher with in-depth information which they are then able to create 'patterns' and discover 'meaning' from (Venkatesh, 2002:92). Similarly, Fetterman states that 'an ethnography attempts to be holistic – covering as much territory as possible about a subculture' (Fetterman, 2007: 11), although noting that it fails to do so. This is because ethnography is a longitudinal research method where the researcher becomes subjective as a result of their formed relations with the participants, which may cause researcher bias, resulting in the research being less valid without the researcher being aware of this major fault. This therefore makes the research less objective overall. However, from Venkatesh's research, it can be suggested that ethnography may not be the best way to research deviant subcultures with regards to the researchers own safety and ethics. Within his work he states that 'local stakeholders and tenant leaders also began using me for their own purposes' (Venkatesh, 2002: 97), assuming that he was involved in gangs and drugs around local areas. As a result of his 'extended stay in the community', and his 'preference for observation over interview', people in the community 'continued to provoke questions' (Venkatesh, 2002: 97) about his research, despite Venkatesh being in an overt role during the research. In addition to this, Venkatesh also held a participating role within his ethnography, which despite having its positives, also carries severe consequences. By participating in the ethnography, this enables the researcher to have a 'clear role' and 'immersion in common practices' (Ryan-Flood, 2016: Lecture Week 23) within the group they're studying, as well as gaining an insider perspective as opposed to an outsider perspective (Merton, 1972). Gaining an insider perspective is likely to give the researcher a more valid account of the subculture, whereas an outsider perspective is less likely to gain access to certain, in-depth data that can only be obtained by participating in the study and becoming 'one of them' so to speak. This is where the limitation to the research method comes in; sometimes when a researcher carries out a participant role during research, they become too involved in the subculture and it becomes difficult to get out of the subculture, especially when it comes to the researcher being put in illegal or deviant situations. This is known as 'going native', referring to a 'plight that is supposed sometimes to afflict ethnographers when they lose their sense of being a researcher and become wrapped up in the worldview of the people they're studying' (Bryman, 2012: 445). This can be seen in Venkatesh's research when he was expected to go to a meeting with an opposing subculture to the one he was researching, within which rivalry was involved. He stated that the 'incident demonstrated clearly that I could not occupy a disinterested role' (Venkatesh, 2002: 97). When participating in research, the researcher has to be 'all in', otherwise people may begin to believe they are untrustworthy and share less information with the researcher, or start questioning them and their research. This can also be seen in his other work, such as *Gang Leader for a Day* (2008). After being told that violence was the

way to teach people a lesson, and witnessing a violent beating, these were Venkatesh's thoughts on the deviant act:

> I wanted to ask JT to stop beating and take Brass to the hospital, but my ears were ringing, and I couldn't even focus on what he was telling me. My eyes were fixed on Brass, and I felt like throwing up (Venkatesh, 2008: 70).

Although Venkatesh didn't take part in the deviant act himself, he didn't break it up or try to prevent any further damage, which can be seen as deviant, as he did nothing to stop it because he was too far into the research to try and act like his normal self, and instead was left 'quivering from the shock' (Venkatesh, 2008: 70). This can also be seen in Hobbs's (1988: 7,15) research, which 'in the context of his study of entrepreneurship (a euphemism for several kinds of legal and illegal activity) among East Enders in London, admits he engaged in illegal activities' (Bryman, 2012: 447). He states 'a refusal, or an enquiry concerning the legal status of the 'parcel', would provoke an abrupt conclusion to the relationship... I was willing to skirt the boundaries of criminality on several occasions' (Hobbs, 1988: 7, 15). This therefore shows that when researching deviant subcultures, it is sometimes deemed necessary to commit criminal or deviant acts in order to continue and complete their research.

Another way in which ethnography may not be the best way to research criminal or subcultural populations is the ethical issues of confidentiality and privacy. It has been suggested that all social research 'entails the possibility to destroy the privacy and autonomy of the individual' (Barnes, 1979, in, Atkinson, Hammersley, 2007), especially ethnographic research, which investigates deep into the personal lives of the subculture being researched. This can be seen in Laud Humphreys' *Tearoom Trade: A Study of homosexual encounters in public places.* In his research he played a covert participant role in a closed setting, and he discovered that everyday heterosexual, married men were using 'ordinary park restrooms as sites for impersonal homosexual contacts' (Humphreys, 1970: preface x). 'Many men – married and unmarried, those with heterosexual identities and those whole self-image is a homosexual one – seek such impersonal sex...without commitment' (Humphreys, 1970: 1, 2). Humphreys would note down the registration number on the informants car, and traced them back to their home addresses, using police data whilst covertly conducting his research. He would then show up to their front doors in order to follow up his research, and the informant's wife may answer for example. Although 'one respondent cooperated with the researcher in a number of taped interviews', and admitted to having homosexual relations with an average of 'three men each day during the busy seasons', some weren't as up for taking part in the research. Ethnography may be a good way to investigate this particular subculture, as it is highly secretive, private, and kept away from the informant's family and regular lifestyle. However, 'researchers must be cautious about the degree of confidentiality they promise, and realistic about their own abilities to protect their informant's anonymity' (Davies, 2002: Part 1: 3), because the informants' that are married are committing infidelity, which if their spouses' were to find out would cause a lot of complications for the informant, and undoubtedly for the researcher, for exposing the truth. Contradictorily to this, anonymity is 'sometimes not desired, and research participants may be disappointed and feel that much of the benefit of participating in the research is lost if they are not identified' (Davies, 2002: Part 1: 3), therefore wishing to be identified, which suggests that confidentiality and privacy in ethnographic research may not always be as big of an issue as it is made out to be.

It could be argued that the work of James Patrick is exploitative of the deviant subculture that he studied, taking on a covert participant role. In the opening chapter of his ethnography, Patrick states 'I have given a fictitious name to every single character in this book, and any material of an incidental nature which would make participants traceable will be slightly altered or omitted' (Patrick, 1973: 16). This could be seen as exploitative as the gang he observed let him into their lives and shared a vast amount of information with him, only to receive nothing back. 'Sometimes it is claimed that research involved the exploitation of those studied: that people supply the information which is used by the researcher and yet get little or nothing in return' (Atkinson, Hammersley, 2007). Much like Venkatesh, Patrick ended up going native in his research, and found it difficult to get out of the gang that he had joined in order to covertly participate in his research. He declares during the chapter explaining his exit from the gang, 'I am unable at this point in time to give a full account of my outing in January or to mention all the circumstances which forced me to quit' (Patrick, 1973: 135). This is because during his time researching the gang, he was made to take part in deviant and illegal acts to prove that he was serious about being part of the gang, however the gang members later became suspicious of Patrick and began asking questions – this is when he realised he had to get out, and fast. This is an explicit example of how taking part in a covert ethnography can cause harm to the researcher, another ethical issue to be considered when planning the research, especially when investigating deviant subcultures who are fully capable of committing illegal and violent acts. 'After the group split up, I was able to tell Tim that I couldn't go through with this, and that I was leaving' (Patrick, 1973: 139). As a result of getting caught up in the violent gang, Patrick had to publish his findings under a 'fictitious name' (Patrick, 1973: 16) in order to protect his identity. This overall suggests that even though he obtained real first-hand and in-depth data, ethnography is a dangerous research method to use with deviant subcultures.

To conclude, ethnography is an effective research method to use when researching deviant or subcultural populations, as the researcher builds up a rapport with the informant; by creating a relationship with the informant, they are able to then understand the information they're given and apply meaning to it, giving them a large quantity of qualitative data. As a result of this, the researcher also gains an insiders perspective of the norms and values of that specific subculture, as opposed to an outsider's perspective; although an insider's perspective gives them more rich and valid data, this may cause the researcher to become subjective and lose sight of their overall objective research purposes. In addition to this, taking a covert role makes it a lot easier to gain access to the subculture that the researcher aims to study, however it makes it a lot harder for them to get out of the subculture at the end of their research, especially if they end up going native and getting involved with deviant or illegal acts. As well as this, covert roles also cause the ethical issue of deception, as the informant is unaware of what they are agreeing to, and therefore are unable to give informed consent. Whereas taking an overt role is an easy way to avoid the ethical issue of deception, and gain informed consent from the informants to take part in the research study, there are still overriding ethical issues such as confidentiality and privacy, exploitation and harm to the researcher, which despite it being an effective method, these factors make ethnography a dangerous method to use to investigate deviant and subcultural populations, therefore suggesting it may not be the best possible method to use.

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What significance does the idea of the 'active audience' have for understanding the power of the media?

Abigail Hill

An active audience theory of media denotes how individuals interpret media messages in different ways and that media products are polysemic, with different ideological messages (Long and Wall, 2012: 303). Factors such as education, individual experience and position in society can affect how an individual interprets a media source in a particular way to appropriate a purpose or aid the construction of their social identity. Active audience theories also explore the idea that the immediate social environment and presence of other consumers can morph the media experience (Sullivan, 2013: 105). The media theorists Lasswell (1948: 38) and Wright (1960:610) initially argued that consumers have 4 different needs for media products including: surveillance, correlation, socialization and entertainment. Further development of active audience theory in the 1970s highlighted other gratifications and uses such as personal identity, diversion (fantasy to escape reality), personal identity (McQuail et al., 1972: 140), guidance, alienation, reinforcement and relaxation (McLeod & Becker, 1974). Studies have shown that an individual's level of life satisfaction and social activity influences the viewer's motives and uses for media products (Rubin, 1985:250). Active audience theory implies that individual choice has the largest influence on media selection, but nevertheless it lacks inclusion of external influences such as media power. The power of the media relates particularly to institutions' influence over audiences, therefore the individual choice of active audience members can be gaged in relation to media power. In this essay I will be evaluating firstly the significance of an active audience to the understanding of media power specifically covering how an 'audience' has changed. Secondly, reception and the Hypodermic Needle theories and thirdly, Two Step Flow theory, Cultivation theory and finally the audience's role, participating with the media, to form subcultures and fandom.

Within this discussion it is necessary to incorporate how the view of an 'audience' has been transformed, as a result of changes in media and subsequently become what media theorists consider to be 'active'. The media form itself has changed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century and taken a shift from vital, physical collocation to mass communication and media. Therefore it could be deduced that the role of the audience has also simultaneously changed (McQuail, 1997:3). In the eighteenth century, media audiences took the form of customers of the Elizabethan theatres, gallants and courtiers. Whilst theatregoers were separated by class, they all portrayed characteristics of an active audience by expressing their opinions of the plays even to the extent of rioting and in turn expressing their ability to judge and exert power over the performances. The aristocratic members of the audience exerted power over the performers to keep social order and subsequently the performers were seen as servants to the aristocrats. On the other hand, the lower class displayed their power in a less formal way deferring and teasing the actors (Gillespie, 2005: 19). Therefore, even though the audience members did not necessarily have initial power over the play they were going to watch, they could express openly their disgust and outrage at the content and this instantly provoked response. Furthermore, throughout the twentieth century, media types such as Movies became increasingly popular, and therefore the role of an audience was redefined by theorists to be passive. It was feared that children were being influenced by Movies to behave violently and worries over the power of the demagogues began to arise. However, during the twenty

firstcentury, it could be argued that an 'audience' has once again been redefined by the involvement of social media, where any member of society has the ability to share their opinions to a vast number of people instantly (Sullivan, 2013:17). One example of a media source which can portray the change in an audience is The Times newspaper. When initially founded in 1785, there was very little competition; it was therefore providing the majority of the public information concerning politics, science and the arts. An implication of this monopoly on media news coverage and culture could be that John Walter, the founder, had a considerable amount of power to the information the audience was passively receiving (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2014). Yet, as time went on many other newspapers began to establish themselves and consumers could actively choose which information they wanted to receive and therefore believe. However, in the present day this choice is limited by the fact that the current owner of the newspaper also owns over a fifth of all UK news consumption (Sabbagh, 2010) and controls businesses across 7 different media types (BBC NEWS, 2011). Nevertheless, in 1999 The Times established an online presence which now gives the options to share articles via Facebook and Twitter with these online audiences and to actively express their opinions and to set campaigns, even recognising bias and exposing such matters, particularly criticising issues such as political allegiance and social inequality (The Times, 2016). An audience's position in the producer-consumer power relationship has been redefined throughout history, influenced by fears of new technologies such as books and later on radio and television, taking away choice and power of consumers (Sullivan, 2013:19).

In order to assess the significance of an active audience in media power, this second section will consider reception theory with roots of this theory stemming from Hall's (1974) work on encoding and decoding of media texts. Within his model he described how media messages are encoded by the media producers and decoded by the consumers (Gillespie, 2005:40). Media texts are believed to be encoded with agendas and aesthetics in mind, while decoding is influenced by the consumer's background, experiences and education. Hall believed that an individual processes a media text in one of three ways, by either accepting it as a 'dominant reading', as 'oppositional', or 'negotiated'. A 'dominant reading' would be one where the individual accepts the media text as the preferred meaning and agrees with its ideology. An 'oppositional' one is where the reader understands that the text is the dominant reading but rejects it, and 'negotiated' is when the audience member takes on the preferred meaning, but not in its entirety. This theory hints at the creative and indicatively selective methods that an active audience uses to be empowered by the media (Hall, 1974:50). On one hand, reception theory indicates that audience members have an active force in choosing and understanding media texts, indicating a low level of enforcement that media power has. In contrast, hypodermic needle theory suggests the complete opposite.

Hypodermic Needle theory suggests that media messages act as injections containing behaviour changing drugs which act on the audience's minds (Long and Wall, 2012:283). The theory was not based on empirical evidence but rather on assumptions of human nature and although studies were conducted using experiments to try and prove the theory, such as Jowett et al. (1996), attempts to show a tenuous link between audiences' viewing content and their behaviour, failed to factor in the multitude of cultural factors that affect the relationship between the two. A more active example of the HypodermicNeedle theory occurred in 1930 when Mercury theatre created a theatrical news bulletin on the radio, reporting an alien invasion in New Jersey. It was broadcast in between the radio show "The War of the Worlds", and caused widespread chaos as around one million people believed it (Long and Wall, 2012: 379). The HypodermicNeedle theory, which displays

viewers as helpless and defenceless, could use this example to suggest that the media has a powerful, immediate and direct effect upon their audience. The broadcast injected a message into the audience in an attempt to create a uniform way of thinking, suggesting that the media exerted enough power over an audience to manipulate them. However, the theory could be viewed as simplistic, even mechanistic, and could therefore be deemed as inadequate to describe the process of communication and media influence. Even when considering the "War of the Worlds" example, there was a diverse range of reactions from listeners, suggesting that multiple factors contribute to the way in which an individual perceives the same media text (Shaw, 1977:230).

One theory that counteracts HypodermicNeedle theory and implies that individuals choose which messages they accept from the media, is the Two Step Flow theory developed by Lazarsfeld and Katz (1955). Two Step Flow theory suggests that all media messages are initially received and subsequently interpreted by opinion leaders, and following this process, ultimately reach the general public. The opinion leaders have a large knowledge base regarding a specific topic and are used as a source for particular issues then pass on their influence to the wider audience (Sullivan, 2013:43). The theory conceptualises how an audience actively seeks out opinion leaders or are directly influenced and convinced of the leaders' opinions, and therefore this group of individuals are seen as having the ability to exercise personal influence (Bostian, 1970: 109). It is implied that the opinion leaders' knowledge is gained from what they read and hear, in this case from materials provided by the mass media; so therefore, even though it initially appears that the leaders have a considerable influence over their every-day associates, it is the mass media that exerts the primary power over the leaders (Lazarsfeld et al., 1948:151). Two Step Flow theory hypothesises that the opinion leaders are more frequent consumers of mass media and more influenced by it when making decisions (Katz, 1957: 70), yet are more likely to seek advice and information from other individuals (Berelson et al., 1954: 110). Therefore, it could be deduced that the opinion leaders are consuming the mass media themselves but also conferring with their peers and their interpretation of media content in order to create a more revised and concise opinion. By turning to their peers to debate and collaborate on ideas, the individual members of the peer group could have an effect on how their opinion is formulated, such as, a group made up of people with a range of ages, gender, ethnicity and race, may lead to alternative ideas, as opposed to a group made up of similar demographics. Even though it could be construed that the mass audience are actively seeking opinion leaders, those individuals' knowledge has been sourced from the mass media rather than a wider sphere, therefore their views and ideas are channelled and further narrowed when the rest of the general public consume it. In effect, Two Step Flow theory implies that the mass media has the initial power of what information is emphasised to the opinion leaders, then this power is filtered down, resulting in very little power over what the general populace consumes.

Another theory which implies that audiences are more active against the power of the media than the hypodermic model, is Cultivation theory. While the Hypodermic and Two Step Flow theories are short term models, Cultivation theory focuses on how the media can have subtle power over an individual for an extended period of time. Developed by Gerbner and Gross (1976), Cultivation theory argues that concepts of normality and reality are reinforced and developed over a matter of years. Their research specifically highlights how individuals who watched more television, thought that there was more violence and danger in the world than there actually is, even if the consumers had no previous experience of being a victim of violent behaviour (Sullivan, 2013:46). Their research could suggest that the media has the power to influence consumes' perception of reality and

society, which would in fact make the audience hold a passive position in the long term. One specific example of how Cultivation theory could be applied is to reality television shows such as 'The Only Way is Essex'. A show that displays to its audience the surveillance of a group of people, similar to the surveillance used on the general public to manage behaviour. The increased variety and rise of reality television could be increasing the acceptance of surveillance to aid social order by those in power (Gillespie, 2005:209). The show could also be viewed as an educational tool to inform about normal behaviour and changes in social norms that can be generalised to wider society. However, it can be inferred that viewers are part of an active audience because not all individuals that watch the show adopt the slang used, or dress and act in a way that the cast do. This relates back to Reception theory where different viewers of the show will decode the media text in different ways. Audience members with the dominant response may relate to the characters and the plot. Individuals with an oppositional response will understand that the show is heavily scripted and edited to make a very unrealistic portrayal of the cast's life and a viewer with a negotiated response may understand that it is scripted but still watch the show for its entertainment value. Using this example, it is apparent that even though media texts can be used to reinforce social norms, audiences have an active role in formulating what they consider to be reality. However, while it may be easier to acknowledge how reality shows such as 'The only Way is Essex' and 'Geordie shore' are not necessarily accurate representations of the surrounding world, it may be harder to gain a well rounded view from media texts such as the News for example, which publicises mainly negative and violent events leading to fears of danger. When considering this power that the media has over an audience, it is not necessarily obvious to the consumer, while an audience may have the ability to actively interpret individual media texts, it could be implied that they are more passive in the way that they interpret media as a whole.

Finally, in order to evaluate the significance of an active audience on the understanding of media power, audience subcultures and media fandom will be considered. Fans of particular media texts can establish a sense of empowerment over them and as a result engage in interpretive play (Fiske, 1991:30), as opposed to theories indicating that institutions have direct power over its audience, such as the hypodermic model. Fandom can highlight ways in which fans create their own self-identity around the media texts that they consume (Sullivan, 2013:193). It can be argued that the enthusiasts of a particular media text can group together in a cohesive manner, thus creating a sense of power. Individual fans can even be empowered to take their media text enthusiasm and use it in an entrepreneurial sense by using their knowledge to market products to other fans (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998: 141). Fan activism can display how an active audience groups together to boycott media corporations and producers for change. Extensive letter writing campaigns to prevent cancellation of particular media texts, such as in the case of Star Trek in 1967, where 115,893 letters were sent to the president of NBC to renew the show for a third season, do not necessarily display power over corporations (Messenger-Davies and Pearson, 2007:218). Even though NBC renewed the series, it was not necessarily because the fans had power over the corporation who ultimately have the decision of where to allocate their recourses. Their decision could have been swayed by the incentive of profit maximisation and the fact that the fans were so loyal to the show, indicated potential long term success.

Overall, after considering a number of theories, it has been made apparent that although the understanding of an audience in the producer-consumer relationship has varied over time, it can be suggested that a Hypodermic Needle approach and similar theories can be viewed as too simplistic and automatous to describe the power of the media. Similarly,

audience subcultures and media subcultures do not necessarily exert a very substantial amount of power over media corporations, who have a multitude of power and funding behind them, and the corporations may in fact publicise the freedom that their consumers have so they do not feel indoctrinated and continue to consume their products. On the other hand, the combination of Reception, Cultivation and Two Step Flow theories appear to give a more rounded and indicative understanding of the role of an active audience, in relation to media power. The theories make it evident that even though mass media has the power to select the main content exposed to the public, it is the individual who has the power to select an opinion leader or to accept, reject or question an individual media text. Individuals may not therefore necessarily have power over the long term effects of mass media exposure and underlying messages that are not so easily decoded.

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Race and Racism; White Privilege

Vanessa Inyang

Typically, the topic of race and racism usually involves the assumption of the focus being on issues regarding people of colour. However, this essay will explore a different perspective by looking at what some will consider the dominant race; the white race. In particular, the existence of white privilege. There has been and are discussions on the interesting belief and idea of white privilege. Therefore, within the broad subject of race and racism, this essay will explore the existence and idea of white privilege, as well as the advantages and the subtle dominance in society.

The familiar link between race and racism is widely recognised. Race is not created biologically, but one of a social construction (Walters, 2002) which eventually led to people categorising and classifying each other based on their skin colour. This inevitably caused a divide between the human race as a whole. Though a question to think about is whether there is a hierarchy and superiority complex between races. Also, whether one race, in particular, benefits more than other races. Leonardo (2004) looks in hindsight at the historical context of America's 'founding fathers' who pledged for a country that is equal. Yet, this egalitarian country accepted the prominent injustices of 'slavery, patriarchy and industrial capitalism' (Leonardo, 2004:139), therefore it shows this equality exclusively applies to white males. This could be seen as a beginning of white privilege and white domination where freedom and liberty is a seen as a known right for some, yet, a luxury for others.

What is white privilege? From a white perspective, an author Peggy McIntosh provides a subjective and personal perception of what white privilege is. 'White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, code-books, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear and blank checks' (McIntosh, 1992: 95) The interesting fact is white privilege is an intangible asset but it provides physical advantages as McIntosh gives examples of clothes, passports etc. Solomona et al. (2005) provides a clearer understanding of the basic benefits that come with having white privilege in the statements listed below:

> Positive/representation in school curriculum materials, media, contribution to civilization, positions of authority; representation and availability of 'white' related goods and services; freedom of association, residential choice, and the granting of insider status in organizations; unquestioned acceptance of financial reliability and employment credibility; freedom from the burden of representing the 'white race' (Solomona et al, 2014:151)

Furthermore, McIntosh compares white privilege to the phenomena of 'male privilege' where she defines both privilege as 'unearned' (McIntosh, 1992: 94). In both cases, it implies that people do not have a choice in how they are born; therefore, being male or being white (or both) is an ascribed quality. However, whether people decide to acknowledge they have an in innate advantage is there personal choice. Understandably, it is a difficult privilege to identify because you are simply living your life, although, McIntosh (1992) personally believes that people are taught not to acknowledge this influential advantage.

On the other hand, those who are aware of their white privilege ultimately have two main choices after knowing this information. They can either choose to acknowledge it or completely ignore it. For people who do ignore their white privilege, when the topic of racism occurs or an act of racism happens, Akintubde believes 'white society…erect defense mechanisms' (1999:2) to uphold and maintain their white privilege and which in turn undermines the actual issue at hand; racism. An example shown in today's society is the *Black Lives Matter* movement. The Black Lives Matter movement is an association that aims to end police brutality in America, especially after incidents involving Sandra Bland, Eric Garner, Tamir E. Rice. According to *Mapping Police Violence* (n.d.) they found that 'police killed at least 102 unarmed black people in 2015, nearly twice each week'

Although, not everyone supports the Black Lives Movement and rather sees it as an attention-seeking nuisance. Instead, as a defense mechanism, the slogan 'All Lives Matter' became popular in counteracting the former. Thus, the focus shifts from the actual problem of police brutality and the victims to a dispute about who is right and who is wrong. Some may say there is a connection between white privilege and white people being 'automatically' placed in a better position or situation than people of colour in life. Though it may sound farfetched, this essay aims to show the possible ways the white race has an advantage in general in regards to possessing white privilege. White privilege can be seen in different organisations, industries and establishments including the media, education, the entertainment industry etc. and even daily life. It ranges from (still) being the dominant representation in the media to being less likely stereotyped and prejudiced when walking down the street (compared to a person of colour). Also, having a fairer judgement in situations as their race is not taken into account.

Another link to white privilege includes the overrepresentation of the white race within society, particularly in the entertainment industry. From films, television, magazines, books etc., it seems to be the standardised and accepted norm to have the main character/figure, the cast, models as predominantly white. However, in contrast, it also leads to the problem of underrepresentation of people of colour within the media. Smith et al. (2014) provides research on the representation of characters' race and ethnicity in popular movies:

> *#1 Character Race/Ethnicity is Marginalized On Screen:*A total of 3,932 speaking characters were evaluated for race/ethnicity. A full 74.1% were White, 14.1% Black, 4.9% Hispanic, 4.4% Asian, 1.1% Middle Eastern, <1% American Indian or Alaskan Native, and 1.2% were from 'other' races/ethnicities. Put differently, just over a quarter (25.9%) of speaking characters were from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups (Smith et al, 2014: 3).

Additionally, when getting an acting role, people of colour are more likely to be offered stereotypical, two dimensional characters in regards to their race than their white counterparts. Perhaps it is for entertainment value, but it does not mentally or physically challenge the actor nor show an accurate reflection of the particular race or ethnicity. For example, an Asian actor/actress may play a nerdy, unpopular role whilst a Black actor may be casted as a thug, rapper or basket-baller. There have been cases where celebrities have spoken up about the lack of diversity and the stereotypical roles. Harry Potter actress Katie Leung discusses her experiences in the acting business where she explains the difficulty and struggle of finding a role that is not trapped in the stereotypical box. Leung continues to talk further not only of the stereotypes she faces in the film industry but also in her general life. In her interview with the Telegraph, she discusses how people assume she is

foreign and compliment her English despite being born and bred in Britain (India Sturgis, 2016). This shows the difference in treatment between people who have white privilege and those who do not. In scenarios like this, white privilege helps avoid being stereotyped and it prevents people assuming you are foreign because of your appearance and race.

There seems to be a limited option and variation in characters for people of colour in comparison to their white counterparts where playing a role of a character appears more endlessly diverse. In 2015, there was the issue of the renowned Oscars not fairly reflecting the diverse society America is as almost all of the nominees and winners were white. The hashtag 'OscarSoWhite' started to become popular when people, including celebrities had different stances on the controversial subject where some agreed and others did not. Here relates back to the issue of white privilege, where the entertainment industry (including movies, television and music) provides more opportunities for white people than for people of colour. During the 2015 Emmy awards, Viola Davis, who became the first African-American woman to win best actress in a drama, made a speech on the matter. Davis fittingly says 'the only thing that separates women of colour from anyone else is opportunity' (BBC, 2015). It shows no matter how much potential, or how skilful or talented an actor (or whatever profession), you can only succeed and excel when given an opportunity. Perhaps the entertainment industry displays the subtle link between white privilege and opportunity as it is where we see the overrepresentation of the white race in which it has become the standardised norm.

Furthermore, the range of roles and characters seem so diverse for white actors/actresses that they are given opportunities to play characters that are of ethnic origin, ultimately meaning a different race from them. This is where the matter of 'whitewashing' in Hollywood becomes relevant. Whitewashing is when the producer and/or director cast a white actor rather than an actor who is of the same ethnicity or race as the character usually for profit reasons. Recent examples of movies that have been accused of whitewashing includes Rooney Mara who portrayed a Native American character in the movie *Pan*; Scarlett Johansson who will be playing both a Japanese character in *Ghost in the Shell'* and a well-known Chinese character, Mulan in *Mulan.* Some actors such as Emma Stone and Rooney Mara have become aware with the issue of whitewashing and understand and agree that it is a problem in Hollywood. There has been backlash in the decisions made in productions who prefer to use a white actor than a person of colour, however, it shows the way in which opportunities are unfairly distributed. It also demonstrates the way in which white privilege almost prevails where the famous white actors are chosen first hand and given the opportunity to get casted in roles that are not only varied, but also different in background in terms of race. It also links again to the overrepresentation of white people in movies and television in places where people of colour could have been given the same opportunity.

Leonardo believes there has been an 'obfuscates [of] the historical process of domination in exchange for a state of dominance *in medias re*' (2006: 138)*.* Rather than the direct domination of the white race that occurred in the past, he believes that this current dominance is perpetuated through other means such as the media. The media, as we are all aware, is a powerful tool in influencing a single individual to a whole society. Similar to the film industry, there is an overrepresentation of the white race in media especially in advertisements. A research analysis by Covert and Dixon (2008) on the representation and portrayal of women of colour in magazines found that there is an underrepresentation and negative stereotype of black and Latino women. Whereas, on the other hand, there is an overrepresentation of white women.

White privilege can also be seen at young age where white children have the advantage to see someone similar to themselves on the media, and therefore are able to relate to the model with themselves. This applies to popular products such as a Barbie doll that is promoted frequently through adverts, leading to a considerably amount of young girls not only physically purchasing it, but also psychologically influenced by the aesthetics of doll. Being white, blonde with blue eyes is more difficult for girls of colour to relate to in comparison to their white counterparts. This is how there is still the subtle dominance of white society where there is a constant portrayal of what is considered 'the norm' and aesthetically pleasing such as the Barbie. Ultimately, it changes the mentality of these children into perceiving fair skin, blue eyes and blonde silky hair is what is considered attractive. With this ethnocentric mentality, it can lead to purchasing bleaching & skin lightening products in order to get the feeling of belonging and be seen as attractive.

'Whiteness has come to be associated with reproduction, dominance, normativity and privilege' (Solomona et al., 2005: 159). Western society seems to look at the white celebrities as the mainstream who adopts the new trends that society follows. However, some people are unaware that these trends are already part of other ethnic cultures. This is called cultural appropriation which has become a recent discussed topic in contemporary society. Cultural appropriation is when one culture takes elements from another culture as their own. For instance, the idea that black features are seen as more attractive and desired on their white counterparts (e.g. hairstyle, body figure and fuller lips). Yet, these same inherent features are ridiculed on black people, mainly black women. It exhibits the way in which society is more accepting and embracing when their white counterparts are involved in new fads.

An interesting question is, is white privilege a problem? As mentioned previously, white privilege is not chosen, but an innate and unearned advantage. However, the inherent advantage does allow an easier lifestyle than what people of colour experience. It could be seen as a possible problem when not understanding or unaware of how influential white privilege is, therefore it should be a matter that is addressed. The same way people are (and should be) aware of racism, people should be aware of white privilege. For example, when applying for a job, it is important to be aware that employees are more likely to hire someone with a ''white-sounding'' name than a foreign name. Onwuachi-Willig (2005) found that CVs containing white-sounding names such as David or James, received thirty percent more callbacks than people named Jamal who have African American-sounding names. This already displays that having a white-sounding name makes a better impression to the employer than someone who does not, ultimately putting the former person in a better position. Thus, it adds to the problem of discrimination in the job market where you are initially judged solely on your name. Therefore, it calls into question whether your name and background overshadows your credentials when applying for a job.

Finally, to conclude, yes, there is the existence and matter of white privilege. Though not everyone, including those who possess it, are aware of what white privilege is and the importance it holds. Earlier in this essay, I have expressed the different advantages white privilege entails, though the three main advantages that was most intriguing includes the abundance of opportunities, reassurance and having the right rather than it be the luxury. Though to some people, they may not realise that the opportunity given is with the help of that 'weightless knapsack of special provisions' as McIntosh (1992:95) states, or in other words, white privilege. Having such privilege results in white society being in a more ideal

position in society. This indicates they are less likely or may never have to face certain struggles people of colour face within their daily lives such as racism, racial profiling, prejudice etc. (though it is not entirely white society's fault). Hence, they have what you would call less worries or difficulties to go through. To finish, Leonardo simply and rightly says that 'privilege is granted even without a subject's (re)cognition that life is made a bit easier' (2004: 137).

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Hypothetical Research on Happiness among The Elderly (65+)

Yara Issa

1. Introduction:

Happiness is a very important concept; it does not only refer to positive emotions but it also indicates satisfaction with life (Ruut, 2000). A vast amount of literature has recently addressed the factors that contribute to happiness, such as wellbeing, life satisfaction and good health.

This proposal outlines a hypothetical project about happiness among elderly people, particularly those who are aged 65+ and live in Colchester. The primary objectives of this study are to find the link between happiness and health status and to study the potential effects of living alone or with families on levels of happiness. In addition, the study aims to measure changes in happiness over a particular period of time (Christmas). This proposal contributes to the current field of study by identifying factors that can explain happiness among the elderly people in Colchester. This study seeks to answer the following questions:

1- Are people who live with their family happier than those who live on their own?
2- Are people with chronic health conditions less happy?
3- Does spending time with family make elderly people happier?

This remainder of this proposal is organised in five additional sections. Section two sets out reasons why happiness among elderly people matters in societies. Section three includes some of the past studies related to happiness and presents their findings within the context of our proposal. Section four introduces the concepts and definitions to be used in our study. Section five includes the proposed methodology and the suggested design of questionnaire, which will be used to collect data to answer the above, mentioned research questions. Finally, section six concludes the study.

2. Importance of the Study:

It is assumed that happiness has numerous positive impacts which obviously benefit individuals and consequently families, communities, and society at large (Graney, 1975). According to the latest numbers published by the Office for National Statistics in the UK, the number of people aged 65 and above reached over 11.4 million (17.7% of the population) in 2014. In 2013, the same number was about 11.1 million (17.4% of the population).

The increase in the number of elderly people might put pressure on the government and societies to promote and assist the elderly to achieve a happy elder life. According to Diener (2000), the important factors that contribute to life happiness amongst elderly people are psychological outlook, self-esteem, social support, health, and good family relationships.

Diener (2000) suggests that the benefits of happiness could be seen in greater productivity and higher quality of work, larger social rewards, more satisfying and longer marriages, more friends, and stronger social support. Other studies, such as Graney (1975), show that

a happy person can be more active, energetic and has better physical health including lowered stress levels and less physical pain. Also, happy individuals are more creative, helpful and self-confident.

It is therefore very important to understand what makes elderly people happy, so that their life happiness can be promoted. Responsible organisations could establish activities that enhance the elderly's self-esteem, provide sufficient social support, and maintain good family relationships. If society has happy individuals, this encourages a shift to a happy society.

3. Literature review:

The research draws on the work of Gray and Rukumnuaykit (2008). Gray and Rukumnuaykit examined levels of happiness among Thai elderly people (aged 65+). Their study investigated the internal and external factors that were assumed to be related to levels of happiness. The external factors that were described by this study were economic hardship, consumption and the quality of social environments. The internal factor that was related to level of happiness was identified as the feeling of relative poverty of the elderly person when compared to their neighbours.

According to this study periods of economic hardship contribute to feelings of depression among the Thai elderly, while living arrangements, health, and perceived social environment have a significant influence on the level of happiness in the Thai elderly population's lives. Having health and enough money were the two most frequently mentioned factors that would improve the quality of their lives. According to the findings of this study, healthy elderly people are happier than those who are suffering from continuous health conditions.

In addition to health factors, it is widely documented that several other factors could play a key role in a person's happiness. For instance, Páez et al. (2014) examined determinants of happiness during Christmas and New Year in Spain. The central purpose of the study was to examine, using a sample of Spanish students, the link between the participation in rituals with families and friends during Christmas and New Year and the effects on life satisfaction, interpersonal wellbeing (perceived social support and loneliness), and family climate. In this study, subjective wellbeing before and after Christmas was assessed. Study participants included 141 psychology students (73.8% female) at the University of the Basque Country. All participants responded to the pre-evaluation scales measuring positive and negative affect, life satisfaction, perceived social support and social loneliness. The above study found that frequency and satisfaction with socialization or activities with friends, partners, and relatives is positively correlated with life satisfaction during those times of year.

4. Definition and Concept:

Happiness

To find a definition of happiness is a complex issue. However, a variety of biological, psychological, religious and philosophical approaches have striven to define happiness and identify its sources (Myers and Deiner, 1996). Several scientists associated happiness with the term 'subjective well-being', which refers to how people experience the quality of their lives and includes both emotional reactions and cognitive judgments (Myers and Deiner,

1996). According to the psychological approach, happiness is a mental or emotional state of wellbeing defined as having subjective and objective aspects such as emotions, subjective experiences and cognitive processes.

5. Research Strategy and Methodology:

The research proposed in this document will use a deductive approach to investigate links between (i) level of happiness among elderly and (ii) health status. By using a deductive approach the study aims also to examine the possible correlation between happiness and living with families. This research proposal identifies the hypotheses by drawing a potential relationship between the included variables (age, educational statue, gender, weather they live in their own and high health standards).

It is very helpful to conduct quantitative research as a representation and manipulation of observations that is based on quantification in the collection and analysis of data. Quantitative approaches use quantifiable data. For example, attitudes, opinions, behaviours, and other defined variables are quantified and analysed using numerical and statistical techniques. These techniques test whether results can be generalized from the sample to a wider population (Brett and Hughes, 2014).

The research methodology is influenced by an objectivist ontological position and uses a positive epistemological approach. As Bryman (2012, p. 32) states in his book *Social Research Methods*, ontology is a system of study or belief that deals with the nature of reality. Explaining how and why different phenomena happen by studying measurement, correlation, statistical logic, and verification, objectivism is the ontological position that asserts that social phenomena exist independently of human knowledge or perceptions of them. According to Brett and Hughes (2014), epistemology is the study of human knowledge and the types of understanding that can possibly be acquired through different types of inquiry and alternative methods of investigation. The objectivist position supposes that happiness exists and is experienced through the senses and mind and is measurable either directly or indirectly.

5.1 Research Design:

A longitudinal design is used in this study. The longitudinal design is an observational research method in which researchers conduct several observations of the same subjects repeatedly over a period of time, sometimes lasting many years (Neuman, 2005). According to Bryman (2012), the benefit of a longitudinal study is that researchers are able to detect developments or changes in the characteristics of the target population at both the group and the individual level. Also, researchers have the ability to examine the patterns of a variable over time. This provides insights about cause-and-effect relationships.

Time is a huge drawback to any longitudinal study because it takes so much time to collect all the data that is needed. It takes a long period of time to gather results before patterns can be studied. Another disadvantage is that longitudinal studies also require larger sample sizes. This means that they must have a large number of cooperating subjects. In this project, the longitudinal study design is an efficient way to evaluate a large sample of 2000 elderly people who are aged 65+ and live in Colchester. Data will be collected using a questionnaire with questions relating to self-reported health conditions and happiness. The data will be collected during August 2016 and again after 8 months. In this study we

aim to measure changes in respondents' happiness before and after seeing their family or friends during the Christmas period. It is predicted that participants will report higher levels of happiness after the Christmas holidays.

5.2 Sampling

In this proposed research project primary data collected from distributed questionnaires will be analysed. One of the main advantages of using primary data collection is that researchers can collect their data directly from the population (Wright, 2002). Primary data enables researchers to have higher control with respect to how information is collected. By creating control, researcher can decide on requirements such as size of project, time frame and potential goals. However, one of the disadvantages of using the above approach is related to the issue of time consumption. It needs to be collected over a long duration of time. Collecting data by using primary analysis is costly in terms of preparing and carrying out the research (Bryman, 2012).

Our sample is stratified by gender. For men and women, the study will use a random selection of 2000 participants living in private household in Colchester who are not in paid employment. Age, gender, education, and health status will classify the sample. Stratified random sampling is a method of sampling that involves the division of an entire population into smaller groups or different subgroups known as strata. According to Cochran (1953), in stratified random sampling the formed strata are based on members' shared attributes or characteristics. The main advantage of stratified sampling is that the sample is highly representative of the target population and therefore researchers can generalise from the results obtained. One main disadvantage of stratified sampling is that it can be difficult to identify appropriate strata for a study. A second disadvantage is that it is more complex to organize and analyse the results compared to simple random sampling.

In our study, the sample is structured as follows: from Colchester, 2000 members aged 65+ will be sampled, (1000 females and 1000 males). After 8 months (after the Christmas period), we will repeat the questionnaire on the same people. The reason for this is that some people might experience high levels of happiness during or after Christmas (Páez et al., 2011). Some people consider Christmas as the happiest time of year as it is a great opportunity to visit friends, families and colleagues. In this study, the potential changes of level of happiness after Christmas will be examined by asking some questions about how and with whom the participants have spent their Christmas.

5.3 Questionnaire Design and Data Collection

Given the above discussion about the definition of happiness, it is obvious that measuring happiness is a complex and difficult mission. Researchers have found different ways to measure happiness. One approach, for instance, involves the extent to which people experience positive or negative emotions (Cantril, 1965). In our study we consider life satisfaction as an indicator of happiness level. We will measure life satisfaction as a happiness indicator by simply asking the participants how satisfied they are with their whole life.

According to Brace (2004), asking appropriate questions is crucial in order to measure variables as accurately as possible. Questions usually take two forms. When respondents have to use their own words to answer the questions they are called open questions. Closed questions usually limit the answers of the respondents by providing options in the

questionnaire. Advantages of open questions include the possibility of discovering responses that individuals give spontaneously, and thus avoiding the bias that may result from suggesting responses to individuals, a bias which may occur in the case of close-ended questions. Open-ended questions also have disadvantages in comparison with the closed-ended questions, such as the need for extensive coding (Blair et al., 2013). Although closed questions are easy and quick to answer, they might not have the exact answer that the respondent wants to provide. Sometimes closed question are not clear enough for respondents and that cause confusion and lead candidates to select answers similar to their true response, even though it is different.

In our questionnaire we provide the participants with information to explain that their confidentiality is protected and the purpose of the study is explained to them. The first part of the questionnaire collects demographic information about the respondents such as gender, education level, age, and household composition.

The following characteristics or variables are measured in our questionnaire: happiness, participant's age (65+), gender, health status, highest education level completed, (three categories will be used: no qualification, university level and secondary level), and household composition. With the health status, candidates will also be asked with whom they intend to spend Christmas with.

There are many types of variables: independent, dependent, nominal, ordinal and continuous. In this study, the independent variables (factors or phenomena that causes or influences another associated factor or phenomenon (Fink, 2003) are gender, age, living alone, educational level, and health status. The dependent variable is the variable that depends on the independent variables, level of happiness. Gender and household compositions are nominal (categorical) variables. This type of variable has two or more categories, but there is no intrinsic ordering to the categories. The variables whose categories can be rank ordered are called ordinal variables (Brett and Hughes, 2014). In our proposal, the satisfaction level, education, and health status are the ordinal variables. Age is continuous.

An example of the questionnaire is provided below:

1. How much of the time have you felt lonely last week?

   - Not at all
   - A bit
   - Quite bit
   - A lot
   - All the time

2. Do you prefer to live on your own? Yes\No

3. Do you prefer to live with family members who are close to your age? Yes\No

4. Who do you live with?

   - On my own
   - Partner
   - Other relative

- Other (please specify)

5. If you don't prefer to live with family, how often do you like to meet up with them?

   - Daily
   - Every couple of days
   - Weekly
   - Fortnight
   - Monthly
   - Occasionally

6. Who did you spend the Christmas with?

   - Partner
   - Alone
   - With my children
   - With my sibling
   - Other relative\friends.

7. Do you think that living with a family is one of the causes of happiness in your life? Yes\No

8. Some people are generally very happy. They enjoy life regardless of what is going on, getting the most out of everything. To what extent does this characterisation describe you?

   Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   A great deal

9. Do you have a long-standing health condition(s) that has affected you over the last 12 months?

10. Do you suffer from any health condition(s)? If yes list below.

11. To what extend do you agree with this statement:

    Suffering from health conditions prevents people from enjoying certain aspects of life.
    - Strongly agree
    - Agree
    - Neither
    - Disagree
    - Strongly disagree.

1- On a scale ranging from not at all to very much, how much do you feel your health condition(s) affect your happiness in life?

   - Not at all
   - Slightly
   - Neither
   - Highly effect
   - Very much

6. Conclusions

Many sociologists are clearly interested in the study of happiness. While it is agreed that defining happiness is a difficult and complicated mission, the literature suggests that happiness can be found in situations characterised by the absence of illness and life satisfaction (Ruut, 2000).

The research proposed in this paper is designed to take place in Colchester, studying happiness levels among elderly people who are aged 65+ and living in private households. The research is based on a quantitative research design where questions are formulated to be asked in the form of a questionnaire. Using a longitudinal design, the relationship between (i) happiness and (ii) health status and household composition is examined. A longitudinal design is used to investigate the importance of events such as the Christmas on levels of happiness.

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Levels of Happiness among elderly:
What are the factors that influencing the level of happiness among elderly from Asia living in the United Kingdom?

Lee Ka Yau

Introduction

According to the United Nation's *World Population aging 2015*, there were 901 million people who were aged 60 years old or above in 2015 and this ageing population trend was assumed to rise rapidly in the next 15 years. It is pointed out that there will be 1.4 billion over 60's in 2030 (Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015). Based on the assumption made by the United Nations in 2015, it is foreseeable that social policies will focus on the problem of an ageing population. Also, social issues related to elderly for example, the level of happiness among elderly would be highly concerned in the future. Based on the *World Happiness Report 2015*, happiness considered a proper measurement of social progress and public policies (Helliwell et al., 2015). The United Nation Secretary General Ban Ki-moon also stated during the *Happiness and Well-Being: Defining a New Economic Paradigm* meeting, 2012, that happiness is the combination of social, economic and environmental well-being. As these three aspects are invisible, they defined the gross global happiness (United Nations, 2012). The level of happiness is significant as it is affected by different factors like low income or poor health condition among elderly. The research on level of happiness among elderly may help to discover different factors and solutions for increasing the elderly happiness especially when it is low (Lelkes, 2008).

Elderly can be divided in three groups, the young old (65-74), medium old (75-84) and old (85 or above) (Beyaztas et al., 2012). Furthermore, the level of happiness among elderly in different age groups may have a relationship between physical health, mental health and social connections (Population Reference Bureau, 2009). However, the elderly may have different reasons for arguing what factors affect their level of happiness. They may come from different countries and have different preferences of life style. The factors that affect the level of happiness among elderly may be different from younger people. The elderly may focus on their health conditions and life after retirement which may enhance their level of happiness (Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015).

The main aim of this research is to investigate the levels of happiness and the factors that influence this among the Asian elderly population in the United Kingdom. In an article published by BBC (2012), it indicated some statistics of migration trends. It showed that there was an increase in the elderly Asian population from almost 3 million to 7.5 million since 2001. The largest group with the highest rate of elderly was India in 2011 (700,000). Using India as an example, these people migrated to England since the 1970s, they left their home to escape from civil war, seek better economic opportunities and a better standard of living (Bailey and Sodano, 2012). To investigate the factors, a mixed method that both quantitative and qualitative research method will be adapted to this research. In this research, interviews and questionnaires will be used to collect data from the target participants. Elderly who are eligible to participate in the research, will be contacted and invited to join the research from different elderly homes, community centers, hospitals or other associations that organize activities for elderly.

Literature Review

The United Nation suggested that the population of people aged 60 or above in Asia in 2015 was around 508.0 million. This figure is estimated to rise to 844.5 million in 2030, which increased around 60 percent (United Nation, 2015). As mentioned above, society and social policies will focus on the ageing population. In a journal titled *Inner Happiness Among Thai Elderly* (Gary et al., 2008), factors that increase happiness amongst the elderly are examined. Firstly, the research has investigated that economic and social well-being will influence the level of happiness among elderly. Also, the research has examined not only external factors like economic situations that will affect the happiness levels of Thailand elderly, but also other internal factors such as religious faith and trust (Gray et al., 2008).

Another research titled *The Determinants of Happiness of China's Elderly Population* by Chyi and Mao (2011), examines the factors that influence the happiness of the elderly in China including; numbers of household, financial status, health issues, living environment, education background, and marital status. The research result has detected a positive effect on the level of happiness among the elderly in China if the elderly are living with their children and/or grandchildren. The positive effect of the elderly's enjoyment to live with their next generations is presumed to be a cultural norm of respect among the Chinese.

For elderly from Europe, the Eurostat, which is a statistical office across European Union had done a research on the satisfaction of life across Europe in 2013. The research has pointed out that socio-demographic factors may shape life satisfaction. This will also lead to different life situations, which will change people's expectation and preferences. The research found that the mean life satisfaction for elderly from European Union countries is 7.0 (Aged 65-74) and 6.8 (Aged 75 or above) on a scale of 0 to 10. Furthermore, the research had examined the factors that make people satisfied with their lives. Through the Europe countries, the two main factors which brought the most satisfaction to the people are health and financial situation (Eurostat, 2015). Based on these two examples, it can prove that there may be different factors that affect the level of happiness among people.

Hypothesis

According to the United Nations and the researches mentioned above, social well-being and public policies are examined to have different relations with the level of happiness. In this research, the higher the level of happiness among the elderly will result in the increase in participation in social activities. Also, the more care can be brought by public policies, which means to ensure the quality of life of the elderly after their retirement, their level of happiness will also rise. Therefore, the researchers in this research are going to interview some of the elderly to see whether they are satisfied with their current situation or not. The research is going to find out the factors that are influencing the elderly's satisfaction with their life or what can be done to improve their level of happiness.

Methodology

To conduct the research, a mixed research method is used that uses both quantitative and qualitative methods to collect data. The collection process will be done through different channels and methods for example online chat rooms or face-to-face. Due to the fact there are many time, location and budget constraints, the researchers may not conduct the questionnaire sessions or interview sessions face-to-face with the elderly. Therefore, some

Chinese societies will be approached by the researchers to help with data collection process by finding participants, assisting participants with hearing or visual impairments to complete the questionnaire or online chat room interviews conducted by the researchers.

For the quantitative method, questionnaire with instruments that are used to measure happiness are adopted together with questions to obtain personal information like financial status, marital status, living environment and daily life of the elderly. For the qualitative method, it enables a holistic perspective in the study. Interviews will be carried out as individual interviews that are telephone based, web-based (skype) or face-to-face based. Respondents who have participated in the questionnaire survey of this research study will be randomly selected and invited to join the interview sessions. This research will invite 300 people to participate in the questionnaire and 30 people to the interview. These participants will cover all elderly from different groups. They may be single, married, living alone or with families. All the participants may cover different aspects that elderly with different backgrounds may be included in this research. In the interviews, questions that are related to the daily activities will be asked. The interviewers may also require those participants to further explain their answers in the questionnaire to discuss more in-depth on factors that may influence their happiness level. As interviews provide a longer time for the researchers to question the participants to get data related to the study, more complex questions and a higher response rate are expected comparing to other survey methods (Neuman, 2011).

Variables

As mentioned above, happiness is a combination of different aspects. Veenhoven (2006) has indicated that happiness is synonymous with quality of life and well-being. For the quality of life, there are four types which are related to happiness. They are; livability of environment which is a persons living conditions, life-ability of the person which means the ability of people to cope with problems, utility of life that is about ecological preservation or cultural development and satisfaction. There are four satisfactions suggested by Veenhoven (2006). They are pleasure, part-satisfaction which is about domain of life, top-experience about life-as-a-whole and life-satisfaction (2006).

Based on the concepts of happiness introduced by Veenhoven, the variables among elderly indicated in this research will be the following. The dependent variable will be the level of happiness. For the independent variables, there will be the frequency of having social activities with friends. As well as social well-being and public policies, that are two of the possible factors that will affect the level of happiness. The participants may be asked some questions relating to the daily life and some public policies which are related to them. The participants may be asked in measurement of an ordinal level. For the social well-being, participants may be asked about the frequency of participating in social activities like being a volunteer or gathering with friends. For the policies variables, participants will be asked about the level of policies benefiting them. They may also be asked about their attitudes towards the current policies or the schemes for them like health care or having discounts when travelling by public transport.

Sampling

In this research, the technique of quota sampling will be adopted. The researchers will identify the background of the participants, the number of participants and then select the

cases (Neuman, 2011). Applying to this research, the researchers will divided those elderly from Asia living in the United Kingdom into different groups. As people with different background in different gender may have different preferences of their life, they may also have different values to the social policies and other factors that may influence their level of happiness. Therefore, the research would balance the number of participants who join the research to increase the reliability and validity of the findings. For the questionnaire survey, a total of 120 participants, which include 40 participants from each age group, will be invited to join. Among the 40 participants from each age group, the gender distributions are expected to be 50% each but also accept 5% disparity. For the interviews, two male and two female participants in each age group will be randomly selected to join.

Questionnaire Design

In the questionnaire of this research, focusing on social behavior will be one of the ways to design questionnaire. The participants will be asked to recall their frequency of having social activities in their past two weeks. This type of question design requires the participants to recall their memory and giving specific information. It can help the researchers to receive reliable information. Furthermore, this design can allow the researchers to use list that can remind the participants when they missed out something important (Fink, 2003). The questionnaire may also go through the *Cognitive Aspects of Survey Methodology* (CASM). It can help to study the interviewees' operation of memory and cognitive process. As it was supported by historical and theoretical developments, it will be useful for the research as the researchers may base on it and develop question, which will be most suitable for the interviewees (Willis, 2005).

In the questionnaire, mainly closed-ended questions will be used. The reason is, closed-ended questions are more reliable. This can ensure the reliability and validity of the data that will be collected in this research. As the cost for collecting data using open-ended questions will be higher and it has difficulties for researchers to justify the interviewees' attitudes (Roberts, 2010), only participants who are randomly selected from each age group will be invited to join the interviews which included all open-ended questions regarding to their level of happiness and the determinants that would influence their happiness.

To measure the levels of happiness among the participants, two instruments will be used to one instrument to measure the aspects of valued quality of life among elderly will be included. Also, the questionnaire will include other multiple choice questions to obtain personal information of the elderly about their financial status, marital status, health issues, household living environment, education background and spiritual status.

The first instrument that is used to measure the happiness level is *The Oxford Happiness Questionnaire*. The Oxford Happiness Questionnaire consists of 29 single items that can be answered on a six-point Likert scale to analyze data and rating of the happiness of the participants. The validity of the Oxford Happiness Questionnaire has been examined by Hills and Argyle in 2002 in the article *The Oxford Happiness Questionnaire: a compact scale for measurement of psychological well-being*.

The second instrument that is used to measure the happiness level is *The Temporal Satisfaction with Life Scale* (Pavot et al., 1998). The scale consists of 15 items and each item score for 1-7 to the agreement of the item statements. This instrument aims to assess the past, present and future life satisfaction of the participants. To investigate the factors that

influence the happiness of the elderly, it is also important to know the values of the elderly in order to know the determinants of the elderly on level of happiness. The instrument *Valued Living Questionnaire* (Wilson et al., 2010), which consists of 10 items to question on the aspects of quality of life, is included in the questionnaire to measure the valued importance of the 10 aspects to elderly in life.

To investigate how the social policies may influence the level of happiness among the elderly, questions regarding the social policies that are currently in-use in the United Kingdom will be included. Participants are asked to rate their satisfaction on the effectiveness of the social policies and relations of the social policies to their level of happiness on a scale basis.

In the questionnaire, an instrument is designed to investigate which type of activities may enhance the level of happiness among elderly. In the instrument, a list of activities is given for the questionnaire for participants to rate according to their preferences to decide which may enhance their level of happiness during their participation in those activities. However, the list must be as detailed as possible that the participants' likelihood of reporting activities out of the list may be reduced (Schwarz, 2008). To enhance the flexibility and validity of the instrument, a column 'others' will be added on the list for questionnaire participants to write other activities that they can think of.

For the interview, the questions will be designed according to the aspects that are included in the *Valued Living Questionnaire* (Wilson et al., 2010). In order to further investigate the determinants to the level of happiness among the target elderly. Furthermore, questions regarding the social policies will be included in the interviews to ask for the opinions of the participants. The researchers may also ask the interview participants some follow-up questions regarding to their answers in order to obtain an in-depth investigation on the research topic.

Data Collection

Apart from face-to-face interview, this research will also adapt the methods of telephone interviews and web interviews. This research method can reach to around 95 percent of the population; moreover, it can be assisted with computer system which can enhance the efficiency of data collection (Neuman, 2011). However, using this research method will have the limitation of the interviewing time and also the usage of open-ended question. The interviewees may not answer open-ended question properly on phone and the transaction of information will be easily disrupted by the surrounding environment. The interviewees may also refuse to attend the survey on phone due to a lot of reasons like it is not a convenient time for them to answer. This may have the risk of reducing the efficiency of collecting data but it will be a good method for this research to collect data in a faster way (Neuman, 2011). On the other hand, the populations of Asian elderly may not be easily approachable by face-to-face method of data collection due to geographical restrictions. The methods of collecting data through different channels allow the researchers of this study to obtain data more easily from eligible participants.

In order to protect the privacy of the participants, all personal data of the participants will not be disclosed to public and only researchers may obtain those information. The name-to-code linkage will be stored separately, only number –code will be used for linking the respondents; also, other personal information like address and names will not be disclosed to other organization of people (Vaus, 1991). Ethnical approval and consent forms from all stakeholders involved in the research study will be gained before administration of the

questionnaire survey and interviews. All participants will also be requested to answer the survey truthfully and were assured that their answers would not be identified individually.

Conclusion

To conclude, this research is going to interview those elderly from Asia living in the United Kingdom. These interviewees are going to be asked about the factors that may affect their level of happiness. The factors will mainly focus on social well-being and public policies as these two factors are indicated as important factors of happiness by the United Nations. The research expected to find out how frequent these elderly are joining social activity will make them feel happy of their daily life. Furthermore, they are expected to talk about their opinion on the current public policies. The research may find out what kind of policies are beneficial to the elderly and which policies should make improvement in order to provide a better caring system for the elderly. In general, the research is going to discover the level of happiness among the elderly and their opinion towards those factors which affect happiness. Then, suggestions may be formed in order to help increased the level of happiness or keep the level at the current stage.

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Return to CONTENTS

Observation of Religious Practice - Jehovah's Witness Congregational Meeting

Molly Caitlin Loughlan

It was a sunny but very windy Sunday afternoon when I first entered the Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witnesses to attend their weekly congregational meeting. I had no idea what to expect and was initially surprised by the sheer popularity of the meetings. There was a large brightly lit hall filled with chairs and two side rooms for families with young children. All were full and this was the third time the meeting had been repeated. Each Sunday the meeting is held four times to allow for all of the members to attend. In 2015 there were approximately six hundred Jehovah's Witnesses living in Colchester who were a part of the eight million, two hundred and one thousand, five hundred and forty five living worldwide in two hundred and thirty nine countries (jw.org, 2015). Jehovah's Witnesses are regarded as 'one of the largest international sectarian movements' (Hunt, 2003: 47), their numbers continuing to expand rapidly.

The Kingdom Hall building had speakers installed so that wherever you were within the building, you could hear the meeting as the 'Brother' – the congregation refers to fellow members as either Brother or Sister, followed by their surname – conducting the meeting spoke through a microphone. The hall itself was large and bright with white walls, blue carpet and a stage at the front. The congregation was seated on rows of chairs and there were two bouquets of flowers on the stage but no religious iconography as Jehovah's Witnesses do not believe in worshipping idols.

The congregation was very diverse with a roughly equal gender ratio, many different races, and people of all ages from infants to elderly people. Witnesses believe that they are part of the 'brotherhood' of all men and are very inclusive of all people as long as they adhere to the Witnesses' beliefs. The Congregation were dressed incredibly smart, with the men, even the young boys, wearing suits and the women dresses. There were two Brothers who were door ushers for the meeting and this gave it a very formal feel. However, the familiarity between the congregation and the way they interacted with one another was especially friendly with constant casual touching of shoulders or arms as they passed through the doors.

The meeting was held in two parts. The first part was opened with a hymn in which the congregation sang from a book entitled Songs of Jehovah. The congregation all stood for the hymn and sang enthusiastically together creating a positive, energetic atmosphere as well as a sense of unity and general togetherness in their singing. The hymns are also seen as a way of praising Jehovah, the lyrics often being celebratory. The first hymn sang was titled *He Will Make You Strong*. After the hymn, the meeting was conducted through the style of a singular speaker standing on stage and addressing the congregation. On this occasion the Brother chose to speak about the struggle between good and evil. At each meeting the speaker is a different Brother as there is no clergy within Jehovah's witnesses and any baptised member is considered to be ordained. The Brothers who speak, however, are elected 'elders' and they are voted upon by a governing body and by previous elders. Women cannot be elders within the Witnesses as they take an inferior role to men.

Women within the religion largely take on the role of wife and are often referred to as a 'householder' (Tucker, 1989: 138). It is their job to simply support their husbands and a 1952 Watchtower and Bible Tract Society publication entitled *Let God Be True* went so far as to claim that 'Woman is merely a lowly creature whom God created for man as man's helper' (International Bible Students Association, 1952: 24). In recent years there have been a number of allegations made by women against the Witnesses regarding their treatment within the religion. In some cases, women were seen as deserving domestic violence as an apparent response to them not being good enough wives, a woman even being forced to retract rape allegations or face being 'disfellowshipped' (Tufft, 2015). The women I met all seemed very content to simply support their husbands and felt that their role as wives was integral to their relationship and to the Congregation and that this was the natural order of things as set down in the Bible. Witnesses believe the Bible to be a factual, historical document and follow it precisely. They refuse to acknowledge widely-accepted theories that contradict those set down in the Bible, such as that of evolution, and sometimes go so far as to not allow their children to learn these in school.

The first part of the meeting was concluded by another hymn and the second part of the meeting commenced with a different Brother leading a discussion of an article from the Jehovah's Witnesses' magazine, the Watchtower. The magazine is an educational resource published twice a month (Tucker, 1989: 135) with articles relating to issues surrounding religion such as the *Problem of Evil*, as well as articles relating to contemporary issues such as *What does the Bible say about war?* Jehovah's Witnesses regard their religion as an educational institution with the aim of enlightening people to 'The Truth'. It is written in the Bible that Jesus says to God, 'Your word is truth' (John 17:17) and the Witnesses believe this to mean that The Truth is then the world according to a strict adherence to the Biblical teachings set out in *The New World Translation* - the version of the Bible that Jehovah's Witnesses follow. They believe this to be the honest word of God with Jehovah as the Heavenly Father and ruler of all things. Witnesses believe one can come to The Truth through studying the Bible as well as history, which they believe correlates directly with Bible Teachings. For example, Witnesses believe that the start of the First World War was also the beginning of End Times. They also believe that to reach The Truth you must be devoted to Jehovah. Robbie, an Elder, 34, said that more than anything the community was important only for the fact that 'it helps to keep my relationship with Jehovah, being around like-minded people makes it easier to keep my focus on serving Him'.

On this occasion the article in The Watchtower related to faith but, regardless of the topic, the meetings are conducted in the same style every Sunday, with the Brother on stage posing a question or idea relating to the article and the members of the congregation who wish to answer or comment raising their hands. The Brother would then signal with a practiced hand gesture to one of the two adolescent boys, whose job is to carry the extra microphones, to a particular member; that member would speak into the microphone so that their response could be heard clearly by everyone over the Public Announcement system. This method was incredibly interactive and inclusive with even the younger children invited to speak. It created a feeling of equality among the members and only heightened the sense of extreme amicability and 'brotherhood' within the congregation. It was, however, directed in a manner that I would consider to be very leading with questions asked in a style of 'How do you think he felt? Did he feel scared?' in which the only acceptable answer has already been provided to the member, with no need for independent thought or real possibility for contradiction.

This unity of ideas and understanding was even more present in one of the more controversial beliefs of the congregation, one that came up numerous times both within the meeting and by individuals I spoke to: that we are now living in End Times and that Armageddon is soon approaching. In the first part of the meeting, in fact, the Brother suggested that the members of the congregation focus less on things that affect their lives within this world, like jobs and holidays, and think more about their lives post End Times in Paradise on Earth. This dedication to the religion was very present in everyone I spoke to, with most people only working part-time in order to focus on their Bible studies and on their missionary work of Witnessing – the door to door recruitment that the religion is famous for. Stephen, a Brother, 67, told me that to Witnesses 'religion is everything. It is a part of every aspect of our daily lives'.

This dedication and utter faith in The Truth was very present in the way that, despite informing all of the people I spoke to many times that I was simply there as an observer with the intention to write an essay for a University assignment, they still insisted on numerous occasions that I join the religion. One woman, Paula, a Sister, 66, told me that I was 'running out of time (before the coming of End Times) to come to The Truth' and a young couple with whom I had had a long and in-depth talk earlier caught up to me after I tried to leave and insisted that I come back next week. To me personally I found these kinds of forceful attempts at recruitment to be intimidating and quite off-putting, but to Jehovah's Witnesses, the belief that after Armageddon only the members of the Witnesses will be resurrected to eternal life is a constant concern to them. When they try to recruit new members to the religion they are literally trying to save their immortal souls. This is also why to be 'disfellowshipped' is such an awful thing to happen to a member. Not only do they lose their community, but also their relationship with God and eternal life with their friends and loved ones after their deaths.

The meeting was concluded with a final hymn followed by a single prayer lead by a different Brother to those who had previously spoken. During the prayer, family groups and friends clung to one another, clasping hands or even fully holding each other in their arms in a display of clear passionate feeling in their perceived closeness to God. Following this the congregation quietly disbanded and although some members left immediately, many members stayed for around fifteen to twenty minutes after the meeting to talk to their fellow members. There was much excitement as one of the Brothers, Eli, had brought his new born daughter for the first time and many of the members wished to see her. This kind of genuine caring for each fellow Brother or Sister of the congregation again reasserted the feelings of belonging, comradery and brotherhood that I continually witnessed between the members.

Throughout the whole experience I was struck both by the overwhelmingly friendly and welcoming atmosphere generated by the members of Kingdom Hall, and by their utter dedication to their faith. Along with the meeting, which lasted an hour and forty five minutes, Kingdom Hall is host to Bible study four times a week and members are advised to also perform independent study for two to three hours each day. Most members can quote large passages from the Bible from memory and nearly all adult members also dedicate a large portion of their free time to approach the doors of strangers, attempting to convert them to The Truth and convince them to join the religion. For someone who identifies as an atheist, observing this kind of devotion and commitment to faith is quite difficult to understand although, after observing the congregation, it is very clear how dedicated each and every member is to their religion.

It is possible to suggest that this dedication, along with their quite unique beliefs, can cause members of this religion to be slightly isolated from society as a whole and whether as a result of this rejection or as another cause of it, members are encouraged to associate mainly with fellow members, only creating a very close but also insular society among themselves, which can bring both benefits and problems.

However, it would be possible to also conclude that this isolation is in some ways self-imposed, as one of the major teachings Jehovah's Witnesses follow is to be 'in the world but not of it' - to be physically present but removed from a life of sin and the realm of Satan that the world is a part of and to move instead toward righteousness and the realisation of The Truth, and in this way closer to Jehovah. Witnesses do not partake in any form of politics and are mainly uninterested in most current affairs. From my observations I would conclude that 'in the world but not of it' is a fairly accurate description of this religious society. While present in larger society, members are so involved within their religion and hold views that are so foreign to those held by mainstream society that they are subtly set apart from it; mildly ostracised by, and intentionally isolated from, non-members, although this does allow them to become ever more involved within a religion that is everything to them.

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Appendix

Kingdom Hall building, Sunday 15th November 2015

Family and Infant Room, Kingdom Hall

Elder Took leading the Watchtower discussion

What are the main characteristics of Michelle Alexander's The New Jim Crow? In your answer refer to the connections between historical racial segregation, inequality and the mass incarceration of African Americans. What do you think are the social and moral costs of such a situation?

Celine McLeish

Alexander (2012) points out the importance of the criminal justice system and how it has been overlooked within many African-American movements that were created to make a difference. In the same way, that slavery and the Jim Crow Laws were caste systems, mass incarceration has been deemed as a contemporary racial caste system (Alexander, 2012: 12). One of the main characteristics that allow Alexander's argument to stand out is the fact that she uses the phrase 'Jim Crow'. This in itself has redefined what racial segregation is and how it can be viewed in American society. Throughout history, racial segregation has been evident through Jim Crow laws and, prior to that, slavery caused racial inequality. In the current society, the 'racial dimension of mass incarceration is its most striking feature. No other country in the world imprisons so many of its racial or ethnic minorities' (Alexander, 2012: 6). Mass incarceration is a major issue in American society that hinders the African American community; it is a system that:

> [...] locks people not only behind physical bars in actual prisons, but also behind virtual bars and virtual walls – walls that are invisible to the naked eye but function nearly as effectively as Jim Crow laws once did at locking people of colour into a permanent second-class citizenship (Alexander, 2012: 12).

Within the New Jim Crow, Alexander explores the reality of mass incarceration and reveals that there are many underlying facets to the criminal justice system.

Historically, racial segregation dates back to slavery and evolved as time progressed into Jim Crow laws, whereby there was a clear separation between black and white people. African Americans were unable to live the American Dream, they were still bound by laws put in place to supress them, and to prevent them from reaching their true potential. F. Michael Higginbotham (2015) clarified that 'laws were formulated that reflected the notion that blacks were inferior, and demonstrations of black excellence were supressed because they stood to shatter the racial hierarchy' (2015: 85). A. Leon Higginbotham (1996) argued that ever since the first encounter with black people there has been a clear separation. He argued that as legislations have been passed, they birthed another type of oppression because there were ultimately shades of freedom. Nonetheless, there were certain stages of freedom African Americans went through during the course of history (1996: xxxii). Arguably, as one moves into contemporary society, a different form of segregation emerges. After Nixon declared a war on drugs in 1971, the age of mass incarceration began. One cannot disregard the growth of convicts in the South during Reconstruction: 'between 1870 and 1910, the convict population grew ten times faster than the general one. Prisoners became younger and blacker and the length of their sentences soared' (Oshinsky, 1997: 63). There were many restrictions placed upon African Americans, and even though by law they were no longer classed as three-fifths of a human, they were still segregated and, as a result, dehumanized.

The 1896 Plessy v Ferguson ruling is one example of historical segregation and demonstrates the deliberate separation of blacks and whites, as well as the argument put forward to justify why it occurred. Until 1954 when the Brown v Board of Education took place, there was little integration between black and white people and it gave the impression that there was significant change due to the ruling. Nevertheless, Alexander made it clear that there is still a division which is evident within the criminal justice system. She endeavours to stress the significance of the fact that 'the United States imprison a larger percentage of its black population than South Africa did at the height of apartheid' (Alexander, 2012: 6). While in the apartheid regime there was an obvious segregation of the blacks, this phenomenon is subtle in a nation which claims to be 'the land of the free and the home of the brave' (Key, 1814). Yet, many are trapped in the criminal justice system. Society constantly compares segregation and racial injustice to previous events from slavery. There was ongoing comparison to the segregation experienced by African Americans in the twentieth century as well. One sees the significance through the rapid growth and the impact of the civil rights movement from the early 1900's to the height of the 1960's. The countless protests, boycotts, marches and the legislations that were passed such as the Civil Rights Act in 1964 show the physical segregation being resolved. Once the Old Jim Crow ceased the previous issues of segregation arguably vanished on a surface level because black people were integrated into mainstream society.

On the contrary it goes unnoticed by the majority of society that there are still major divisions: '3.2 percent of U.S. adult residents or 1 in 31 adults were under some form of correctional supervision' (Marable et al., 2007: 375). This has a major impact on the social dynamic and Alexander stresses that because many claim to be in an age of colour-blindness (Williams, 2011) where '73% [of millennials] believe never considering race would improve society' (MTV and David Binder Research, 2014). Thus, due to the fact that the de jure change has occurred, many assume that individual's attitudes will instantly change, but there is a de facto segregation that remains in society when regarding race. However, there is a danger that one may remain stagnant and not change anything which would be a major cost for African Americans in society. This would be due to the criminal justice system's lack of understanding of the impact it has on families and communities as it segregates many black males from society, mirroring Jim Crow.

Furthermore, within the criminal justice system, there is a racial divide and this has been identified by W.E.B Du Bois (1903) who explored the colour-line. Despite the numerous legislations put in place to incorporate African Americans into society, there is still a division that has been in place for centuries, although it has been redefined in the twenty-first century by the criminal justice system. It is clear that, as a society, 'we have left behind the midnight hour of slavery, travelled through the gray dawn of segregation, and we are now in a cloudy divide, poised between freedom and inequality' (Higginbotham, 1996: xxxii). This implies that the 'cloudy divide' (Higginbotham, 1996: xxxii) has brought about tension and discontentment, resulting in white backlash. For example, the death of Emmett Till in 1955 (Anderson, 2014) was because of the Supreme Court rulings of Brown v Board of Education the previous year. Despite it being a different matter regarding education it brought uncertainty because change was occurring and many were reluctant to usher these legal alterations. Alexander persists to show that even though many believe the 'midnight of slavery' (Higginbotham, 1996: xxxii) has been abandoned, racial inequality is ever present and mental slavery has replaced physical slavery, reflecting how, while the Old Jim Crow was a physical barrier and separation, the New Jim Crow goes beyond this. Ostensibly, the New Racism Thesis highlights the issue of covert racism, making it clear

that people are aware that racism is socially unacceptable, so individuals express their prejudice in an indirect manner (Sniderman et al., 1991). Covert racism 'reflects the juxtaposition of old and new, in some cases a continuation of long-standing practices of racial rule' (Collins, 2004: 54).

Inequality is evident in countless aspects of society, one example being police brutality against the black community. There is a high number of deaths as a result of police violence and it has been reported that '32% of black people killed by police in 2015 were unarmed [...] compared with 15% of white people killed' (Swaine et al., 2015b). The manifestation of racial inequality is evident amongst African-Americans; Trayvon Martin (Park et al. 2012) was fatally shot by a policeman in 1995; within two decades, many other young African-Americans like Tamir Rice (Buncombe, 2016), William Chapman (Johnson, 2015), and Michael Brown had been killed by the police (Gander, 2015). This is exemplified by the statistic '1,134 deaths at the hands of law enforcement officers' in 2015 (Swaine et al., 2015a). Even in 2016, there was controversy in the media with regards to the Oscars and there being no black actors nominated, perpetuating racial inequality. This resulted in Chris Rock declaring in a monologue that 'it's not about boycotting, we just want more opportunities' (Horton, 2016). The same principle can be applied to individuals who are convicted and are at a disadvantage in society because they lack the opportunities to progress in society.

Likewise, the Old Jim Crow Laws separated blacks and whites, this brought forth a physical division within the status one held within civilization during that period. There is a clear resemblance in the New Jim Crow where there is a divide between the individual labelled a felon and the free man. It is evident that there are 'astonishing rates of incarceration and the existence of this permanent second-class status that entraps millions, [which] shows us that [...] We've taken a U-turn and are off course entirely' (Pears, 2015). A major social and moral cost that Alexander addresses is that criminals have a second class status almost by default because certain privileges are restricted when they are detained. It has been recorded that 'African Americans are incarcerated at nearly six times the rate of whites' (The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 2009) - this statistic shows that there is an imbalance within the system. This new form of inequality has been highlighted and juxtaposed with the Old Jim Crow laws and the attitudes people had towards African Americans.

Moreover, the 'United States now has the highest rate of incarceration in the world, even surpassing those in highly regressive regimes like Russia, China, and Iran' (Alexander, 2012: 6). In slavery, most slaves were deprived of reading and writing, which would help the slave owners maintain their power. Once slaves were emancipated, they were able to have an education which, however, was poor in comparison to that of the white Americans, because they lacked the resources needed to better their education system. Now, in the twenty-first century, there is still a lack of education amongst a large number of black males who are incarcerated, meaning they will remain stagnant in society. The issue of mass incarceration has an immense impact on the lives of children who have parents in prison. This affects society because 'boys with incarcerated parents show higher levels of theft compared with their peers almost every age' (Murray et al., 2014: 96). The system that has been put in place not only restricts the parent but it is easy for the child to believe that it is normal to be incarcerated. Sociologist Robert K. Merton observes in his self-fulfilling prophecy theory that:

> [...] in the beginning, a false definition of [a] situation evok[es] a new behavior which makes the originally false conception come true. The specious validity of the self-fulfilling prophecy perpetuates a reign of error (Merton, 1948:195).

This can be applied to African-American males who become incarcerated due to society and the negative stereotypes that have been placed upon them prematurely. There are few African-American role-models so these young males become trapped in a 'reign or error' (Merton, 1948: 195).

Alexander highlights that despite society claiming to be in an age of colour-blindness, there are unique trends within the prison system that show bias against black males. Because of the historical milestone of Barack Obama becoming president, it appeared to some that racism was no longer an issue and all forms of segregation had been addressed and abandoned. However, 'at the same time that the crowds in Washington watched Obama take the oath to uphold the Constitution, 2.3 million Americans sat invisible in America's prisons and jails, nearly half of them black' (Pettit, 2012: 1). Mass incarceration has caused a physical separation - it not only segregates the inmate from their families but it sets them apart from the entire community. This ultimately reinforces the concept of a second class citizenship that they automatically hold once entering the prison system. Mass incarceration is not a new phenomenon that keeps black people out of the community life, as many black people were arrested during the early 1900's as they stood firm. There are similarities between the Old Jim Crow Laws and the New Jim Crow, the original Jim Crow aimed to separate blacks and whites in order to maintain the racial caste system put in place from slavery.

Despite the several amendments put forward, the de jure change was not enough for there to be a complete shift in the mind-set of citizens within the wider society. Another social consequence of mass incarceration is that it is 'categorized as a criminal justice issue as opposed to a racial justice or civil rights issue (or crisis)' (Pettit, 2012: 9). An ethnographic study discovered that families lose income which results in increased expenditure whilst maintaining contact with incarcerated relatives (Roberts, 2004: 1282). Essentially this severs 'social networks start[ing] at the family level and reverberates throughout communities where the families of prisoners are congregated' (Roberts, 2004: 1282). Due to these circumstances, families have to remain static in the social hierarchy leaving them at a disadvantage. Despite affirmative action being put in place, in order for people to be favoured in certain situations such as education and work, there has been emphasis placed on the criminal justice system to show that African Americans are not truly free from segregation.

Indeed, there have been many ideas put forward by Alexander to enlighten society in order for people to become aware of the inequality still faced by the African American community. In her extensive thesis, she has been able to express her argument and to showcase why and how the mass incarceration of African-Americans is connected to the original Jim Crow laws that thrived in the twentieth century. Historical racial segregation allows one to understand how different aspects of society have changed. But Alexander shows it from another persepective, displaying how prejudice has evolved and how it has been disguised. Socially, there are consequences one has to face, hence Alexander's emphasis upon mass incarceration. She clarifies that there are numerous black males incarcerated and she explores the effect this has on society and on the smaller communities that they come from. Throughout her book she demonstrates that inequality still exists within contemporary society and this is mirrored in the American criminal justice system

through mass incarceration. Ultimately, the social and moral consequences rise to the surface, as Alexander highlights major issues that affect the large African American population. The New Jim Crow explores the struggles many African Americans go through in daily life due to discrimination and how that impacts their life. Overall, it is evident that even though this age classes itself as being colour-blind, this does not prevent racial discrimination. Alexander exemplifies a new type of racism demonstrating how the racial caste system been 'merely redesigned' (Alexander, 2012: 2).

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Viewpoints: Should Media be regulated?

Mihaela-Georgiana Mihailescu

Media regulation is quite often manifestations of policies settled on by governments, and are based upon political or moral ideologies or philosophies about the way in which the society is influenced by the various roles of media. Diverse societies have additionally taken distinctive approaches to deal with the regulation of media, some setting the different and various form and associations under the immediate control of the state, though others in the nation's constitution. In the meantime, as mass media shapes evolved, numerous individuals were restless about the effect of these media and they questioned that, either to secure the powerless individuals or to promote a decent society, we have to control media somehow. At the point when something is regulated it is controlled or limited by some means. Modern states have consistently been active in attempting to control media organizations and the content they produce in order to accomplish a set of policy goals. They attempt to assure that something occurs or is kept from occurring(Long & Wall, 2014:207-209).

This essay will first argue and critically explore the positive and negative aspects of living in a society in which the media has come up to a certain point, where information can be accessed roughly on every mean of technology available and will then establish the influence and impact it has upon the individuals. It then continues with a close examination of the manner in which both for and against media regulation opinions shape the society in which we are living, focusing on the impact of the Internet. Finally, it aims attention at the freedom of speech, which allows people to communicate or express themselves in any manner they feel, either positively or negatively, keeping in mind the ethical guidelines of the human rights.

At the point when technological changes happen, they are appealing, dangerous, perplexing, and they modify the status quo. Young people receive and adopt them faster than old individuals, and wealthier individuals and nations have access to them before poorer individuals and nations. There are numerous dimensions to these progressions and they must be considered from numerous perspectives, as economic, political and social risk and opportunities. They have an especially noteworthy impact on the media, influencing producers and consumers, users and non-users and affecting the content of and access to data, the manner in which it is produced and how the firms inside of the industries adjust deliberately and re-orientate themselves. Subsequently, radio stations, magazines, TV telecasters, Internet content combined and mobile services are all media firms (Keen, 2007:2-9).

By the means of their nature, media influences the types of content that can be passed on through them. Content industries are accurately related and identifiable with media since they make material that can be passed on through media. In spite of the fact that the Internet itself is not regulated, the media industries are and governments have needed to rearrange regulations and law to the new stage or platform. The Internet has set up itself with astounding, maybe remarkable, speed as a necessary and integral component of everyday life for individuals everywhere throughout the world, at work and even at home (Küng, Picard, & Towse, 2008:3-8).

The Internet incorporates an incomprehensibly vast ocean of information that is significantly changing the dimension and nature of human correspondence and communication. Not only has it significantly diminished the expense of correspondence and capacitate seemingly impossible and inconceivable distances to be crossed in a split-second, it likewise progressively incorporates all other media into itself. Mail, dialling, film, TV, music, radio, photography-all have been converted into computerised and digital frame and became accessible in significantly more approachable ways to the approximately two billion individuals, users, around the globe. It is imperative to note, before moving too profoundly into this progressive universe of digitized societies, who is not part of this sort of society, particularly the majority of the population on earth. Of the about seven billion individuals on this planet, somewhere around four-and-a-half and five billion, 60 to 70 per cent of us, have no connection or access to this digitalized world by any means (Curran, Fenton, & Freedman, 2012:149-54).

Furthermore, one million of individuals have seriously restricted access in contrast with the taken for granted quick broadband access, which those of us, with social or economic privileges, benefit of. These digital splits sequential revolve around the expanding economic and social imbalance or inequality in every nation around the world, and vast differences of riches between nations. In extensive quantifiable terms, there are clearly astonishing computerized divides between the Global North, and the Global South, as identifies with by these percentages across landmasses: 79 per cent of North Americans have access, 63 per cent of Europeans, 49 per cent of Middle Easterners, 42 per cent of Latin Americans, 27 per cent of Asians, and only 16 per cent of Africans (Internet World Scats; International Telecommunications Union). Access changes by country within landmasses and clearly by class, consequent to even the poorest countries have financial elites. In the various countries with a prevalent ethnic congregations and other minority ethnicities, minority ethnic congregations regularly have poorer access, generally due to having lower employments and less social benefits in contrast with the predominant ethnicity (Reed, 2014:1-6).

In order to offer a far-reaching picture, there were obviously numerous critical issues concerning the Internet that should have been handled. Establishing the Internet as a worldwide communications medium in the framework of prior human correspondence is enlightening. Countless social and ethical values concerns encompass the Internet. A significant number of these concerns are obviously unrealistic to be determined in the close term, and in reality, from numerous points of view the Internet appears to be an accelerating and current threat. For instance, in some cases, few personal involvements with the Internet might undermine and threat profoundly held values, for example, those concerning security, national identity, property and responsibility. The concerns regarding the personal privacy on the Internet, combined with the security of electronically held data, are especially antagonistic. The Internet is fundamentally a sophisticated technique of moving and trading data worldwide, all such data should essentially be suited and capable for representation in an electronic manner (Langford, 2000:14-24).

When you are on the Internet, you give data about yourself essentially all the time. Regularly this data is similar to a riddle with fragments that should be connected before the final and full meaning is revealed. The information you contribute with to one individual or organisation might be combined with data you have given to someone else or to an organisation in order to finish the riddle. Privacy is legitimate if it does not generate any inadvertent harm to a society and its core or root values. Furthermore, since the root values diverge from society to society, the legal expectations of privacy fluctuate. However,

considerations around a direct technological attack of privacy cannot be dismissed nor ignored, because the very technological innovation that makes life pleasant in various ways, might blind us to imperceptible enslavement or reveal private information to public ridicule (Batra, 2007:40-45).

There are astonishing numbers of statues, torts and other legitimate assurances of privacy. The issue is that they are at present so frail they cannot provide as a satisfactory response to the thriving issues brought on by the spreading and expansion of online gossip. One of the essential issues with the law is that it is eradicated by obsolete perceptions of privacy. Privacy policies display the contractual relationship amongst users and the applications or apps, as we know them, regularly includes a 'Term and conditions' section. It will regularly likewise characterise the degree to which the application can utilise private data in order to generate income through advertising. Then again, data security involves the ways in which is a website or an application diligent at defending user's data from outside attacks by hackers or internal ruptures, for example, a leak. Data security ruptures are generally debated in the media when retailers endure a fissure of customers' credit card data, and applications are vulnerable to comparable compromises (Levmore & Nussbaum, 2010:27-242).

On August 31, 2014, the Internet almost exploded when on a website titled 4chan.org, which has been connected to Internet subcultures and activism, particularly with Anonymous and Project Chanology, uploaded naked pictures of more than 100 women, among some well-recognised celebrities. In spite of the fact that this was not the first circumstance in which private celebrity photographs, or recordings were made public on the Internet, this was the largest and biggest leak of its type to happen. The private photographs posted on 4chan were taken from every star's personal iCloud account. A couple of days after the leak, Apple affirmed and confirmed that distinctive iCloud accounts were hacked in an aimed assault where hackers utilised a cryptanalytic assault to access distinctive usernames and passwords. In the successive weeks after the naked celebrity photography leak, a hectic, rather violent discussion rose up out of online and traditional and conventional media outlets and from the celebrities themselves by means of social media (Fallon, 2015:46-51).

While the vast majority agree that it was an illegitimate break of privacy when somebody hacked into the iCloud accounts of the stars and made public their private pictures, some likewise believe that the victims of this break of privacy should undertake culpability for their part in this unfortunate circumstance. These critics affirm that the celebrities ought to have taken better care to secure the photographs or not taken naked photographs in the first place, since they are aware on the fact that being acclaimed and famous would make them a target for this kind of assault. Nearly all the victims of the celebrities immersed into this privacy break were women, which has driven a few critics to imply that this infringement of privacy is yet another case of female oppression in our patriarchal, man dominated society. This callous exploitation and abuse reminds women that they have no privilege of privacy in the Internet millennium with regards to their own bodies (O'Connor, 2014).

Oscar-winning Jennifer Lawrence has been the most noticeable victim of this privacy attack thus far. It is believed that around 60 pictures and also a video recorded on her iPhone were sold on the Internet. In the interview held by Sam Kashner, she declared that the leaks are an equivalent of a sex crime and blamed the individuals who sustained this sexual offense through viewing and sharing the photographs. Various other famous people,

suchlike, Kate Upton, Kirsten Dunst, and Mary Elizabeth Winstead, are in the same manner victims of this hacking attack, which the F.B.I started investigating. 'I was just so afraid' (Kashner, 2014) Jennifer declared. 'I didn't know how this would affect my career' (ibid). Jennifer Lawrence described the stupefaction and shock she has felt when her intimate and private photographs emerged on the Internet:

> I can't even describe to anybody what it feels like to have my naked body shoot across the world like a news flash against my will. It just makes me feel like a piece of meat that's being passed around for a profit (ibid).

Her first instinct was to write a public testimony of what happened:

> But every single thing that I tried to write made me cry or get angry. I started to write an apology, but I don't have anything to say I'm sorry for. I was in a loving, healthy, great relationship for four years. It was long distance, and either your boyfriend is going to look at porn or he's going to look at you (ibid).

Provocative photographs in the past would have classify these celebrities as prostitutes, or displays of branding, however given the late circumstances, more media outlets are supporting and stand up for performing artists like Jennifer Lawrence as a victim of some type of crime. Although, sex crime is not the most fitting term to portray famous people's victimisation, it is proper to comprehend that their privacy was violated and the society's standards, which have moulded the gender framework might have been affected and influenced by the way in which the media has depicted the celebrity nudity previously (Benigno, 2014).

The Internet was made as a very contrasting sort of system and ought to be a free space. This reasoning basically relates back to the beginning of the Internet, when it was initially utilised by the military as an open system intended to guarantee that the correspondence dependably got through, and afterward by academics who, to a great extent, trusted and knew each other and put a great significance on the freedom of speech and expression. The Internet is in a general sense, simply one more correspondences network. The debate runs: assuming that we regulate radio, TV, and telecommunications systems, why is the Internet not regulated? This debate implies that, not just is the Internet, from a point of view, simply one more network and a reaction of a convergence is turning it into a network. Along these lines, if we do not regulate the Internet at any rate, adequately after some time we are going to discard the thought of content regulation (Strangelove, 2015:79-112).

The Internet is an expanding and technologically complex network that cannot be regulated. Definitely the Web just turned into a mass media in the middle 1990s and, from that point forward, improvements, such as Google and blogging, have been so accelerated to the point that, it is disputed, any endeavour to regulate the medium is bewitched. Any type of regulation is defective and imperfect. This reasoning lays on the experience that methods, for example, the filters used to block the content have regularly been flawed, because occasionally offensive and hostile materials get straight through the filters, while educational material is forbidden. There is a spectrum of problematic and questionable content on the Internet. There are illegal matters that surround the Internet, harmful content such as pictures of child abuse, cyber mobs, and the offensive and hostile content such as pornography. It is utterly impossible to regulate these diverse types of dangerous content in the same manner, however, we cannot just ignore it (Travis, 2013: 213-222).

The evidence presented has shown that the Internet should not and cannot be regulated like the old mass media, but in a more separate and individualised manner. My own position is completely opposed and against to all types of state hindering of generic or non-specific categories of content on the Internet. The most preventing aspects of the Internet content are not illegal or harmful, in fact, users ought to take proper responsibility while using the online technology. I am most distressed about the usage of a constitution or statute in order to regulate such an evolving and sophisticated medium as the Internet because of the freedom of speech, which represents one of the most important amendments in a democratic society. It portrays the nature of our modern, media literate society in which citizens have more various views and values, are less obedient towards authority and more empowered to choose their own path and decisions.

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Imagine that you are designing a study to find out whether giving final year undergraduate students training in writing CV's increases their chances of finding a job after graduating. Outline two potential study designs- one using an experimental approach and one using an observational approach.

Critically evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of both.

Abbie May

Arguably, "The single factor in question may be the key element of a complex theory" (Hakim, 2000:6) and only in delving deeper into the approaches and developing potential study designs will this be truly understood. Firstly, in order to outline the potential study designs it is key to distinguish what the experimental and observational approaches are. "Observational studies and controlled experiments have the same goal" (Rosenaum, 2010:19) yet vastly differ in how they obtain the results. "Probably the biggest difference between observational studies and designed experiments is the issue of *association* versus *causation*. Since observational studies don't control any variables, the results can only be *associations*. Because variables are controlled in a designed experiment, we can have conclusions of *causation*" (Faculty). The experimental approach is a "Key method of scientific research" (Schutt, 2015: 220) and has "made important contributions to understanding the social world" (Schutt, 2015: 221). Bryman described the experimental approach as being "A research design that rules out alternative causal explanations of findings deriving from it by having at least (a) an experimental group, which is exposed to a treatment, and a control group which is not, and (b) random assignment to the two groups" (2012: 711). Additionally, "The sole purpose of experimental research is to study causal links" (Hakim, 2000: 127) which then allow for a researcher to asses if "whether one change in one variable produce changes in another" (Ibid). Differently to the experimental approach which collects quantitative data, the observational approach acquires qualitative data to then code and measure. "An observational study is an empiric investigation of treatments, policies, or exposures and the effects they cause, but it differs from an experiment in that the investigator cannot control the assignment of treatments to subjects" which "concern(s) treatments, interventions, or policies and the effects they cause" (Rosenbaum, 2010:1) and "are typically conducted when experimentation is not possible" (Ibid:4). I am going to outline a potential study for both the experimental and observational approach in order to distinguish which method will produce more pivotal, valid and reliable results. I will then proceed to analyse the advantages and disadvantages of both approaches and thus conclude which will be more effective.

The experimental method is when you manipulate the independent variable to observe the effect that this has on the dependent variable. This would be relevant for the research into CV writing as it would allow for the researcher to see if this change in the independent variable produces a further change in the dependent variable. The independent variable in this research would be the CV training that may be given to final year undergraduate students. The dependent variable will be if this increases their chances of getting a job when they are a postgraduate or if it simply makes no impact. For my experimental study into whether training in CV writing increases an individual's chance of getting a job after

graduating I would be conducting a field experiment as the training would be done in the classroom setting and the interviews then done within organisations. "Experimental control involves deciding which individuals, groups or organisations will be exposed to the information, experience or event whose impact is to be tested" (Hakim, 2000:127). Therefore, I will find an opportunity sample of male university students in their final undergraduate year who are going into employment within the same job sector. I would like to have a relatively large sample as it will be more representative and the quantitative information will be easy to analyse. Ideally I would like to do "Pretests – that measure the dependent variable before the experimental intervention" (Schutt, 2015:222) in order to make true conclusions when the experiment is finished. These individuals will then be randomly allocated into either the control or experimental group. I am doing this because "The two groups are studied before and after the experimental treatment and at the same points in time. Comparison of the 'before' and 'after' information for the two groups then allows conclusions to be drawn about the impact of the treatment" (Hakim, 2000:128). By doing the pre-testing it will be easier to distinguish "If there is any difference between the two groups at the end of the experiment, then this must be due to the effect of the causal factor" (Hughes, 2007:135). I will control for overt biases by "using adjustments, such as matching or stratification" (Rosenbaum 2010:71). I will match the pairs according to their relevant characteristics (Hughes, 2007:135), which will be the job sector they want to go into and use randomisation to allocate them into groups (Ibid). The control group will not receive the CV training and I will then do a "post-test, that is, measurement of the outcome of both groups after the experiment group has received the treatment" (Schutt, 2015:222). This post-test will be conducted every 3 months for a year after the participants graduate to see if it has short or long term effects thus making this study a longitudinal one. The post-test will simply consist of follow up telephone calls about whether the individual has a job or not. The researcher can then conclude if there is a link between CV training and a postgraduate's chance of getting a job.

There are many advantages to using the experimental approach within research. One of these advantages is that they are the most "true" research approach and true experiments "are the best research design for testing nomothetic causal hypotheses" (Schutt, 2015:245). The manipulation of the independent variable allows you to see if there is a direct link (Hakim, 2000:127) between this and the dependent variable and thus can provide "more definite answers to questions about causal links" (Ibid). Another advantage of this method is the amount of control a researcher can have. By controlling the independent variable it produces more valid results that are generalizable to the outside world and "due to the control set up by the experimenter and the strict conditions, better results can be achieved" (Occupy therapy). The experiments have high replicability as they can be reproduced in the same settings using the same CV training and this could then reinforce the validity of the results if they are to be the same as the previous study. For example I could do this study every year for the next 3 years and see if the results were the same for every group who took part in the experiment. "The two essential elements of the experimental design are randomisation and controlled application of the factor X that is to be studied" (Hakim, 2000: 127). I will be using both of these elements within my study making it a true experiment "particularly well suited for producing valid conclusions about causality" (Schutt, 2015: 236) and additionally adding an element of reliability. Another strength of investigating this trend using the experimental method is the cost. The cost of the experiment can be kept to a minimum. A CV trainer would have to be paid to come in and teach the final year undergraduates and after this has been conducted the only cost will then be the follow up telephone calls that are being done to establish which participants have a job after graduating and how quickly they got this job. This will then be produced

into a format that will demonstrate the link or non-existent link between CV training and gaining a job after graduation.

However, there are some disadvantages to the experimental approach. Usually experiments can be an "enormously complex and costly design" (Hakim, 2000: 29). This research has been designed to be fairly simplistic and low in cost because of the opportunity to simply conduct follow-up phone calls. One disadvantage that can be pivotal to the results obtained is "people's willingness to be experimental guinea pigs" (Ibid: 128). This willingness is commonly low and therefore the sample selected usually has to be that of opportunity. Using an opportunity sample can mean that the results will be un-representative, however in this instance the study is about students and these are usually the people who are willing to be the 'guinea pigs'. This sample can mean the results cannot be generalised to the majority and are therefore largely invalid. "This problem of generalizability is the biggest limitation of true experimental designs" (Schutt, 2015: 227) and there is not a control that can simply fix it. Broadly speaking "The potential for the pretest influencing participants' reactions to the experimental treatment" (Ibid) is a disadvantage of the experimental approach however, in this particular research unless the aim of the study is revealed the participants may feel that the CV training is a normal part of their university experience. On the other hand the deception of not informing the participants on what the research is about is a major ethical issue. Deception "is used in social experiments to create more realistic treatments" (Ibid: 244) which is an advantage for the results of the study making them valid and replicable but does pose as a vital ethical issue. Another disadvantage of this experimental method and the follow up telephone calls is that we cannot directly establish which parts of the CV training which were more effective or which parts of the CV training were the parts that aided undergraduates in getting a job after they graduated. Because this study is going to be longitudinal there is a strong chance that many people will drop out from the research or could be unavailable for the phone calls in the future. This will impact the results as it will change the groups and therefore could make the results invalid and less representative. Another disadvantage of experimental research is that it creates an artificial environment that is not true of the real world (Occupy theory). Additionally it is "largely subjective to human errors" which can be either "systematic" or "random" and "they can all completely destroy the validity of the experiment" (Flow Psychology).

Another way in which the effects of the CV training could be investigated would be through observational study design. For my observational study into whether training in CV writing increases an individual's chance of getting a job after graduating I will observe a group of students from an opportunity sample who will receive CV training in their third undergraduate year of university. I would have to ensure that this group consisted of students who were planning to go into employment after graduation. I would use both male and female students who are looking into varied careers. I would have a small sample as it would be difficult to do an observational, longitudinal study on a larger sample. By using a mixed-gender sample I could investigate and conclude if there are any gender-bias's within the research. I would use non-participant observation and be honest to the participants about what I was researching and observing therefore not being deceptive. I would observe the CV training that the participants receive, coding some of the key learning points and using these as measures for comparison. After the undergraduates have graduated I would conduct non-participation observation of their interviews and applications looking for these key learning points and seeing if the training has remained prominent in their minds. I will investigate if there is a link between the training they receive and their performance in interviews. "Analytical adjustments are widely used in

observational studies in an effort to remove overt biases" (Rosenbaum, 2010: i) therefore increasing the validity of the observation.

Observations are "common in most fields that study the effects of treatments or policies on people" (Ibid) this research could be seen as a treatment and the effects are then studied over time and direct observations are made. An advantage of this approach is that it will produce more 'realistic' results than those that are concluded in an experimental study therefore making said results more valid, reliable and generalizable to the majority. Observational studies are extremely high in external validity; more than experimental as observational studies take place in the real world. The main advantages of the researcher observing the interviews are as follows; "Researcher has a first-hand experience with the participant. Researcher can record information as it occurs. Unusual aspects can be noticed during observation. (And are) Useful in exploring topics that may be uncomforatbale for participants to discuss" (Creswell, 2009: 179). All of these advantages contribute to the information collected being in-depth and qualitative making information for future postgraduates more descriptive and easy to apply to themselves. Additionally by using the observation method rather than the experimental method the "problem of depending on respondents is decreased" (MBA official). The observational method is also "less demanding in nature" (Ibid) and therefore less participants may withdraw than in the experimental method. Observing if people get a job provides more reliable information than asking them over the phone which is the case in the experimental method making the results more valid.

In comparison to the many advantages of the observational method there are also many disadvantages. One of the more important disadvantages in comparison to the experimental method is that the "investigator lacks experimental control" (Rosenbaum, 2010: i). By using the observational method the "Researcher may be seen as intrusive. Private information may be observed that the researcher cannot report. Researcher may not have good attending and observing skills. Certain participants may present special problems in gaining rapport" (Creswell, 2009: 179). "Researchers also cannot infer causal statements about the situations they observe, meaning that cause and effect cannot be determined" (Boundless) and therefore that the CV training may not be the reason that the participants do or do not get a job once they have graduated. The observations can also be "too subjective" and "time consuming" (Compass). This study would be highly time consuming as I would have to observe many interviews over a longitudinal time period and in turn analyse the notes that I had taken and conclude any relationships between the training and jobs that seems to be present. Although I would be doing non-participant observation just having the researcher in the room may make a participant nervous or on-edge and they may not get the job because of this and therefore observing does not account for external factors that are out of the investigators control (MBA official). Opposing this they may be "susceptible to the Hawthorne effect" (Shadman Sadik) which is when people perform better because they are being observed and therefore their performance will be because of observation instead of the CV training meaning that any information collected in regard to the CV training will be invalid and no relationship between this training and getting a job could solidly be concluded.

In conclusion the experimental approach to this research would produce valid results as I would make sure that the experiment is "true". In order to do this I would have "two groups, variation in the independent variable before assessment of change in the dependent variable and random assignment of the two comparison groups" (Schutt, 2015: 221) therefore allowing for the direct relationship to be established. However, it is easy for

mistakes to be made due to human error in these experiments that could, in turn, "destroy the validity" (Flow Psychology) and thus make any results invalid. The observational approach to this research would take a lot more time even though the sample size would be a lot smaller. It would also cost a lot more money to do and replicate. Additionally the observational method would be invalid and un-representative if a large number of participants were to withdraw from the study whereas if they were to withdraw from the experimental one there would be enough people to be able to still make the results valid and generalizable. Also by using the experimental approach cause and effect can be established and no external factors would be responsible for the relationship between the CV training and graduates getting a job. Another reason why the experimental method would be better in this research is because of the high replicability. The study could be repeated to make the results found more valid or to disregard them entirely; although this may seem like a bad thing it is in fact good as it will provide evidence that the CV training is not needed as it has no correlation with whether students get a job after graduating. The benefits of the experimental method far outweigh that of the observational method and thus would be the most pivotal method in exploring if giving final year undergraduate students CV training had any effect on their chances of finding a job after graduating.

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Return to CONTENTS

Is it Ethnocentric to say that the Progress from Hunter-Gatherer Societies to Complex, Industrial States is a Linear, Positive Development?

Fiona Mullins

The general belief was that hunter gatherers were savages, half starved, barely surviving and miserable. In the1600s Thomas Hobbes wrote that their lives were 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short' (Bunce 2014: 36). This essay will discuss whether the progress to complex industrial states is a linear, positive development. Comparisons will be made between hunter gather societies and modern standards of living. It will discuss some of the advantages that hunter-gatherers have, while looking at the more negative aspects of modern society.

Hunter-gatherer societies are egalitarian, with all men and women of any age being treated equally. As groups move away from foraging and progress towards agricultural economies, people gain more possessions, resulting in societies becoming more hierarchical and unequal.

An affluent society is one in which all of the peoples material wants are easily satisfied. Sahlins called hunter-gatherers 'The original Affluent Society' (Sahlins, 1972: 1), with the basis of his argument being that they do not desire much, and are able to meet all their needs with what is available to them. The fact that they do not store anything suggests that they do not have to worry about tomorrow as they trust that the environment will provide for them. As a nomadic tribe they move to another area when supplies and resources are running low.

Hunter-gatherers live surprisingly fulfilling lives and enjoy far more leisure time than those in other modern societies. Evidence gathered by Lee shows that they only work two to four hours a day. As they don't store food, another advantage is that there are no periods of frantic activity or times of unemployment. The women gather enough food to last three days. Lee questioned how people occupied their time, concluding that kitchen routines such as cooking, nut cracking, collecting firewood and fetching water, took up to three hours a day. The rest of time was spent resting in camp, doing embroidery, visiting other camps, or entertaining visitors. The men spend their free time visiting, entertaining and dancing, with trance dances occurring two or three times a week, often all night long. In a camp with five or more hunters, there are usually two or three who are actively hunting, ensuring a steady supply of meat is brought into camp. The female collectors contributed more to the food supply than male hunters. (Lee, 1968)

Sahlins looked at the progression from hunter gatherers to agricultural societies. 'Slash and burn' is a small scale agricultural method where existing vegetation is cut down and burned off before new seeds are sown; typically used as a method for clearing forest land for farming. With simple tools for clearing, hoeing, digging and cultivating, labour was intensive, and he argued that there is no particular advantage over the time spent by hunter-gatherers in food getting (Sahlins, 1972: 30). This method is preferable to the agricultural farmers who work from dawn to dusk (Lee, 1968). Other difficulties faced by agricultural and pastoral workers include the weather, pests and diseases.

Complex and modern industrial societies have their own employment and economic stresses. Adults have to leave home and family each day to go to work, with children often going to day care. Many people have long commutes to work, sitting in endless traffic congestion. This is followed by long hours at work, often doing repetitive menial work. Constant worries about competition and targets plague them, along with worries about redundancy and job losses due to recession and spending cuts.

Sharing is central to hunter-gatherers. Great excitement occurs when the hunters return with meat; all food is shared equally. Great effort is made to ensure that those who did the killing are not given any special praise, as this would create jealousies and tension. The anthropologist, Richard Borshay Lee spent time with the !Kung Bushmen in Kalahari Desert. In order to repay them for teaching him about their culture he decided to provide meat for the Christmas feast. He bought the biggest, most beautiful ox he could find in order to feed the whole tribe. However, people started complaining to him, stating that it was not enough to feed even one camp, let alone all of the people. Richard thought it was the most beautiful ox there, but none of the Bushmen appreciated it. Richard learnt that it was a custom of the !Kung, that no matter what a person did, they would put him down in order to keep his arrogance in check. This practice teaches humility. No matter what a bushman does, others would put him down to prevent him getting above his station (Lee, 1969). This is further evidence that everyone is treated equally and fairly.

In modern-state societies individuals are encouraged to advance themselves, striving to win and gain advantage at the expense of others. In capitalist societies, business transactions aim to maximise profits, and children's games and play invariably involve winning and losing. This can be compared to traditional society in New Guinea, where children's play involves cooperation. Anthropologist Jane Goodall observed a group of children who were given a bunch of bananas, enough for one each; instead of fighting for the biggest banana, each child cut their banana in halves and gave half to another child, in turn receiving half of that child's banana. This went on for five cycles (Diamond, 2012). Western missionaries and their children found it hard to deal with the selfish and individualistic ways when they integrated back into western culture. They described feeling shame if they played competitive games to win or tried to excel in school (Diamond, 2012: 91).

Child rearing is different among cultures. Many hunter-gatherer societies consider 'young children to be autonomous individuals' (Diamond, 2012: 174), they are given the freedom to make their own decisions, including playing with dangerous objects such as knives and fire. Another difference to Western practice is that babies are breast fed on demand. For the majority of the time they are held by their mothers, often skin to skin, even sleeping with them. Western mothers are wary of constantly nursing and holding their babies for fear of creating a spoilt and fractious child. In an observation of Ache children, Kim Hill found that babies were held 93% of the time and not put down. They were often carried until the age of five rather than being allowed to walk. This is down to the fact that the Amazonian rainforest is among the most dangerous environments (Diamond, 2012: 199). While observing the children of hunter-gatherers, anthropologists are often struck 'by the emotional security and self-confidence' they display (Diamond, 2012: 208). This is because they are always surrounded by other young people and adults. This experience is opposite to modern societies, where families live mainly insular lives. Diamond argues that Western children 'are less sociable' (Diamond, 2012: 458). Indeed, teenagers live a life of relative isolation, remaining in their bedrooms with the doors closed. Another factor is that people have to be entertained, as they don't know how to amuse themselves. Most socialisation

and entertainment occurs via social media, television and gaming devices which do not require any imagination; teenagers experience various difficulties in modern Society. They have pressure on them to do well at school and make decisions about their futures. Peer pressure is enormous. They are bombarded with body images they strive to emulate. Drug and alcohol abuse are also prevalent in modern society.

Evidence shows that 'Life for hunter gatherers goes on around dwellings' (Strathern, 1995:67). This is comparable to modern societies where people spend most of their time working and living indoors. This contributes to hunter-gatherers living a healthier lifestyle. They do not suffer from the diseases of civilization: hypertension, diabetes, obesity and heart disease. They also have lower blood pressure, which does not seem to rise as they get older. Cholesterol levels have been found to be lower than people in modern societies. Obesity is also rare in hunter-gatherer societies. At any given age foragers tend to be about one-third more aerobically fit than Westerners. As well as getting plenty of exercise outside in the fresh air, they benefit from a healthy low fat diet with plenty of fresh fruits and vegetables that are not sprayed with agricultural and industrial chemicals. Alcohol and nicotine have serious health implications for modern societies, combined with an inadequate diet and lack of exercise. Obesity, particularly in children is a major concern for many modern, Western societies.

In the 18th Century the Industrial Revolution was a turning point in Europe and America. Its impact on the economy, population and environment was phenomenal. Although a major step forward, there were many negative effects brought on by this massive societal change. Thomas Friedman (2008), talks about problems facing the modern world. The use of hydrocarbon fuels, specifically coal, oil and natural gas has led to pollution. Scientists warn that global warming will impact hugely on the environment. The expansion of capitalist markets may have brought substantial improvement in living standards to most parts of the world, but it has also brought exploitation and suffering to others. When a country is developing as in industrialisation, people move from the rural countryside to the towns and cities. They are drawn by the prospect of work. The more people that move to the city, affects the amount of jobs available. Urbanisation leads to overcrowding and lack of housing. This puts a huge strain on infrastructure. Without economic security, and poor living conditions, crime is inevitable. Additionally, some believe that urbanization directly leads to criminality, as people are shaped by their environment. If people live in crime-ridden areas they are more likely to commit crime themselves.

While modern societies struggle with huge population growth, traditional hunter-gatherer societies remain small, averaging 20-50 people. As they are on the move, frequently in search of wild foods, women cannot carry more than one child at a time. For this reason they plan and space their babies four years apart (Sahlins, 1960).

It can be argued there is a lot to learn from the hunter-gatherers about how to care for the environment. There is enough evidence to show that modern lifestyles are not sustainable. Modern lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of ecosystems all over the world. Cossia explores how people in the modern world are over-using natural resources. She explains how the rapid urbanisation, deforestation, and increasing population, burden the globe and give an 'unbalance in the demand and supply of resources' (Cossia, 2011: 144). These attitudes are in direct contrast with hunter-gatherers, who live in sustainable ways. Hunter-gatherers leave a very small ecological footprint on the world, and they generally leave the earth as they found it. They have great reverence for the animals and plants around them. 'While they utilize these resources, they ensure that these resources would

continue' (Diamond, 2012:148), as they need these natural resources if they are to continue living off of their environment. They have an innate knowledge of the environment that they pass onto the next generation, such as the foods to eat and medicinal remedies.

Hunter-gatherers are relatively peaceful and do all they can to avoid conflict, though this can vary from tribe to tribe. Because they have so few possessions, most of the crime that is a feature of modern society is not a part of their culture as there is nothing to steal. Evidence indicates that hunter-gatherers and people from traditional societies have lives that are far more comfortable and fulfilling than ever imagined. Although they lack a lot of the creature comforts that modern societies enjoy, they also have less of the stresses that burden so many lives. Also, much of the world today lives in poverty. There are millions of people starving for food and without clean drinking water. Inequality is increasing alarmingly, with the divide growing between the wealthy and those barely managing to survive. In contrast, hunter-gatherers seem to have everything they require. As Sahlins said, 'We are inclined to think of hunters and gatherers as poor because they don't have anything; perhaps better to think of them for that reason as free' (Sahlins,1972:14). To bring things into perspective, Diamond warns against 'romanticizing' the past and longing for simpler times.

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What is meant by globalisation? Make an assessment of the arguments for and against globalisation in media theory.

Candia Northcote

Globalisation throughout the years has made several impacts on the advancement and influence on the media, both positive and negative. Many theorists have posited various explanations as to the impact it has had on society. Ulf Hannerz, in his writing about globalisation and the media, identifies the fact that through globalisation the media has had the opportunity to bring the world closer, through its ability to share information (Hannerz, 2002: 6). This information is shared from not only a western point of view but a local perspective where we get to understand how others live: as Hannerz points out 'such processes presume global sociability. Mediated visibility and interaction gives us more contemporaries' (in Lull, 2000: 231). This essay will therefore seek to explain what globalisation is by examining cultural imperialism and its modern day effects in the Middle East and the resistance to this dominant perspective. In doing so, it will provide an understanding of their culture and political views, not only from dominant western media houses but also providing reputable information to the world with media outlets such as Al Jazeera.

Globalisation is often described as a state of being where the world is an international forum moving towards an international community where political, financial, and cultural, migration and other advancement are shared together on a worldwide stage where everyone has equal access. It must be noted that globalisation is not something new that arose after the Second World War but has been going on throughout time, as there has always been movement of peoples and economy across national borders. Writer Dater points out that globalisation is 'not only a capitalist system' but is sustained by 'other factors such as jet planes, migratory labour, electronic and genetic communication technologies, new and revived diseases, criminal and terrorist activities, climate change etc.' (2006: 9). Although there are many arguments that suggest that globalisation is in the best interest of the world market, from the above definition of globalisation one can see that the internationalisation of institutions can come with its disadvantages. The major disadvantages are sometimes thought of to be the movement of people and the transfer of some cultures, especially through the communication medium. Therefore, there will always be an argument for and against globalisation because of the problems that can arise with this move for a larger world market. Globalisation and its impact on media and society is one that can be seen as both a positive and negative change that has evolved throughout the years with continued advancement of communication.

To explain this further is to understand globalisation from a media perspective. Therefore, media theory will be explained. Media theory is the understanding of how media is given to the masses through different communication and the way it has developed and affected society. The main basis of this theory is to investigate how society is altered by different media modernisations throughout time. Media theory is defined as, 'trying to understand the means of communication used not only historically such as light and smoke but mass means associated with today's electronic media technologies' (Laughey, 2007: 4). One can see that because of the continued change in how easy it is to communicate messages through different mediums through a shorter space of time there will be negative and

positive effects. In the media there have been the negative aspects of globalisation through cultural imperialism and information inequality. This essay, however, will specifically look at cultural imperialism and how it has affected poorer regions of the world by its messages through the media. It will also show how cultural imperialism played a part in some changes in these societies because of the concept of globalisation where local communities are now able to expose their culture to the international community which was not done before on such a large scale.

The media and its effect on society can be understood through the theory of cultural imperialism which is sometimes termed as an old way of perceiving how the dominant nation's media content are exported to developing countries and is being incorporated by and sometimes changes the culture that is more identifiable to the developed country. Media culturalism is explained by Schiller as 'the sum of the processes by which a peripheral society is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to or promote the values of the dominant system' (in Long, 2013: 258). This theory was posited at a time when there were not many other influences that were portrayed by the world by the media as it was mostly controlled by dominant countries. However, as will be discussed later in this essay because of the continued advanced in communication and the understanding of world cultures there has been a decline in this dominance. Firstly, the reason for this dominance will be discussed which was mostly down to information inequality and global structures that were in place to promote this practice through different communication medium.

The term Americanisation is used to explain the global relationship between the media and cultural imperialism. The influence in trade, culture, politics, technology and other components of globalisation was mostly purported by the American media. Many nations, especially after the Cold War, felt that the Americans were corrupt and were trying to instil their culture on these developing nations. Many theorists have posited the idea that the increased influence in American culture, especially in Europe and the Middle East, started during and continued after the Cold War. This is where one sees American starting to put down their idea of what is good for these nation states. 'Western leaders exploited their lure of their popular culture by creating radio and television stations to broadcast as much popular culture that was allowed to be broadcasted' (Crothers, 2007: 3).

Moving on from defining globalisation and explaining the theories and discourse on globalisation, the war on terror will be discussed to show how the western media have sold their invasion in the Middle East and how they have risen against this form of imperialism. The 'War on Terror' was started by the Bush administration to eradicate weapons of mass destruction in order to eliminate international terrorism. This pretext was sold to the world through the dominant American media, although it must be mentioned that they were some resistance from the masses. After this failed attempt the discussion shifted to the claim that these countries would fare better under a democratic political system. The propaganda of having democracy in the Middle East was not only relayed by the media but was also done through force by war which still persists to the present day. It could be said here that these countries, that are mostly Islamic, are being set upon to carry out a system of governance that is not necessarily viable with the area and the religious influences in these nation states. Scholars have also agreed with this discussion by saying democracy or the western understanding of how society should be governed is not always in the best interests of these countries: 'US mainstream media routinely treat this pretext as serious even in the face of the most obvious indications that democracy as it is understood in

western industrialised countries is a barely sustainable if not farcical ambition' (in Barrett, 2015: 79).

The theory and discussion on cultural imperialism by Schiller and others about one state being dominant while the others stay passive is not always true and is challenged by some aspects of globalisation and the world becoming smaller through information technologies and other mediums. Therefore, Schillers argument is contested: whereas the world might have been controlled by these dominant countries there is also significant resistance. The world has become a place where there is no single dominant system. Schiller's theory is criticised here because many believe that at the time when this theory was posited there had been major changes in the world system in terms of migration, communication, politics and financial markets. This idea is supported by social theorist who state that, 'just like business and politics, cultural life cannot be seen as the result of the domination of one way of life over others. 'Globalisation is more than the spread of one historically existing culture' (in Sparks, 2007: 140). At this point one can see that the technological change has enabled countries to also control what information is given to the world about them.

Continuing from this the war on terror and the idea of democracy in the Middle East has spread to other countries such as Afghanistan and to present day Syria. Throughout all of these countries the dominant media's strategy has been to declare a terrorist threat in order to justify the instillation of democracy by force. However, there has always been resistance by these nations as some of the information that is being given by the Western media does not always reflect the feelings of the populace. This again comes back to the idea of information inequality in terms of what is being fed to the masses and how this information is restricted. Many social theorists have made the argument that throughout these campaigns the main objective of the dominant countries is to sway public opinion. As was mentioned earlier, cultural imperialism comes in many forms in trying to set a particular culture on a society and not only by the obvious means that one might imagine in terms of popular culture but can be done through drastic measures as one can see now by the wars that are continuing to present day. Some evidence from researches show that overthrown governments were sometimes accepted by their country and already had structures in place that worked. The idea of them not being democratic is sometimes contradicted, especially when it comes to countries such as Iran which the western media continues to portray as a nation that has little democracy. However, this is not always necessarily true as it is sometimes said that, 'Iran today and since 1979 is a functioning democracy even vibrant where the clerics are constitutionally commanding which can be said for democratic countries such as the USA' (in Barrett, 2015: 107).

As the discussion above shows, the early idea of one dominant ideology is not as applicable when it comes to the spread of news and the understanding of a nation's political standpoint from a local perspective. This notion was supported by the UNESCO 1998 report that argued for the free flow of information and the respect for human right which was fuelled by the MacBride report that spoke about communication problems in modern societies (Long, 2012: 257). Through this, and the insistence by some of information inequality, media outlets arose from local states that provide news and coverages about events from a local perspective. In terms of the War on Terror, and how the Middle East is portrayed by the western media, there is one media outlet that so far been at the forefront in showing a local perspective. Whereas before there were only limited perspectives available from the media, with the improvement of faster internet new media communities worldwide are more enlightened. A media agency which may be seen to offer a local perspective is Al Jazeera, a broadcasting company that was established in Qatar in 1996.

Al Jazeera has opened new debates, not only on a world stage but from a local perspective, about understanding the point of view of the Middle East. This media outlet has enabled people from the Middle East to be more sympathetic to local causes and also to vent their frustrations through political debate, which is provided by this new form of information flow. This has affected the West's dominant position in controlling the information that is given to these nations. International organisations such as UNESCO also recognise the importance of the free flow of information by non-western countries: "the UNESCO perspective is that Al-Jazeera is an important tool in the free flow of ideas, which should then also inculcate democracy in the Arab region" (Long, 2012: 261).   A perfect example of how cultural imperialism and the media, especially from a political standpoint, has changed is evident in a newscast during the Iraq invasion:

> In 2003 the Americans proved unable to control the flow of information images, or reporting from Iraq. Al-Jazeera, al-Arabiya and other satellite stations reporting live from Iraq conveyed a war dramatically different from that emanating from the coalition (Lynch, 2006:6).

These images that were relayed to the masses enabled the world to understand the perspective of the Middle East. Like the criticisms that were levelled against the western media these local stations are often criticised as well for being anti-American or sometimes seen to push their own agendas. Al Jazeera specifically was criticised by the West for showing views of political extremists and popular members of known terrorists groups. It could be said at this point that although they have allowed these images to be broadcasted under the umbrella of press freedom some of these images are also provided through independent mediums as well. The internet has allowed people to self-publish what goes on in the world by using social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook, where short videos can be uploaded in a raw state to the masses. This free flow of information is also another element that can also challenge cultural imperialism theory about how the West can dominate poorer countries through the media.

In conclusion, throughout this essay arguments have been made for and against globalisation within media theory. It has been argued that cultural imperialism, specifically within globalisation, has contributed to the proliferation of dominant ideas to the masses. However, this theory is often challenged and will continue to be challenged by improved technologies and other factors regarding globalisation. Globalisation has allowed us to understand the world more through the media and to also be educated and understand new cultures not only through the broadcast media through the increase in people moving between continents. Globalisation will therefore eventually allow people to communicate more on a personal level with specific worldwide social issues. As Stevenson points out human beings 'will depend less upon a structurally determined identity and more on our shared capacity to be able to participate in public debates' (2014: 3).

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Is the position of women in more economically developed countries comparable to those in less economically developed countries?

Courtney Osbourne

Within this journal, the topic of gender, work and global hierarchies is one which will be explored in greater depth. More specifically, whether the position which women find themselves in concerning work is comparable or differs depending on their country of residence. The exploitation of workers in less economically developed countries (LEDCs) is a topic which has deeper foundations within mainstream society than initially assumed. The personal troubles which these workers face have resulted in a public issue (Mills, 1959). Due to the potential comparable conditions within more economically developed countries (MEDCs) and similar scenarios which prevent workers from excelling in their specific economic field, it is possible to argue that the experiences within MEDCs and LEDCs are not as dissimilar as once thought.

The first part of this journal will be exploring in further detail the experiences and lives of those working in countries which are less economically developed, whilst highlighting the gender differences between workers and the roles which they hold within the employment sphere. In the second half, the lives of those in MEDCs (primarily England) will be explored, whilst elucidating the similarities between the lives of these individuals in relation to those in LEDCs. This will therefore emphasise that exploitation is a world-wide phenomenon regardless of the financial stability within the respective country. With such a strong claim however, it is difficult to disregard the postmodern era occurring, where women are now experiencing a change in their societal position and have more opportunity and flexibility to arguably form their own identities. This would therefore suggest that the lives of those within MEDCs are not comparable with those in LEDCs within the 21st century.

The experiences for some women within the workplace in LEDCs are incomprehensible. The working hours and conditions which workers must endure in relation to the wages which they receive for their labour is unsustainable for their basic needs and survival. *'Stitch or Starve'* (Mezzadri, 2015) being the ethos which many female workers have to live by within these countries.

The Rana Plaza disaster (one of many disasters) highlights the conditions which some workers have had to face, in this case workers from Bangladesh. In 2013, around 1,100 workers died from the collapse of the Rana Plaza building, in which 41 people had charges placed against them (The Guardian, 2015). This tragedy occurred not only due to the poor working conditions, but also the poor health and safety regulations which had been put in place for these workers. For example, the building itself which was stable enough for it to be five storeys high had extra levels added to form a factory, which resulted in the building being thirteen storeys high:

> The accused will also face charges of violating safety rules in Rana Plaza … illegally built upper floors were transformed into factories… highlighted the grim conditions in Bangladesh's garment industry (The Guardian, 2015).

Due to these added floors, the Rana Plaza building eventually collapsed and took the lives of many exploited workers.

These are only some of the dangers which workers within LEDCs have to tolerate. If they do not go to work in these conditions, then they will not be able to meet basic human needs or support their families. This is the choice which they have to make every day; risk their lives and stitch, or refuse to stitch and starve (Mezzadri, 2015).

Country	Wages
Bangladesh	$.10–.16
Myanmar[a]	.10–.18
Pakistan	.21
Vietnam	.26
India	.26
Sri Lanka	.31
Indonesia	.34
China	.20–.68
Philippines	.94
Thailand	1.02

Figure 1: Hourly wages in $ in LEDCs
Source: Mandle J, 2003: 108

However, the wages which these workers and workers alike obtain from their extensive shifts is minimal. As is evident in figure 1, individuals within the undeveloped countries are working for as little as $0.10 per hour (Mandle, 2003), highlighting the severity of the situation these people are facing.

This crisis is not only evident in Bangladesh. There are many other countries which have had residents similarly struggling. Similar to the Rana Plaza disaster, there have been alternative incidents with the same outcome as this one, where many lives have been lost due to the lack of health and safety regulations protecting the employees. For example, The Zhili Handicraft Factory in 1993, located in China. The building was burnt down, with over 80 employees (all female but two) being trapped in the factory due to locked doors within the building whilst the workers were occupying the building. This lack of consideration over health and safety measure led to these 80 employees losing their lives (Ngai, 2005). In similar circumstances, a trainer factory roof in Cambodia which collapsed, resulted in another three lives being lost which 'drew fresh attention to safety problems in low-cost countries serving the world's apparel retailers' (McDowell, 2013:1), whilst also highlighting the apparent struggles in modern day for these workers. The question still remains as to why such simple regulations were not followed and due to these fatal decisions, so many workers have lost their lives.

These scenarios not only highlight the devastating consequences which can occur due to the lack of interest in health and safety regulations, but it also elucidates the lack of concern for these conditions in third world countries, from the eyes of those in more developed countries. Although these issues have gained the attention of the media, this clearly has not been enough for action to be taken. For example, it is stated in *The Guardian* that the well-known footwear brand Nike have items of clothing produced by over 700 of these factories, where it is claimed that 'hundreds of factories in 2003 and 2004 and found cases of 'abusive treatment...workers refusing to do overtime were punished' (Teather, 2005:1).

This example highlights how the personal troubles which these workers are having to endure, such as struggling to afford to live on such low wages and horrific working conditions, is now becoming a public issue (Mills, 1959). Our lives are interconnected, even if not first realised. The work which these individuals are completing are benefiting our way of life, whilst damaging theirs. Plummer (2010) quotes, 'Now much of your life can be seen as part of a chain which connects to others round the world. 'Spaces have become more and more globalised' (Plummer, 2010: 115). The lifestyle in which we live relies on the production of these items to continue. Without the manufacturing of clothing and many other essentials, our lives would not be known as they are today. This however leaves us facing a paradox. If we do not buy these items, our lives will no longer be the same- whilst preventing the production of items which these workers risk their lives to make. This presents itself as a promising alteration to change the lives of the employees for the better. However, the issue lies in the chance that these people will not be able to gain work in alternate employment, therefore leaving them in a worse state of financial crisis and sustainability compared to what they were in previously.

The question still remains as to why these workers are treated so inhumane and why they are not being given their basic human rights. One potential answer for this is due to gender, regardless of how discriminatory this may seem. The patriarchal setting which these women are in do not benefit their current positions or future prospects. Due to the ability to bear children and marry, the position of these women within the production line are seen as replaceable. 'The fact that only young women work in world market factories is also rationalized as an effect of their capacity to bear children- this naturally means they will be either unwilling or unable to continue in employment' (Elson and Pearson, 1981:93). Similarly, the expectations of women continuing their working career within these factories are limited. 'Where young women work in global factories the understanding is that workers only work till they get married' (Hewamanne, 2015: 3). This typical belief within third world countries is one reason as to why the position the women are found to be in is rated so poorly. The workers are only expected to stay until they start a family and the wages which they do receive is seen as surplus rather than a means of survival. Pollert (1981) makes the claim that women are essentially living in a man's world. The domination of men defines the position of women within that same society. Women 'were unsuitable for skilled or technical jobs, but had greater manual dexerity and patience, and had an aptitude for dull, repetitive work' (Pollert, 1981: 78). This attitude towards women is evident within these garment factories. . Hewamanne (2015) states that women are viewed as being more suitable for repeitive work, whilst also being more subsmissive within the workplace. Cavendish (2009) makes a similar statement which highlights the position of women within the workplace compared to the males within the factory setting:

> Women…were assemblers, doing the same job whether they were sixteen or sixty, all were 'semi-skilled', with no career ladder or promotion prospects, minimal training and the same low pay..All this contrasted with the circumstances of men (Cavendish, 2009: xii).

These views concerning women's status are evidently reflected within the workplace and therefore can be seen as one explanation as to why women are working in such poor conditions, with minimal pay and sparse health and safety regulations. These conditions are damaging to women's lives and without individuals in authorative positions focusing on these issues, these women will continue to live in a damaging situation.

This discussion highlights only some of the many problems workers in third world countries have to face and that their private troubles have led to an ever increasing public issue (Mills, 1959). The lives of workers in MEDCs will now be explored in more depth to discover whether there is potential comparisons to be drawn in relation to the lives of these workers, therefore suggesting a form of universality in their exploitative experiences. There are some characteristics of work for women which are evident in both LEDCs and MEDCs. For example, the idea of women only working for surplus income within LEDC is also evident within MEDC. Britain in 1982, men working full time was estimated at 11,803,000, whilst women working full-time in the same period of time and place was estimated at 5,106,000(Gregory and Winderbank, 2000). Similarly in France, men working full time in 1980 was estimated at around 12,709,000, whilst women in full time employment was around 7,060,000 (Gregory and Windebank, 2000). This highlights the potential view that women are not the 'breadwinners' and that their income is surplus to the mens wage. This is still evident in more recent years. For example, women in full time work in 1996 Britain accounted for 5,845,000 of the workers, whilst men accounted for 9,742,000 of the full time workers. Although the gap is evidently smaller (suggesting a potential change for the position of women) the relationship is yet to be equal (Gregory and Winderbank, 2000). This is similar in France, where 11,727,000 men accounted for full time employees compared to women at 6,970,000 (2000). This illustrates the first similarity between women living and working within LEDCs and those working in MEDCs. Although there is room to argue that this gender gap within the working sphere is different within the two countries, these statistics illustrate similar views: women should be primarily concerned with child bearing and raising children as opposed to earning money, elucidating a patriarchal view within society.

This view which women have upon them reinforces a second similarity between the less and more economically developed countries. This concept focuses around what constitutes as skilled work. As previously discussed, women within LEDCs at a young age are taught to sew and subsequently this does not constitute as skilled work. Due to this, the jobs which these women take on primarily focus around sewing and other supposedly unskilled work-reflecting in their poor pay. This is similar for women within the UK concerning the triple shift. Due to the expectations raised by men within the patriarchal society, women are expected to not only work part time, but they are expected to complete the housework and also care for the family and possible grandparents. This surplus work which women take on is also classed as unskilled. Due to this they spend on average 77 hours per week fulfilling job roles: paid and unpaid (Oakley, 1974). There is a clear relationship between both less and more economically developed countries when concerned with women's unskilled work, which subsequently leads to less pay and time within the working sphere. Due to this, it is possible to argue that the position of women within LEDCs is not as disimilar to the ideological conditions which prevail in more economically developed countries.

This relationship between the two could be related to the concept of the 'glass ceiling' which women may experience within this working sphere. This concept of the glass ceiling relates to the idea that women cannot break through into manergerial roles and subequently reach the higher roles and pay within the working sphere, or in other words 'an invisible barrier of discrimination whch makes it difficult for women to reach the same top levels in their chosen careers as similarly qualified men' (Browne, 2014:609). Within LEDCs, this is highly evident within the work force where as previously discussed by Cavendish (2009), women and men's jobs differ, from unskilled or semi-skilled work for women compared to men who fill the manergerial positions within garment factories. For

example, statistics have shown from the *Social Survey Division of the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys* in 1973 that the percentage of all establishments which do not employ women as managers is 46.8% (Hunt, 1975). Similarly, women within Britain who were employed in 1981 accounted for 2% of the manergerial roles whilst 27% of women employed worked within semi-skilled or unskilled jobs (Dex, 1987). This therefore highlights another similarity for women between those working within the less economically developed areas and those in the more economically developed countries. Here the main similarities concerning the position of women in both LEDCs ans MEDCs have been elucidated. The relationship between the two focus strongly on the patriarchal position which seems to be universal as illustrated above. The discussion will now briefly focus on the main differences between the two areas and highlight how the position of women is changing much more rapidly for women within MEDCs compared to LEDCs, therefore suggesting that the position both areas of the world are experiencing are no longer comparable.

The position of women within MEDCs in the 21st century is rapidly changing. Views which were once patriarchal and dominating are now seen as 'old fashioned' and disappearing. For example, in 1981 62% of all married women were also working within the labour force (Holloway, 2005).
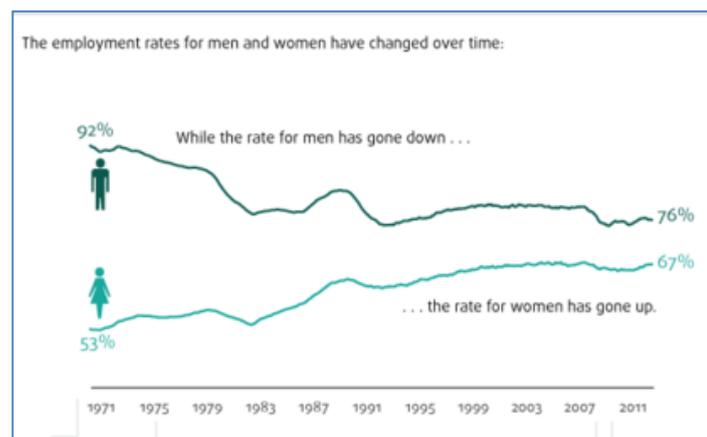
Fig 2: ONS, 2013 'Employment rates for men and women.'

Similarly, as is evident in figure 2, the employment rates within the 21st century have also changed. The employment rate for women has increased to 67% in 2013 from 53% in 1971. This differs from men whose rate of employment has decreased from 92% to 76% (ONS, 2013). These statistics alone highlight how the position which women had previously found themselves in is starting to change and that potentially women could find themselves as equal to men if this change continues.

This alteration in society for some women in MEDCs however can not be said to be the same for women within LEDCs where:

> The subordination of women at work facilitates the continued subordination of women in the domestic sphere by denying women both financial independence and an attractive alternative to motherhood (Humphrey, 1987: 90).

This suggests that there are varying experiences for those working in LEDCs and MEDCs and that the position of workers are arguably no longer similar in these two areas.

The previous universal experiences of female employees can arguably be said to have diminished. The position British women (and alternative MEDCs) have presently found themselves in, is based around a rapidly changing postmodern society, where identities can be formed and created by the individual, regardless of traditional gendered stereotypes and old fashioned dominant patriarchal ideologies. However, this transformation of view is not evident in LEDCs. Women are still experiencing poor working conditions and pay which gives them no option other than to '*stitch or starve*' (Mezzadri, 2015). This is evident in many crises which have occurred such as the Rana Plaza disaster and due to this, although these countries conditions concerning women was once comparable, the conditions which these women face now hugely differ and it seems difficult to believe that this will change until the public issue which is evident is faced and resolved.

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How have Tribal Associations Impacted Political Power, Status, and Class in Kenya?

Stephanie Omol

When considering class and status, sociological literature has been focal on race, income and role in a societal context. However, one approach which has proven to be dominant in African nations, has not been explored in depth; tribe. I believe that tribe has an important role in the discussion of status and class as it has a similar impact as race in African communities. In addition, similarly to how race impacts individual's outlook, tribe forms the individual's beliefs about self and the societal space. In this journal, I am going to explore how tribe has impacted Kenyans and consequently influenced the social hierarchy and structure in Kenya. The ideas in this journal will be supported by Bourdieu's theory of social space and symbolic power.

Class, Status and Social Hierarchies

Sociologists identified that individuals in a given social space cannot all be equal. More so, that there were different dimensions to the inequality present. Karl Marx understood this inequality by dividing the individuals into the working class and the bourgeois. This division was categorized by a division in economic acquisition, as this was important in a capitalist society. However, as societies evolved and developed, other aspects contributed to the divisions in a given social space. Especially in contemporary social spaces, where individuals come together from all walks of life, different factors contribute to this inequality. This journal will combine the works of Max Weber, Pierre Bourdieu and attempt to examine why the political and cultural divisions are contemporary practices in a social space, particularly the Kenyan social space using the elite theory.

Based on the seminal ideologies of Marx, various definitions of class dependent on context have been proposed. According to Weber, 'class is status grouping based on lifestyle, taste, and ethnicity' (Weber in Demireva, 2015). This definition was a preliminary definition as it identified the basis of class formation. Furthermore, it contributed to Bourdieu's ideologies which proposed that class was an exclusionary process, which segmented people based cultural differences. For clarification, this journal will define class as an inequality in power, expressed through economic and political possessions based on ethnic factors (Ayalon et al., 1986). In addition, it is significant to highlight, although class and status will be discussed simultaneously, they are not similar. 'Status is concerned with social estimation and prestige ...not synonymous to class' (Runciman, 1966 in Béteille, 1996:515). Social space can be defined as any environment in which individuals function, thus a society. Status is a matter of social ranking, based on the perception of worth in a social space (Lockwood, 1992). Lockwood mentions that when discussing class and status, it is important to notice that individuals belonging to the same class can have different status levels as status relates to extraneous factors. In addition, social classes are dictated by the factors deemed to be significant in that societal structure.

Bourdieu advocates in *Social Space and Symbolic Space* (1996) that language has an influential role in determining social class and status. Using Bourdieu's arguments, he suggests that contemporary societies have an elitist approach towards social hierarchy and

class (1996). From his point of view, intangible symbolic systems structure class and status hierarchies, specifically language.

Kenya and Tribe

My fascination with tribal stratification and symbolic power was initiated when I came across preventive measures contemporary mothers were taking to release their children of tribal stereotypes, and stratifications. It was an article in the Kenyan local newspaper, titled 'Mothers shun 'tribal names' for new-borns' (Appendix A). The article argued that modern Kenyan mothers were evading traditional tribal names, and inclined towards all Christian names to provide equal opportunities for their children. I found it shocking that individuals, specifically family units, were taking such precautions to combat tribalism. I considered it to be extreme because it facilitated for loss of culture for success. From this article it became apparent that tribal associations and opportunities are still dominating factors which influence class and status in Kenya. Although tribal stereotypes are mentioned in passing and often in the form of humour; satirical of the Kenyan class and status hierarchal structure.

Approximately nine years ago I had a first-hand experience with the extreme effects class and status divisions can have in a given social space. I was in Kenya during the post-election violence period. The experience was an eye-opening situation, as it demonstrated how social divisions can have destructive implications. Furthermore, I had a personal encounter with the unrest tribal association can have. My lineage can be traced back to one of the dominant tribes in Kenya known as the Luo. From past to present generations, the Luo have been known to have feelings of enmity with the other dominant tribe, the Kikuyu. This hostility was particularly apparent in my family when my cousin married a Kikuyu man. It caused unrest and discomfort in my family, especially for my grandparents, aunts and uncles, as they had experienced tribal segregation. Even though my family has accepted and overlooked tribe, it still is an important factor in the Kenyan community. I had intended to write my journal about tribal conflict and social space in Kenya, however, upon further research, I realised that the issue of tribalism and social life in Kenya is a broad topic, too broad to be covered in its entirety and understood in an essay. Thus, I decided to focus on politics and socio-economic status in relation to tribalism. Tribal identification is significant in the Kenyan social space, as tribal associations have beneficiary effects such as political power, economic advantages, and social advantages.

Social Space and Symbolic Power

Durkheim suggested that explanations as to how social life functions 'lie outside of consciousness of those who live in it' (Bourdieu, 1989:15). Most societal structures are intertwined, consequently, factors that affect individuals living in that society and the community as a whole cannot be singled out to a distinct factor. This journal will focus on tribe in association with political power and the implications it has on social life. However as aforementioned, multiple factors have contributed for political power to have such a significant hold, those factors such as economic status will also be explained. To fully comprehend how tribe can influence political power, Bourdieu's argument of social space and symbolic power will be employed.

Bourdieu argues that social life is controlled by those who participate in it (Bourdieu, 1989). Hence, agents of classification are selected by the individuals who are present in that society. Furthermore, Bourdieu argued that social structures start at the basis of all

relationships, communication or language in particular. Bourdieu mentions that economic and cultural differences have the highest capability to differentiate individuals, as it classifies them into constraints (Bourdieu, 1989). The economic difference would be a difference in income and job opportunities whereas cultural differences, in this context would be related to a difference in language. Bourdieu proposes that there are methods that people are higher status and class positions take to maintain their position in a given social space, this strategy is known as the strategies of condescension (1996). This is similar to the elite theory, which states that there is a clear distinction between the privileged and the others in a given society. Adding to this school of thought, Bourdieu identified that language was important to social hierarchies if used as an agent of classification (1996). Language has a significant role in controlling social rankings as there is a merge of class and tribal group (Ayalon et al., 1986). Bourdieu used the example of how social standing can be implied by an individual's accent (Bourdieu, 1996). Their social standing can then infer their social status and class as individuals classify themselves in social hierarchies to mimic their position in social standings.

In addition, the elite theory mentions it is important to notice if mobility between the hierarchal positions is feasible or impossible. Bourdieu, in his theory, mentions that for schemes of classification and social hierarchies to be functional, those in the social space have to accept their positions in on the hierarchy. If this is achieved, it results in symbolic power, which can be replicated in any aspect of social life. Symbolic power is obtained by those considered to be at the top of the social hierarchy and supported by those in lower ranking positions. There also conditions such as:

1. Symbolic power thrives when the social divisions between the hierarchal rankings are maintained and made evident by authoritative means.

2. The notion of social divisions is imposed using authority, which is then reflected in the social space (Bourdieu, 1989).

Through identification of the difference in a social space, it creates further divisions, resulting in authority and power to the group at the top of the social hierarchy.

Tribe and Political Power

The elite theory can be applied to the Kenyan social space, as it is evident that the two dominant tribes (Kikuyu and Luo) are privileged, while the other tribes struggle for dominance. From very early on, the tribal division is made clear.

Don't you wish you belonged to the president's tribe? – Atsango Chesoni

Speaking of her experience, Atsango Chesoni pointed out how her playmate felt it was important to identify that Chesoni belonged to a tribe which did not rank highly (Al Jazeera English, 2011). Bourdieu argued that institutions aim to maintain these divisions to maintain control. Throughout Kenya's history, divisions were encouraged for personal gain accordingly ethnic ties are exemplified for power gain scenarios. This was achieved through political campaigns which selected political candidates to represent tribes, referred to as the tribal politics. In addition, tribal settlements situated closely together formed alliances and promoted propaganda about the opposition. In addition to this, tribe was anecdotal and a calculated response, as it benefitted those in control to maintain control of the social space.

As aforementioned, Bourdieu (1996) argues that power is a replication and reinforcement of power relations in a social space. In Kenya, there is a convergence of class and tribal group; tribe has been used to dictate social standings. Furthermore, tribal stereotypes about employment roles for each tribe have been used to belittle and ridicule tribes in lower rankings in the social hierarchy. By indirectly influencing the mind-set of social space, dominant ethnic groups monopolize positions in higher power positions to restrict the mobility of other social groups. Leadership is chosen based on a sense of commonality, and not by the best selections for the choice. Although discreet, there is preferential treatment for individuals belonging to the same tribe. This is turn restricts the symbolic and political power to a certain tribe.

Over the past fifty years of Kenya's history, three of the four serving presidents have been members of the Kikuyu tribe. This created the mentality that those belonging to the Kikuyu tribe, are of higher social status and class than those belonging to other tribes. 'Power can only exist if supported or chosen by the group' (Bourdieu, 1996: 24). Politics has become an issue of tribal pride, and those in power abused it to favour their kin. This outlook is then translated in the workplace, as it becomes a matter of ethnic prestige. Ethnic ties are exemplified when the ethnic group is seen to be in competition with one another. Society has to agree on ethnic prestige classifications for it to be influential and affect social status. Consequently, this effect of favouritism then trickles down into the socio-economic hierarchy and affects individual status ranking people according to tribe. Accordingly, tribal solidarity has become associated with status, class, political and economic benefits. Thus to escape the tribal segregation, loss of ethnic identity is implied by the social systems as a solution to get an equal opportunity. Tribe is used to create social divisions and used as an identification factor for class and status. The tribes collaborating with the Kikuyu are considered to be in higher ranking position than those in opposing tribes. This is due to the fact that the symbolic power of tribal ranking is replicated in politics, as the leaders elected are of the Kikuyu tribe. Thus, to be able to achieve social equality in class and status, a unified identification has to be formed.

Conclusion

Nine years later, it would be premature to say that Kenya has taken on a new face. December 2007, was a rude awakening for most Kenyans, as it forced a nation to realise one, if not its largest hindrances towards development. Although measures have been taken to attempt to reduce the effects tribe has on class and status, there are still opportunities for it to improve. This journal may have focused primarily on Kenya, however, this analysis of how tribe affects social life can be highlighted across African nations. The arguments made in this journal, are observations not to imply that people of a certain tribe are not working in prestigious jobs, but to highlight that tribal stratification is used to benefit those belonging to the respective tribe by monopolizing power and status structures. There are historical factors which contribute to this segregation, however, this cannot be identified as the seminal reason. More so, Kenya is attempting to change laws which advocate for equality, but laws cannot dictate the mind frame of a whole society. The notion of tribal hierarchy has fuelled multiple conflicts, the solution would be to abandon divided identities, de-tribalize politics and other aspects of social life. This area of class and status has not been explored in depth, and I believe that it could provide an answer as to why there is constant political and social unrest on the African continent.

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Appendix A

A: Mothers shun 'tribal names' for new-borns

Oginga Odinga Teaching and Referral Hospital on December 25. As most mothers at the maternity ward struggled to comb through the names of their families to give to their newborns, as per the norms of the Luo culture, Ms. Jakoyo was thinking of how to fight tribalism through names. As is common in the country today, some names are associated with tribes and people have been keen on identifying others people's tribes by their names, rather than use them for identification. Jakoyo decided long before delivery to avoid a tribal name so as to spare her children from tribal discrimination, which seems to tear the country apart, especially during elections. A few minutes after midnight, Jakoyo brought to the world a bouncing baby boy and gave her four names, all Christian. 'I have decided to name my baby Santa Roby Aaron Sam. I have been a victim of ethnic profiling and would not wish to have my children face the same. We have decided as an extended family that we want to avoid tribal names,' she said. The same idea had crisscrossed Mary Awino's mind, who was three beds away from Jakoyo at the same ward. Just like Jakoyo, Awino decided to name her baby boy Fidel Daniels. Even though she was under pressure to name the baby after her kin, she picked on the father's Christian name, Daniel, and modified it to Daniels. 'We had decided to avoid the ethnic names and agreed as the baby's parents to contribute a name each. My husband proposed Fidel as I picked on Daniels.

It is common these days for people to have all Christian names and for us, it is not a fashion but a way of just avoiding the stereotypes that come with the tribal names,' she said. Official names the same opinion was held by Winnie Nyakiti, who also delivered on the same day. Nyakiti named her bouncing baby girl Rhiab Emmanuela. 'I may use 'those other names' back at home but her official names to be indicated in her official documents will be Rhiab Emmanuela. People have gone overboard with tribal names and it is time we use neutral names, which do not stir any stereotypes at first sight,' said Nyakiti. However, according to then Luo Council of Elders Chair Ker Opiyo Otondi, the move to avoid ethnic names is likely to erode the African culture. Otondi said the names are part of culture as they were formulated to represent various parts of the traditions practiced by different communities. For example, the Luo community used names to remember events and happenings or even to explain the occurrences. 'No amount of frustration should make our people abandon their culture,' said Otondi. The position was also held by Kisumu human rights activist Betty Okero. 'If naming is done for the purpose of hiding from your origin, then it may not help much because documentations like the national identity cards among others takes people back to their villages, and many opportunities are tagged with the cards,' said Okero.

Radicalisation
The views of the Non-Radicalised and the media – Prejudice or pure repugnance

In Tocqueville's Democracy in America, the US is asserted to be a prime example of a democracy however he also highlights its weaknesses. Do you think Tocqueville's observations on US democracy are still valid today?

Zoe Pope

In Tocqueville's 'Democracy in America' he refers to America as a prime example of a great democracy, one filled with equality and liberty. He links this back to how man has developed, and thus, the European settlers are more likely to not repeat the same mistakes as their compatriots in Europe, who are ruled by a despotic and feudal system. In this essay I will look at the purpose behind Tocqueville's study of America, why America can be seen as a good and a bad example of a democracy. Then I will determine whether these principles of American democracy are still relevant today, and how closely linked the beginning and the present are in creating 'the land of the free'.

During Tocqueville's analysis throughout the 'Democracy in America', he highlights how the beginning and the present of a country are key to solving the forming 'vice and virtues' (Tocqueville, 1830: 27). Further, Tocqueville goes onto explain how 'the man is so to speak a whole in the swaddling clothes of his cradle' (Tocqueville, 1830: 28). Here, Tocqueville signifies the importance of the starting place of America, its first years as a country determines how it acts in the future. This is demonstrated in the race relations between 'the three races' (Tocqueville, 1830: 302), the 'white man, the European, the man par excellence: below him appear the Negro and the Indian' (Tocqueville, 1830: 303). Clearly this shapes the viewers eyes at how the white man's need for dominance could actually have been its downfall, and also its barrier to true freedom and enlightenment. Therefore it could be suggested that the US democracy would have been better shaped by the formation of the Native Americans and Indians rather than the Europeans.

Firstly, the British Europeans religiosity clearly defined how 'Americans' set their customs, their laws and their level of freedom. After escaping England 'because of religious quarrels that agitated the Christian world' (Tocqueville, 1830: 29) they found themselves turning to Christianity as it 'emerged as a vital cultural force for coping with the consequences of change, maintain recognisable boundaries' (Tocqueville, 1830: 56). Here it shows that by maintaining 'recognisable boundaries' they could fix the bad parts of European centralism and could use their own beliefs to change the type of democracy needed: 'general principles on which modern constitutions rest… were all recognised and fixed by the laws of new England' (Tocqueville, 1830: 39). Also, religion was such a key factor in the political development of the US, Tocqueville stated that religion was the first political institution as 'it does not impart a taste for freedom; it facilitates the use of it' (Udall, 2002: 103). Thus religion was believed to have encouraged freedom.

Conversely you can argue that religion was the biggest importance in separating the white man from creating a truly just and equal society. The Europeans believed that god had sent them to America for religious freedom and that 'he hath guided his people by his strength to his holy habitation and planted them in the mountain of his inheritance' (Tocqueville, 1830: 33), but they never believed Native Americans deserved the same rights, as 'god' had already placed them on this religious persecution free ground. This links back to the white

man's supposed profound cultivation of the mind (Tocqueville, 1830: 29); Tocqueville and none of the original settlers gave much consideration to the cultural relativism of the native Americans and the Indians, as they clearly had enough intelligence to maintain themselves an infrastructure and food resources over a large land mass for many years; it was only when British settlers began westward expansion that they became weaker. This weakness was only as a result of the Europeans, not the Native Americans capability as a race. Linking with this is the persecution of the Native Americans and the Indians. For many indigenous peoples 'the European settlement was an invasion: contact with Europeans resulted in a population decline from an estimated four to five million before contact to one million in 1800, owing to war and disease' (Ngai and Gjerde, 2013: 36). This oppressive nature is demonstrated with an almost 75% drop in the number of indigenous people. How can this be seen as necessary when the US is big enough to accommodate all races of people with all freedoms? Evidently the Europeans were not as democratic as they believed. Plus, when looking at the present day, it is clear that Native Americans still have an unsubstantiated place in American society, as they were manoeuvred into reservations over the Union in the 1890s. Evidence suggests that 'reservations that combined multiple sub-tribal bands when they were formed are 30% poorer today' (Dippel, 2014: 2131). The long term impact of the displacement of Native Americans has seen their culture fade, and has led them to a less prosperous life, similar to Puritans in England who left so that they could openly identify with their religion.

Additionally, the freedom expected by Europeans is circumstantial when we look at how 'freedom' was denied and how it was applied in American society. Firstly the settlers defined freedom as seeing 'more notions of rights' (Tocqueville, 1830: 29), as they were ruled under Charles the 1st as Protestants, they would fully be able to live in liberty as any form of Christian. Tocqueville even stated that they had 'more principles of true freedom spread among them than in most of the peoples of Europe' (Tocqueville, 1830: 29); as a result he found that they always had more internal freedom and more political independence than the colonies of other countries.

Moreover, it can be argued that the structure of the US from small states to a Union was imperative in its success in the late 19th century and its status as a superpower in the present day. Tocqueville examined how 'the township had been organised before the country, the country before the state, the state before the union' (Tocqueville, 1830: 40). He devised this as a way of keeping social solidarity and cohesion between different states, as all states were originally devised with separate interests and varying beliefs on religion and politics. For example, Michael Hereth explains how 'a nation may establish a free government, but without municipal institutions, it cannot have the spirit of freedom' (Hereth, 1986: 35). It could be argued here that this made the US a stronger democracy as the people came first, not the power of government. Whilst in comparison, the English king Charles the 1st ruled under the belief of the divine right of kings, in America there was more equality and a renewed belief that there can be liberty.

Likewise, as English European settlers expanded, their states became a reflection of the people who lived in those states: 'emigrants who came at different periods....governed themselves according to different principles' (Tocqueville, 1830: 29). Equally, 'emigrants had no idea of any superiority whatsoever over others' as 'poverty aswell as misfortune are the best guarantees of equality known among men' (Tocqueville, 1830: 30); thus reinforcing how the US was meant to be about equality and liberty, something which would later follow in revolutions in France and Britain.

European settlers who went to Virginia were considered gold seekers, 'people without resources or without good conduct' who's 'spirits troubled the infancy of the colony and rendered its progress uncertain' (Tocqueville, 1830: 30-31). Here, we start to see the fragmentation of the American people, people who sought gold were labelled as 'troubled' whilst those who sought religious freedoms were called 'enlightened'. Settlers from Virginia also introduced slavery, which had a profound effect on the laws, character and future of the South. It could be argued that the white mans need for superiority and dominance is still prevalent in America today, and that this has led to racism. Writer Manning Marable found that 'black men are imprisoned at a rate of 6.4 times more than white men' (Marable, 2015: xiv) and 'slavery, coercion of the most primitive kind' (Marable, 2015:94). Clearly this is not a just and equal society; black individuals are still targeted unfairly for their skin colour and are not treated in the same way as white individuals. Whilst in New England they were mostly well to do middle class families who proportionately had a greater amount of enlightenment among those people, they believed that gods had sent them into America so they could live in religious freedom. In Connecticut in 1650, they drew from sacred texts to make laws. Almost no sin was unpunished and the law penetrated 'into the domain of conscience' (Tocqueville, 1830: 38) every day. Legislators forced attendance at divine services, and forgot about the religious freedom he fought for himself in England.

Furthermore, you could argue that 'participation in local parties, which provides practical experience to all citizens and not only to chief administrators and leading politicians... which continually renews the citizens spiritual and political strength through their own experience' (Hereth, 1986: 37). One example in modern US is that the renewed belief in the political system happened when Barack Obama became president, gaving hope that everyone had a chance of changing the political system and that racism was fading. Additionally, Tocqueville states that freedom 'considers religion as the safeguard of mores: and mores as the guarantee of laws and the pledge of its own duration' (Tocqueville, 1830: 44). Arguably, religion holds more power over freedom, thus the European settlers have embedded the same type of power as in England, where Charles the 1st creates his political doctrine through his religious belief. Tocqueville confirms this when he states 'Puritanism was not only a religious doctrine' but also 'blended at several points with the most absolute democratic and republican theories.' (Tocqueville, 1830: 32). Yes, they have 'freedom' but at what cost to the rest of their lives. It would be ambiguous to claim the Europeans have a monopoly of truth and freedom, when they cannot understand their part in this new society. Along with this it is said that 'if in a democracy the desires, opinions and goals of the great majority prevail, there is a danger that freedom will be sacrificed by that same majority for other goals' (Hereth, 1986: 23). Consequently, to be free implies that there are no rules or limitations; however, for a society to function and grow there must be rules. Therefore, this newfound freedom, will ultimately always lead to control.

Tocqueville's belief that there is 'no literary genius' in the US who 'exists without freedom of mind, and there is no freedom of mind in America' (Tocqueville, 1830: 245) is reminiscent of modern day America. For example, in 2003, American country band Dixie Chicks expressed their views against President George Bush's decision to go to war with Iraq. As a result, their music was pulled from many playlists, which almost ended their careers because people believed they were being unpatriotic (BBC: 2003). This suggests that there is no freedom of opinion or mind: there is only freedom within the boundaries they set you. Another significant way that the US is not a prime example of a democracy is how Tocqueville suggests that people can have good intentions, but power can sometimes

override this: 'the irresistible power is a continuous fact, and its good use is only an accident' (Tocqueville, 1830: 245).

In summary, it can be argued that democracy is flawed in whatever society, in any generation. Although it is clear that the democracy in the US was based on more principles of freedom than any other seen since, it did not stop America becoming the capitalist, centralist democracy it is today. Tocqueville himself said that 'America appears to be more an anomaly'; than an example of the general pattern of the future' (Koritansky, 1986: 5). Overall, Tocqueville's observations on the US are not still valid today, and I would argue that his belief that America was the 'new' democracy was overly ambitious.

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Radicalisation
Views of the non-radicalised and the media:
Prejudice or pure repugnance?

Georgia Searle

Introduction

In today's society religion is one of the most captivating subjects of debate. I have been exceedingly interested by religion and the effect that it has on individual's lives. Although I am not personally religious, throughout my life I have prayed in time of need to someone who may or may not exist. My existing knowledge from RE and general reading has further developed my desire to study and expand my awareness of the variation within religion. The consistent flow of media and discussions in institutions such as schools and work places has initiated my fascination with religion, in particular the Muslim religion.
My background reading has led to my profound interest in the Muslim faith. Journals, newspaper articles and books such as *Radicalisation in Western Europe* by Carolin Goerzig and Khaled Al-Hashimi, *Visibly Muslim* by Emma Tarlo and *What does Islam say about terrorism?* By Waheed have contributed to my growing interest in this specific topic. A topic that is in the spotlight of discussion is Islam and the role of radicalisation. Representation of this topic is highly vacant at this moment in time; there are uncountable newspaper articles, documentaries and films based on this subject. My awareness of this new, uprising issue and the continuous updates from the news and particular articles was what drew me to write this journal on 'Radicalisation, The view of the non-radicalised and the media – prejudice or pure repugnance?'

A sociological analysis

As a sociological issue, radicalisation is now a public issue rather than a personal issue because it is increasing in the society (HM Government, 2006). In *The sociological Imagination,* C Wright Mills presents social issues as personal troubles that become public issues which need identifying and given attention from organizations, rather than just a personal verdict from the individual. The link between Mills and radicalisation is that before 2001 and the first attack on the US, the process of being radicalised was only a personal issue because society was unaware. In comparison, today it is on a much larger scale, making it a public issue. There are now public threats on Muslims, Christians and other westernised religions, therefore it is now a public issue that the media presents and the government is addressing (2010 to 2015 government policy: Counter-terrorism, 2015). Islam is the second largest practising religion in the world second to Christianity. Estimations from a demographic study show the figure exceeding to 1.57 billion Muslims living in more than 200 countries (Mapping the global Muslim population, 2009). Is this an attempt at gaining the number one spot in terms of religion or is it purely acts of terrorism?

Brief history of the events

Personally I feel that the terrorist attacks in the US on September 11th 2001 catapulted the Muslim religion and extreme ideologies into the media within western society. In day-to-day news the discussion of Islam is often negatively portrayed, in juxtaposition with words such as radicalisation, extremism, terrorism and Jihadi. Unfortunately, these terms are

associated with Islam, and this can be accounted for by the media and general moral panics which lead to preconceptions and more importantly misjudgements. The terrorists involved with the 2001 bombings Osama Bin Laden, Al-Qaeda and the Taliban all adhere hatred towards western ideas including consumerism, capitalism, modernisation and individualism. The rejection of the west is what began the rise of radicalisation. London was the target for the second attack following the catastrophic loss of life and destruction to economy and impact within western society post 9/11. What fuelled these attacks was firstly a group of radicalised Muslims who feel hatred towards the west and "the view that Western aggression is the cause of the current conflict is a second feature of the radicalisation process" (Ranstorp, 2009). Muslim identity is another reason why radicalisation is rapidly processing, the former leader of al-Muhajiroun known as Omar Bakri Muhammed presented his views that:

> The Islamic identity has been forced to make a stand. We are not going to be integrated. Some Muslims believe they are British citizens. It's really very strange. Either you migrate, or you prepare yourselves.

Focusing on this issue, radicalisation here has many reasons for it's processing. Although the hatred from the radicalised was the first issue, Europe as a whole are partly to blame for the shaping of the Muslim identity and the pressure to join a community e.g. the radicalised in order to feel they belong.

What does Radicalisation mean?

The term radicalisation was introduced after the 9/11 incident, however it has not always referred to extremity. It originated from the Latin word radix which in English translates to 'root'. This helps to explain why radicalisation can be described as the "root cause of terrorism" (Goerzig and Al-Hashimi, 2014: 27). To define this term using one definition is extremely challenging, "Radicalisation can be described as the process whereby individuals turn extreme-or in other words, radical" (ibid, 2014). However, to different people this term adjusts, David Mandel (2014) argues that violence is not always a result of radicalisation and "radicalisation cannot be a sufficient cause of terrorism because most radicals are not terrorists".

As a sociology student it is clear to say that everyone is entitled to their own beliefs, values, and morals within the guidelines of social norms. However, in today's societies there are many individuals from all faiths that are very much oppressed, segregated, and vulnerable in society which leads to the process of being radicalised in some cases. The stories and images portrayed by the media allow the west to see the 'radicalised' as the vulnerable and the less imperative individuals. A case which supports evidence for the above statement is the conviction of Trevor Mulindwa aged 21. Mr Mulindwa was radicalised following a stay in a psychiatric hospital meaning that at this moment in time he was vulnerable. His basic understanding of Islam was minor meaning his main focus point was violence. The radicalisation process was online via terrorist websites and then progressed further resulting with him trying to leave the country to join a terrorist group. Radicalisation is beginning to show it is targeting vulnerable Muslims that have nowhere to turn; the propaganda of this process is leading these individuals to Jihadi terrorism and pure violence. In 2014 militants kidnapped 276 schoolgirls using a terroristic approach instilling fear and using all aspects of physical and psychological torture. William Hague, the foreign Secretary "condemned Boko Haram for targeting the most vulnerable people in the

cruellest way" (Blair, 2015). These extremists are using alternative approaches in their recruitment drives and increasing their numbers.

The continuous footage and news articles on Jihadi Terrorism is virtually terrifying the Muslim communities. In the article *I'm a Muslim Women, Mr Cameron: Here's what your radicalisation speech means to me,* Siema Iqbal explains to David Cameron how she feels about the misunderstanding of Muslim communities and the labelling towards Muslims. "Muslims and Islam have been vilified and demonised by society and the media" the prejudice views enforced by the media have "created the link between the word Muslim and Terrorism" (Iqbal, 2015). In people's minds today the words terrorism, Jihadi and extremism circulates fear and hatred towards genuine Muslim communities. Siema Iqbal is one of many Muslims who are strongly against the Islamic movement and her letter addresses many serious issues to David Cameron, which suggests how the media and Britain today make British born Muslims feel unwanted in this country (see Appendix A). Siema Iqbal is just one Muslims who feels this way however how many other Muslims feel judged and demonised by Society?

Prejudice

My journal is concerning the views and opinions of Muslims facing prejudice views; therefore I am aiming to gain an indication of problems encountered by Muslims and their communities and the effects of the media's representation of this topic. Researching the Muslim faith has educated me on the many different aspects that could be researched and discussed. I have focused my research on the most prominent aspect of the Muslim religion with regards to the media interest. The journal will only just begin to identify the issues and opinions of radicalisation as it has global interest. I have deducted the relevant information from the magnitude of the information available within aspects of this subject, taking into account the word allowance and time constraints. Although I believe it will give not only a clearer, more in depth understanding of the issues, but the reader will view ideas from Muslims who are concerned for their status within society and the view of the media presenting the information to the world.

The constant stigmatization of Muslim communities enforced by political parties is a key contribution to the process of radicalisation. "Young Muslims are beginning to feel detached from society and search for an identity" (Ranstorp, 2009: 31). The lack of belonging and the opportunity to contribute to society is increasing the involvement in the radicalisation process, "the extremist Islamism offers these people new meaning". The separation from society and the prejudice seen to affect Muslims is the main cause for changing these people and turning to radicalisation as the answer. Media is one of the key ingredients triggering the prejudice views against this faith, they have "often been charged as being the oxygen of terrorism" (Ranstorp, 2009: 15). To resolve these issues and help prevent the radicalisation of individuals the media and the government need to choose words and images that will not direct the public to be prejudice and prevent the feelings of repugnance against innocent Muslims and their communities.

Muslims in Europe today are facing extreme challenges regarding forms of prejudice and hatred towards their faith and the feeling of not belonging. A study carried out at an Islamic school in London with 30 participants ranging from 14 to 17 years old had a surprising conclusion. The participants were all students of a non-European immigrant background and they were asked whether they felt European, the response from majority of the children was that "they felt neither British nor European, but as nationals of their country

of origin" (Ranstorp, 2009: 45). The most surprising outcome was that they were all born and raised in Britain; however, they could not explain why they felt this way. This evidences the lack of belonging and the segregation of the Muslim religion in Britain and Europe today.

The research I used for this journal made me focus heavily on the views of the non-radicalised Muslims, the view point of their feelings and understandings of how radicalisation is affecting them and how they believe Muslims are being targeted to join the extreme radicalised group. I put an article on the internet and got in touch with Khurram Tahir, who was happy to participate in my interview and talk about the issues surrounding this topic area. Khurram is a British born Muslim of a Bangladeshi family, he grew up in Southend. My aim at the end of the interview was to have an in depth understanding of how Khurram felt about radicalisation and the views people have on his religion because of grouping them in one category with the radicalised. This was achieved because as a Muslim who completely disagrees with the actions of those who are radicalised I was able to observe the passion he expressed in this topic and the views he strongly portrayed. Khurram was very passionate about this topic and his answers evidenced this. The media in Khurram's eyes were one of the main reasons for the prejudice views towards Muslims and the fact that people are ignorant and do not have an understanding of their religion to know what is right and wrong. The answers received from Khurram's semi-structured type interview have widened my knowledge and understanding about the Muslim religion and the views on the radicalised. One issue that was addressed clearly was that Muslims are peaceful, peaceful to nature, animals, family and friends. The extremist groups that are carrying out these barbaric attacks are not Muslim. Khurram clearly suggests that they are not of the Islam faith, because the religion and the lifestyle is peaceful and promotes calm and caring, the complete opposite to the violent and terroristic approach that is associated with the members of ISIS (See Appendix B).

"We decreed upon the Children of Israel that whoever kills a soul unless for a soul or for corruption [done] in the land - it is as if he had slain mankind entirely. And whoever saves one - it is as if he had saved mankind entirely" (Quran, Surat al-ma'idah [5: 32-42]. Appreciating the interpretation of text, this statement suggests that the Islamic religion does not tolerate murder. I have interpreted this statement to read that if Muslims kill one then they have killed many, this follows the guidelines of both commandments in the Bible and the Quran 'Thou shall not kill' (Submission, 2016). The heinous crimes on humanity that the Islamic state group have committed have had impact on the world and further created fear in the western societies. In contrast, Khurram's views suggesting that the extremists are not part of the Islam faith relates directly to the statement within the Quran that represents the commandment against killing. It is evident within the Quran to not kill, meaning that the terrorist groups are not following the religions values.

Pure Repugnance

Pure repugnance is becoming vigilant through forms of media, newspaper articles, and books and even through the news. Muslims are being blamed for these attacks however through research I have learnt to understand that these extremists who carry out violent, terrorist acts are not Muslims, because the word Islam in fact means peace therefore an Islamic terrorist is an oxymoron. One cannot be considered a Muslim and carry out such acts as brutally killing innocent people because this is not part of the religion. As Khurram mentioned in the interview, Muslims are peaceful people and they despise violence and live a good and honest life. The term repugnance is a strong word meaning hatred and in this

period of time due to the radicalisation process and the extremist branch off of the Muslim religion a lot of hatred is being directed at this Religion as a whole. Studies have been carried out and resulted in a shocking result, for Muslims living in the UK "the threats of violent assault have become the normal experience and expectation" (Versl and Britain, 2016). The report shows that "most Muslims now feel they are hated" (Ibid, 2016) therefore, are public views prejudice or is it shifting towards pure repugnance?

Conclusion

Through the research I have conducted and the interview I carried out this journal has widened my knowledge on not only the views of the non-radicalised and the impact of the media but the values of the Muslim religion. Lack of education, non-official media hype and fear are all contributing factors to the prejudice exhibited in society towards this religion. However, the feelings of repugnance by certain groups and individuals are becoming more public in everyday life.

It is unfortunate that in the world there are cruel, cold blooded human beings, which cause destruction and chaos to those who abide to society's norms and values. However the individuals who are committed to the violent radicalisation are painting a horrific picture of the Muslim faith and broadcasting this worldwide to cause fear and panic to the western world. This picture is not only including the radicalised but the faithful Muslims also, which is causing many problems and concerns within Muslim communities. I believe that the media is the most prominent factor involved in the prejudice views that are put on pure Muslims. Khurram as a practising, faithful Muslim feels like he is judged and viewed as possessing the same values in life as the terrorists. The research I have covered and deducted from such a wide range of resources has proposed that both pure repugnance and prejudice views are relentlessly directed at the non-radicalised, however recently with the media hype repugnance is becoming increasingly centralised, situating the Muslim religion in the spotlight in today's societies.

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Return to CONTENTS

Participant observation of a public ritual and analysis

Adam Wells

On a cold Sunday morning in November, as the traditional church bells rang out into the modern High Street, a steady stream of worshippers of all ages, classes and ethnicities entered the grand doors of the historic St Peter's Church in Colchester. Dressed in highly contrasting outfits reflecting their demographic, the old, very much formal in dresses and suits, the young, more modern and casual in jeans and t-shirts. Upon entering the church, a friendly and welcoming atmosphere was generated through the warm colours of green, red and brown combined with the smell of coffee as members of the congregation happily socialised and caught up with friends. The building itself consisted of large, white arches flanking the aisle, creating a sense of openness, leading down to a grand golden Lectern in the form of an eagle taking flight, next to which stood a 17th Century oak pulpit. One thing that I noted was the absence of stained glass windows; instead, the light shining through helped develop these feelings of openness as well as purity.

Following on from the initial socialising of the congregation over coffee and biscuits, in which as an outsider I was made to feel extremely welcome, we took our seats. Key information needed for participation in the service (order of service, passages from the bible and the lyrics to the included hymns) was then handed out by a female member of the congregation. Promptly at eleven, the Reverend, Mark Wallace, dressed in a formal grey suit and white clerical collar stood at the golden lectern and addresses the congregation with news of the successful ventures of the church from the previous week, the arrival of the support boxes filled with food and clothes for refugees being one example. Alongside more central issues, the inclusion of humour around the new system for serving tea and coffee (coffee to the left, tea to the right) in the hope of avoiding the carnage of the week before invoked a collective response of approval from the pews. This was followed by a short introductory speech which required all present to join in with phrases such as 'Let us rejoice and be glad in it'. Regarding congregation participation, almost immediately after the speech had concluded we were instructed to rise in preparation of the first hymn, entitled 'Great is thy Faithfulness'.

The congregation was also informed about the experimental use of a keyboard amplified through speakers lining the pews as opposed to the traditional organ. The collective singing of hymns is one significant way of expressing dedication and sacrifice to God amongst all members of the congregation and it helps to develop this theme of equality. A few individuals managed to elevate their voices above the rest which gave an impression of further dedication. Following the opening hymn the Reverend read the 'First Form of Penitence'; this focused on the repentance of sins and, as a result, it required the participation of the whole congregation, something which developed as a central theme throughout the service. This took the form of a conversation between the members of the congregation, who were asking to be forgiven for their sins, and the Reverend, who essentially forgave the congregation on behalf of God.

With a brief pause, a female congregation member, seemingly central to the community revolving around this church – and the same woman who handed out the necessary information prior to the ceremony – made her way up to the lectern. She read a passage from the Bible, John 5:24-29, which focused on the promise of eternal life, a central aspect

to this religion. Upon making her way back to her family in the pews, there was a moment of silence as I suspect many of the congregation reflected on the reading in relation to their own lives.

In keeping with ensuring the congregation were up to date with not just the activities of the church itself, but members of the church community, an older member, John, was invited up to speak about his personal life. The older gentleman, alongside the man with special needs he cared for, dressed in the aforementioned formal attire, discussed information surrounding the death of his wife from pneumonia and thanked the congregation for their support in the grieving process. This speech was concluded through the joint singing of another hymn, 'There is a redeemer'. This was closely followed by the children leaving with another member of the congregation, Andy, to the crèche.

Following on from the approximate two minute break taken to allow all the children to leave, the Reverend informed the congregation of the next aspect of the service in the form of the Creed, whereby in unison all members of the congregation read aloud the 'Creed' or the basic fundamentals of the Christian religion with phrases such as 'and he will come to judge the living and the dead'. This, alongside the third hymn of the service – 'O Lord our God, how majestic' – reinforced this community cohesion and participation, central to the survival of the church as a whole. In this way, for the congregation, the Creed is more likely to hold significant meaning and to reinforce the core values of the faith.

A second key theme noticeable throughout the service was that of repetition. Following on from these prayers, the same female congregation member made the journey to the lectern at the front to read a second passage from the Bible, this time Genesis 8:20-9.17 which formed part of the continuous serialisation of these passages based around Noah's Ark; this particular passage focused on sacrifice. This passage ensured both continuity across the weekly service and within the service itself. The fourth and penultimate hymn, 'Jesus Christ, I think Upon', which featured an identical format as the ones preceding it, had a more contemporary feel when contrasted with the early hymn of 'Great is thy Faithfulness'. Upon the conclusion of the hymn the Reverend made his way up to the top of the oak pulpit. He addressed the congregation and explained that the sermon about to be delivered was rewritten the day before the service upon reflection of the atrocities seen in Paris the night before. The major themes of this sermon therefore consisted of the problem of sin, the principle of sacrifice and the promise of security. This was followed closely by the final hymn 'ye servants of God' which, as the title suggests, follows the key theme of submission to God and Jesus. Whilst the hymn was taking place, two older females walked up and down the aisles with two velvet, purple pouches, collecting money from the congregation; a few shunned the contribution, looking away or actively waving the collector away. Following the conclusion of the hymn the congregation came together for a final time and collectively said a prayer before dispersing one by one following further socialising with the smell of coffee dominating the air and the cold wind filling the open space.

Before entering the church I had a set of preconceived ideas based on an ethnocentric secular ideology. The main expectation was that of the Priest or Reverend wearing religious dress in the form of colourful robe; however, as mentioned before, this was not the case. The only remaining traditional aspect of clothing was that of the white clerical collar; upon asking the Reverend following the service about the clerical collar, he told me it connotes purity through the white colour and gives the wearer an elevated position as a true representative of God. But as mentioned earlier, the traditional outfit stops there with the Reverend otherwise wearing a grey formal suit. The meaning that the Reverend applied

to this particular practice was that of updating or rebranding the service to attract a wider and younger audience who may themselves have preconceived ideas about the conservative ideology of the church. If the basic appearance of service was changed in order to appeal to a younger audience, then it can be suggested this strategy has been successful to a large extent, with fourteen young adults – dressed in informal attire – being present throughout the service.

This interpretation of meaning is given greater significance when taken in combination with Hendry, who highlights that some aspects of this ritual are largely empty and meaningless with some casting 'away the ecclesiastical robes [...] which may be regarded as wasteful of time and resources', (Hendry, 2008: 73). He went on to explain that in medieval times members of the clergy alongside worshippers wore the same outfits, thus generating equality amongst all members of the church. However, over time, as the fashion of the masses developed and became more expensive, the fashion of the clergy remained the same with the clothing being more of a barrier as opposed to a mark of respect and as the barriers of society have broken down the church feels that it is time for the church to replicate wider society, hence the more modern clothes and service.

The service performed many significant social functions. The first and most significant of these was the sense of belonging and attachment developed through all aspects of the ritual. The socialising both before and after the ceremony allowed members to feel as if they belong to a community which offers support and comfort for all members in times of trouble. This could explain higher levels of religiosity amongst older people who find this community when faced with increasing loneliness and isolation as friends and relatives die. This, however, is not confined to the socialising. The content of the service, for example in the personal case of John, allows comfort and closure on past events such as the promise of heaven following the death of his wife highlighted through the reading he gave following the interview. So on a personal level the service itself performs many functions such as this, which ultimately leads to social solidarity and stability. Malinowski's (Malinowski 1925) concept of the functional explanations of religious rituals and services largely supports and influences this idea through providing answers to the significant questions about life such as death in the example given above. Through this emphasis on heaven and an afterlife, members are comforted in the knowledge of their fate and that of their loved ones. This, it could be suggested, is applicable to all members of the congregation, who are seeking these answers through their faith and is arguably the most significant function performed.

As touched upon earlier, this transition from conservative traditionalism towards more progressive thinking is highlighted best through the participation of women within the service. As highlighted by Sarah-Jane Page, within the Church of England there have been a lot of debates regarding the ordination of women as priests; this triggered a negative reaction amongst Bishops and clergy and there have been attempts to curtail the success of female priests, such as the refusing to accept communion form a woman. Throughout the service I observed, there was clear evidence of this, with the position of women being largely subordinate and restricted to collecting money and reading a few passages from the Bible. This highlights that even when the actions of the service are centred on attracting a younger audience with updated hymns and keyboard, the service still attaches significant meaning to patriarchy and this subordination of women.

Another topic I spoke to the Reverend about was that of attendance and commitment of members of the congregation. He said that on average eighty people arrived every week, from which I can infer that throughout wider society people attach little significant

meaning to the service as a whole, when compared to the recent past in which the Sunday service was central to the community and attendance would have been much greater. He went on to explain that the reason for this is that too many of the characteristics of the service in the form of singing hymns and reading passages from the Bible may be considered boring and repetitive in a modern society and not seen as a way of expressing faith. Another explanation could be the emphasis on individuality resulting from the collapse of the feudal system and emergence of capitalism. This is supported by the previous Archbishop of Canterbury, George Carey, who highlighted the increasing possibility of the church becoming extinct within one generation due to its inability to adapt and attract a younger audience (Riley-Smith, 2013). Despite the attendance of the young to this service, many were there with their parents and it is possible that they had no choice over their own attendance.

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Outline the issues concerning the disposability and normalisation of negligence.

Scout Woodford

This essay will explore issues concerning the disposability of garment workers and the normalisation of the negligent manner in which they are treated. Firstly, this essay will examine the concept of disposability and then proceed to discuss the allegations of negligence and the forms it can take. For clarity, 'disposability' will refer to the way workers are seen as expendable and entirely replaceable by the companies they work for. The 'normalisation of negligence' will be taken as to refer to the callous way that garment workers are treated by their employers, such as poor working conditions, lack of health and safety and proper regulations, and how this treatment has been routinised. This essay will focus in part on the 2013 Rana Plaza disaster and how this incident was handled. Indeed, this is not merely an issue of the capitalist desire for profit, often at the expense of others, but also of gender, as most of the employees are female. The garment industry is growing at an increasingly rapid rate, particularly in developing countries such as Bangladesh and Vietnam. In Bangladesh in 2000 there were as many as 1.8 million workers within the garment sector, and it is estimated that 90% of these workers are women (Barrientos, 2007). This proves that disposability and negligence particularly affects women with the industry and thus the exploitation and negligent treatment of women and their status as expendable workers and cheap labour will be the primary focus of this essay.

The first issue this essay will explore is the disposability of garment workers. Disposability is a huge issue in the context of outsourced labour working within the garment sector and it is reasonably easy for brands and retailers to alleviate themselves of their social responsibility towards those that indirectly work for them. It is this indirect link between the outsourcing company and their workers that fosters a sense of distance and segregation between the two, which in-turn causes the company to neglect their role as employers, allowing them to focus only on their profit. This means, essentially, that the outsourcers can focus simply on business and deny the workers their rights to strike or unionize and then plead ignorance if they are caught. In short, global sourcing companies are so distanced that they no longer have to accept responsibility for their workers and this can lead to issues of both disposability and negligence becoming normalised (Merk, 2009).

This disposability is a major concern that also manifests itself indirectly in enforced regulations that protect the rights of workers in developing countries. It is often considered too expensive to enforce these regulations (Murshid et al., 2003) and often in the cases of their rights, in some cases workers themselves are not aware they have them. Those that are aware of their rights could unionize, go on strike and refuse to work and demand more money and a higher standard of health and safety regulations: this would be an issue for the workers and their employers, both domestic and abroad. For instance, factories in developing countries offer low prices to make themselves favourable against their competitors in other countries. If the workers' demands were met prices would rise, and companies would move their outsourcing elsewhere, such as moving from Bangladesh to China and Vietnam for cheaper labour. This demonstrates the disposability of factories and garment workers: if they do not comply with what the garment industry wants, then they

will be expended and the corporation, and employment, will move elsewhere. This is also the case with new ethical standards and regulations. Where these types of policies are enforced the cost of production rises and so the companies outsource elsewhere (Murshid et al., 2003).

It is events such as the almost inarguably preventable and totally unjust Rana Plaza incidents that demonstrate just how disposable these workers are to the companies they work for. The Rana Plaza exemplifies the normalisation of employer negligence and the disposability of workers: over 1,100 people were killed and 2,500 injured as a direct result of extreme negligence that occurred due to the fact that workers were seen as disposable by Walmart, H&M and other retailers (Karim, 2014). The building collapsed after 4 more floors had been built, despite the foundations not being designed to take that weight. If Rana Plaza had been a rare incident then one would be able to argue that this act shows negligence, but not normalised negligence. However, in December 2012, 112 workers were killed in a fire in another factory in Bangladesh, which Karim notes 'was not a serious enough catastrophe for the world to take notice.' This being said, over 41 people were charged after the Rana Plaza incident (Mortimer, 2015), including the factory owner and his parents, who could face life if imprisoned. What is most shocking about this incident, as highlighted by Mortimer, is that the day prior to this an engineer spotted cracks forming in the cement and declared the building unsafe, and the workers were either uninformed or told to continue working regardless. While it is positive that the building's collapse is being acknowledged as a crime, it is interesting to note that none of the retailers involved have been formally sanctioned and are not being charged. This once again reveals that this indirect link allows them to refuse any responsibility, even though their involvement cannot be denied.

Normalisation of negligence also manifests itself in other health and safety issues, such as unsafe or antiquated equipment or workers being forced to work long hours that push them to exhaustion. The most important issue when examining health and safety is whether workers are putting themselves at risk by attending work. Brown (2002) examined the health and safety issues surrounding rates of poisoning as a result of toxic fumes and found that these rates had doubled from 1994 to 2002. He also found that over 2 million low-level workers were exposed to these toxic chemicals and dust while at work that had a detrimental effect on their health. Brown argues that workers have a right to a safe workplace and that these workers simply do not have that. Indeed, Brown draws upon the work of Kurtenback (2001) who found that in the early part of 2001, an average of 258 workers were dying as a direct result of their unsafe work a day. This clearly shows how the employer's negligent treatment of workers has been normalised and apparently accepted by employees who may have no other choice but to continue to work in these poor, unsafe conditions.

Another issue to consider is the physical and emotional abuse and generally neglectful treatment of the workers. Sandya Hewamanne conducted an ethnography in a Sri Lankan garment factory and found that evidence of emotional abuse, which is an example of how negligence of how workers should be treated has become normalised. One worker said that floor managers would 'treat us like we are cats and dogs' (2008: 106). Hewamanne also noted the poor housing, living and factory conditions, showing that workers spend almost all their time in unhygienic and cramped conditions. Karim (2014) conducted interviews of female factory workers in Bangladesh and found that verbal abuse was common and physical abuse occurred in order to punish workers for not working hard enough or fast enough or simply for not following orders. Karim also found evidence of sexual harassment

of the garment-makers from their floor managers, making the work environment even more unpleasant and hostile. Karim also notes that there are issues surrounding payment, with many workers, particularly women, being paid later as socially they are not considered to be breadwinners and so their prompt payment is not considered to be as important as it is for men. This is an issue of negligence as, however distant they are, the outsourcing retailers have some corporate responsibility to offer their workers at least some protection, yet with second and third tier factories this is rarely the case. In larger first tier factories, which receive direct orders from the retailers, working conditions have improved, yet other factories are neglected due to time and apparent financial constraints (Murshid et al., 2003).

This essay has explored and outlined the issues concerning the disposability of workers employed within the garment industry and how the negligent manner in which they are treated has been normalised. This disposability is apparent through incidents such as the Rana Plaza disaster and workers being fired at the mere suggestion of 'trouble-making' to avoid any excess expense of the retailer, This essay found that disposability, amongst numerous issues such as poor conditions and lack of health and safety, would fall under the umbrella term 'negligence'. One could not really argue that this negligence has not been normalised: sweatshops, although arguably unethical, exist all over the world in order to keep the Western retailers growing in wealth and consumers happy to pay low prices without questioning why they are so low. There is also little evidence to suggest that things are changing, and the key issue is the distance between retailers and the garment workers. If this distance was reduced then corporations would be forced to become more involved and take responsibility for their employees and improve conditions. To conclude, disposability and the normalisation of negligence are huge issues but more work must be done by social researchers and non-government organizations before retailers and consumers change their attitudes towards them and begin to see workers as non-expendable.

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Outline and discuss the main arguments for and against media regulation

Shuhei Yoshida

Media regulation is a very controversial topic and there are arguments for and against it. There are arguments for media regulation, as many believe that they would feel more protected and safe, if nations imposed more regulations. In contrast, others struggle against media regulation, as they believe that the social media immeasurably helps them, and that restricting it would undermine them. Media regulation is legal or self-imposed restrictions or controls over media bodies, concerning their ownership, or production methods and their output, as a way of achieving a policy goal. I will first look at the connection between the current social media and individuals being more alert of worldwide issues. Next, I will examine how social media affects how we engage with others. Then, I will evaluate the importance of media regulation in video games. Furthermore, I will emphasize how media regulation can protect individuals. Personally, I think that media regulation is necessary to protect society. This essay will outline and discuss the fundamental arguments for and against media regulation.

Many often argue against media regulation, by stating that thanks to the advanced, contemporary technology existing today, social media can be very useful for spreading key news globally. On commonly used social media such as Facebook and Twitter, people frequently upload posts regarding social updates of critical significance, or about issues that they feel should be raised and recognized by others. The benefit of mass social media, is that since there are so many users, these fundamental posts will be certainly acknowledged by some and, as they realize that the subject is socially relevant and they will raise further awareness through telling others about it or by sharing on Facebook or Twitter. Hence, social media enables the news to be globally accepted, as the awareness of the topic is gradually raised through individuals spreading the word to their social connections such as family and friends, and then the family and friends reaching out to their social networks, until the subject is eventually seen all over social media.

Also, individuals often argue that it is central to understand that people have become far more aware of important global news, than back when social media was far from being as relevant as it is today, due to the increasing popularity and accessibility of social media. Fleck J et al (2015: 135) highlight that 73% of adults, 73% of teens and 72% of young adults use mainstream social networking websites; these numbers clearly show that social media is very relevant in people's lives. Moreover, a research that was put together in 2012, illustrates that over 50% of people have heard about the essential news through social media rather than from official news sources such as newspapers, television or the radio (Laird, 2012). This is because, before social media became prevalent, it had been a popular myth that many individuals, especially young teens and children did not enjoy and therefore did not pay a great deal of attention to current events. However, mainstream social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter, prominently increased the likeliness for one to hear about major social issues because many individuals spend hours on social media, scrolling down and reading through the updates and posts of others, so they will eventually come across a post regarding principal news that their colleague or classmate might have shared. Previously, people were unaware of major current events if they did not watch or read the news, but due to the fact that it is naturally mixed into widespread social

networking sites now, more people have undoubtedly become alert to significant global issues.

The ALS ice bucket challenge was a case, where it was clear that social media did indeed help others. The ice bucket challenge was a fundraising campaign that was designed to raise awareness of a disease called the motor neuron disease (MND). The challenge was very simple as all one had to do was to get a video where they would pour an ice-cold bucket over themselves and then tag a couple of friends on Facebook, to pass the challenge on to them. Then his friends would have the choice to either make a donation to the cause, accept the challenge to help raise awareness, or both. The campaign was very successful, as it was something even teens or children could take part in, since it was easy, and something they could do while having fun; simply uploading their challenge onto Facebook raised awareness of the illness, and the challenge became recognized swiftly, worldwide. By the end of the campaign, the ALS association received 115 million dollars (BBC News, 2015); this would not have been possible if nations regulated what can be posted or shared on social media.

In addition, another argument against media regulation is that access to social media is fundamental in connecting and staying in touch with one another. Social networking tools such as Facebook and Skype allow individuals to connect with each other, regardless of how far apart they are. Social media has a vast impact on society as people have become dependent on and use it in their everyday lives. Just by tapping in a message and clicking send, people are able to instantly get in contact with whomever they desire to. People habitually use Facebook or Messenger for many purposes, such as to arranging events between friends, family, colleagues or co-workers, asking their professor or teacher for the work they missed in class, or even just asking their friends how they are doing. So what would happen if nations suddenly decided to restrict social media to the point that individuals could not use Facebook and all the other social networking systems to contact others? It would immensely affect how they live their daily lives, as they would have to drastically change how they communicate with others. People would have to either phone up or directly go see others if they needed to talk about something, which would be far more time consuming than sending a simple text, which does not even take seconds; hence people would unquestionably struggle with the change, as it is not easy to change your daily habits all of a sudden.

However, social media has an even greater impact on those that live far from one another. Social networking tools such as Facebook and Skype allow individuals to stay in touch even if one lived in Japan and the other lived in France, as they are able to instantly send a message regardless of how far apart they are. If social networking services were restrained so that one could not contact those that lived in other countries, it would have a far bigger affect than if one simply could not contact those that lived nearby. If one could not use social media to get in touch with people in the same country, he would still be able to get in contact, but it would not be ideal, as contacting others through telephone would be very costly, whereas popular social media services offer free texting and calls.
Nonetheless, there are nations that regulate social media to stay detached from other nations.

China is one of the most renowned countries for regulating media. It uses a censorship system known as the Great Firewall of China, a filtering system that limits access to foreign websites (MacKinnon, 2011: 32). Due to this, it is very difficult for people living in China to get in touch with those living outside the country, as they are unable to use social network

services, including Facebook. This would largely affect people, especially those that had to move to China for work. For instance, if an individual had to move from Germany to China for work on his own while his family stayed in Germany, it would heavily impact his life, as he cannot get in touch with them through social media and would rarely be able to see them as they live so far apart. Therefore, nations should not regulate the media too excessively, as the key feature of any social networking website is being able to communicate with others regardless of where you are. China is evidently the result of a nation that imposed too much regulation on the country and limited social media.

On the other hand, some argue that there was less need for media regulation in the past as technology was nowhere as advanced as it is today, thus there were limited methods to universally obtain information; however, now, technology has a fundamental impact on society to the point that it can in fact shape how individuals think, which can result in people losing track of their identity.

The Entertainment Software Rating Board (ESRB) is a self-regulatory body in the U.S. that is responsible for video game ratings that ensures that the right audience plays the game by giving rating symbols; categorizing them into age groups the game is suitable for (Gray et al, 2007: 94). For instance, there is AO for 'adults only' and as the name suggests, it is only for adults, as it contains graphic representations of sex and violence, and AO products are not intended to be sold or lent to those that are under the age of 18 (Gray et al, 2007: 94). Following AO, there is M for 'mature', meaning it is suitable for individuals that are 17 years of age or older, and these products often include stronger languages and depictions of violence than the teen category (Gray et al, 2007: 94). Furthermore, this category is more likely to contain mature sexual themes than the teen category (Gray et al, 2007: 94). Many argue that media regulation in this area is necessary, as these ratings are categorized to make sure that the virtual reality of the games does not affect the mentality of individuals. For example, it would almost certainly affect the individual negatively if he started playing adult rated games from the age of 10. The strong language used, an excessive amount of violence, and sex scenes, would inevitably confuse the individual, and can change his identity.

Individuals often believe that media regulation is important to ensure that people are not given too much freedom. Freedom of speech is often perceived as a positive aspect in social media, as one should be entitled to happily share their thoughts and opinion on social media. However, individuals having the right to state their thoughts can lead to them aggressively attacking others. An instance of this would be cyber bullying. Cyber bullying is when an individual is attacked over a social network repetitively and what differentiates this from traditional bullying is that it is often done anonymously. In the past few years, there have been several cases where victims were bullied on a website called ask.fm, where people can anonymously ask the user any questions or leave comments for the user to see, and there have been incidents where the cyber bullying had gone to a point where the victim committed suicide. In 2013, a girl in Leicestershire was found dead, presumably having committed suicide, after being targeted on ask.fm (Davies, 2014). A police investigation revealed that she was subjected to horrendous behavior in the months leading to her death and had been discussing the matter with her family and friends (Davies, 2014).

There have in fact been several similar cases and it is undeniably due to lack of regulations for cyber bullying. A research in 2013, displayed that over a third of eleven to seventeen year olds in Wales had been a victim of cyber bullying (BBC News, 2013). The UK

legislation actually does not have a law that makes cyber bullying illegal (BBC News, 2013). Hence, this proves that media regulation is crucial, as there is a direct correlation between cyber bullying being a relevant problem, and Britain not having a law to protect young adults from it. As Britain would have been able to avoid these incidents, they should have introduced a regulation against cyber bullying sooner.

Similarly, terrorists using social network services underline the greater need of media regulation. In February 2015, ISIS posted a horrendous video of a captured Jordanian pilot being incinerated on Twitter (CNN, 2015). There was also the incident in August 2015, where they uploaded a horrific YouTube video of the beheading of an American journalist, James Foley (CNN, 2015). As with Britain, which did not deal with cyber bullying, due to a lack of law to fight it, it is quite evident that the U.S. government has not done much in response to terrorists using social media such as YouTube and Twitter. Since the terrorists are using social media to implant fear and chaos into individuals, the U.S. should regulate media so they can shut them off social media to reassure individuals around the world that the nation will put in the best of their effort to deal with terrorism, instead of just letting terrorists go on social media to spread fear.

Access to social media helps us critically because it allows us to be more aware of what is happening around the world. Likewise, social media is vital, since it enables individuals to connect with one another. However, it is also crucial to remember that media regulation is generally imposed to protect society, which is clear in the case of video games. Nations should impose more regulations, as they should be ensuring that people are protected and safe. The government should not impose regulations unreasonably, as it is evident that we benefit globally from having access to social media. At the same time, it is also clear that new regulations have to be established, as there are problems nations have to fix. To conclude, I believe that media regulation is important as it is there to protect the people, but at the same time, it should not be to the extent that it starts to take freedom away from people, since social media inevitably helps them become more globally aware.

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What social factors determine the sort of music people in the UK listen in 2015?

Chia-Jung Yu

Introduction

Music is everywhere in our daily life. The consumption of various types of music supports the thriving music industry. The question of what makes people choose to listen to certain types of music stirs up the interest of sociologists. Almost all of the studies in this area, to a certain extent, are extensions or examinations of Pierre Bourdieu's 1984 study on the subject. Bourdieu stated that one's interest in cultural capital is influenced by the social status one belongs to. Recent studies, however, have criticised this idea on the basis that it ignores other difference, such as gender and age (Van Eijck, 2001; Crawford et al., 2014; Graham, 2011; Gronow et al., 2009; Mulder et al., 2010). This essay will demonstrate what the previous studies have discovered so far in this area and delineate the research design and methods that are conducted in this study. The essay concludes by assessing the strength and weakness of the research and its relation with previous studies.

Literature review

Music taste

Music genres and taste are the first areas to be discussed in this study. The idea of "taste culture" can be traced back to "highbrow-lowbrow" distinction by Herbert J. Gans (1999, in Gronow et al., 2009). Van Eijck named thirteen genres of music in his study of *Social Differentiation in Music Taste Patterns* (2001) and narrowed them down to three main types of music which are highbrow, pop, and folk in his latest study with John Lievens (2008). The genres of music are not a set category that is always applied. As Van Eijck (2008) notes, Jazz was once the pop music in 1930s. Van Eijck (2008) states also that although music tastes are interpreted by researchers in different ways, the three types of music expression (highbrow, pop, and folk) are the most ideal way of distinguishing different types of music taste.

Jukka Gronow et al. (2009) provide an extended means of categorising music using four factors. The first factor, which includes classical music, opera, and modern Jazz, is described as the "highbrow music" factor. The second factor, with Finnish schlagers, country and western, Finnish folk music, and religious music included, is called the "popular folk music" factor. Rock music and heavy metal are placed within the "rock music" factor while electronic dance music with hip-hop and R&B are separated into the "electronic music" factor.

Social factors

Social status is one of the main factors that influence one's music taste. Bourdieu (1984) stated that social class is constructed by the distribution of economic and cultural capital. Cultural capital is the preference of a highbrow cultural performance. The cultural capital is related to the economic capital which leads to a certain lifestyle. In other words, only the people who have both the economic status and certain level of knowledge are able to take

part in this type of social activity. In Bourdieu's (1984) concept, the higher class excluded themselves from the society by practicing only the highbrow culture. Kolb (2000) supports this notion by taking a group of non-experienced people to a live concert and found that they are anxious by the lack of knowledge and the behaviour of classical music audiences. Her findings also show that although people of different ages and from different educational and ethnic backgrounds listen to classical music, the majority of individuals that attend live concerts of classical music are well-educated, elderly white people in both the UK and US. Kolb (2000) stated that the middle-classes reassure their value of self-control and hard work by participating classical music. Graham (2011) demonstrated that jazz was pushed from pop music to highbrow music by the birth of rock and roll. Jazz had then joined the exclusive highbrow music which was shared by middle and upper class African Americans.

However, the findings of Peterson and Simkus (1992) show that the higher classes are omnivorous in their tastes. In other words, they are more culturally open and adopt more types of music than the lower classes. Peterson suggested a reverse pyramid which illustrates the hierarchy of the society. Individuals' particular social networks are one of the factors that affect one's choice of music. Peterson suggested that people from higher class involved in different circle which passing knowledge happen during the interaction

These studies of education, income, and occupation in relation to music tastes are extensions of the study from Bourdieu's theory of social class. Education is discussed at the level of both the individual's personal level of education (Gronow et al., 2009) and their parents' (Graham, 2011). Gronow et al. divided the level of education into four categories based on statistics from Finland. The four categories are basic education (elementary school) or less; secondary school and vocational school; vocational diploma and bachelor's degree; and master's or higher university degree. Gronow et al. found that interest in their first music factor (highbrow) increased while the second factor (popular folk) decreased when the level of education increased. Family background had more influence than one's education in jazz consumption in 1982. From 1992 onwards, the individual's level of education became the main factor (Graham, 2011).

Van Eijck (2001) stated that a person's education and income are interconnected with their occupational status. The impact of individuals' incomes and residential areas are discussed in relation to music tastes in the study by Gronow et al (2009:47). The study showed that the cultural consumption differs by city and rural residential area in previous study in Finland by Virtanen (2007) and Liikkanen (2009). The individual's residential areas were placed within one of four categories, including city centre; suburb or housing estate; small town or village; and countryside. Personal income was shown to have a positive effect on interests in rock music while country and village residency had a negative effect on interest in highbrow music.

Other sociologists argue that gender and age are neglected in Bourdieu's study. Gender is one of the important factors on music tastes. Some sociologists have suggested that women tend to be more involved in various form of highbrow culture, such as classical music and opera (Bihagen and Katz-Gerro, 2000; Kane, 2004; Lizardo, 2006). Gender has positive influence on both highbrow and popular folk music while gender is relatively neutral or slightly male dominant in rock music (Gronow et al., 2009). Females tend to favour melodious and soft music while males tend to adopt louder and more repeating music (Christenson and Peterson, 1988; Frith, 1981; North and Hargreaves, 2007). Also, females

are more likely to prefer pop and urban music, while males are more positive towards dance music (Mulder, 2010).

Age is another important factor that many sociologists take into consideration. Younger generations are said to like popular music more and expect a more stimulating experience (Brown, 2004; Pitts, 2005; Dobson, 2010). Gronow et al. (2009) found that more people tend to like highbrow and popular folk music as their age grows. Music was the most preferred indoor activity for 13 and 14 year-old children (North et al., 2000). Peers were an important factor on music taste around the ages of 15 and 16. Individualization of music tastes started after this age (Steinberg and Silverberg, 1986). Children, youth, and young adults aged from 6 to 30 are divided into three groups (12 to 17, 18 to 22, and 23 to 30) for Mulder's study (2010). 17 and 23 were chosen as the cut off since they are the time when the secondary school and university ended. Also, Holbrook and Schindler (1989) suggest that lifelong music tastes crystallized at the age of 23. The youngest group tend to more likely to change their genre or style of music than the older group.

Research Design

The research presented in this paper is deductive in design. Deductive research starts with theory and hypothesis. The findings of the data are then used to examine the hypothesis. The hypothesis could be confirmed or rejected by the results (Bryman, 2004). The hypothesis in this research is based on Bourdieu's cultural capital theory and will assess the extent to which people's taste in music differs according to gender, age, social class, education, and occupation.

The research project will take a positivist epistemological approach. Positivism is an application of scientific method to social science research which focuses on how empirical observations may be used to produce factual knowledge. In contrast, interpretivism looks at how people make sense of the world around them (Bryman, 2004). A positivist perspective is adopted in this research because the aim of the project is to identify the demographical factors that influence music tastes in the UK in 2015 rather than to question precisely why these demographical contingencies have an impact on music tastes.

The ontological approach of the research follows objectivism. Objectivism refers to the social phenomena that are not influenced by subjective interpretation. In other words, the phenomena is seen to be observable without bias. In contrast, constructionism suggests that meaning is a product of interactions between social actors (Bryman, 2004). The research takes the position of objectivism because it is confronting the phenomena directly rather than exploring how social factors impact how the phenomenon is interpreted.

Cross-sectional design is applied in this research. According to Bryman:

> A cross-sectional design entails the collection of data on *more than one* case (usually quite a lot more than one) and at *a single point in time* in order to collect a body of *quantitative and quantifiable data* in connection with two or more variables (usually many more than two), which are then examined to detect *patterns of association* (2004: 41).

There are four important concerns when conducting cross-sectional research. Firstly, more than one case is examined in the research in order to discover the variations and lower the chance of errors. The more cases are taken the easier the variation can be confirmed. Thus,

the sample of this research is chosen to represent the whole population of the UK. Secondly, the data is collected at once. This research is conducted to collect the data in 2015. The answers of the questionnaire are valued once the participant has completed it. This is opposite to the experimental design. An experimental design required time to complete the three stages. The experimental group is pre-tested before display in experimental operation, and finally the post-tested. The example of Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) given by Bryman (2004) was taken eight months to complete. Thirdly, quantitative and quantifiable data is collected to identify the variations between cases. Also called survey research, questionnaire and structured interview and other methods are used in order to collect quantitative data. The quantification provides the researcher with a reliable standard. Questionnaire is used in this research to collect quantitative data. Finally, cross-sectional design can only demonstrate the relationship between variables. It does not have the internal validity as experimental design. The causal relation is not clear owing to the fact that the cross-sectional design has no time ordering and does not control the variables. As a result the survey can only refer to the possible connections between social factors and music taste but not the reason why this pattern occur (Bryman, 2004: 41-42).

Research Method

Sampling is one of the important stages in terms of methodology. A sample is a representational group of a population. Probability sampling involves the random selection of individuals so that each of the units in the sample frame has an equal chance to be chosen. Probability sampling minimises the possibility of sampling errors (Bryman, 2004: 87). The sample frame of the research is the whole population, 64.6 million people, of the UK in 2015. The research is conducted by stratifying random sampling. The strata are the administrative areas of the UK, including 56 unitary authorities in England, 26 district council in Northern Ireland, 32 counties in Scotland, and 22 unitary authorities in Wales (ONS, 2014). The number of people chosen from each stratum depends on the relative amount of people in the area. Stratified sampling is chosen rather than cluster sampling because it can cover the whole UK population in a systematic way. Also, the amount of samples from each stratum is chosen by the proportion of the population in the area (Bryman, 2004: 92-93).

There are some other considerations to take into account when deciding the size of sample. Firstly, the absolute sample size is more important than the relative sample size. For example, choosing 1,000 people from UK means the same when choosing 1,000 people in US despite the different between the two nations' population sizes. The size of the sample also determines the time and the cost of the collection of data. However, the increase of the sample size increases the precision of the study. In other words, the possibility of error will decrease. The sample frame of the research will cover the whole UK population in order to be representative of the UK population (Bryman, 2004: 97).

The research will be conducted via the distribution of questionnaires. A self-complete questionnaire can be conducted by post or email. Questionnaires are time and money saving compare with structured interviews. Also, the data is easier to quantify and analyse than the one collected from interview. However, questionnaires are less flexible than interviews, where the interviewer can ask further questions for additional data. The researcher does not know who participates in the research in the self-complete questionnaire. This might cause problems if the participant misunderstands the question and the researcher would not have chance to clarify the questionnaire (Bryman, 2004: 132-135).

The questionnaire method is chosen in order to reach the large scale of the sample. Also, questionnaires are widely used in the previous research on this topic (Van Eijck, 2001; Gronow et al., 2009). The questionnaire consists of a series of closed questions. Closed questions are easy to answer for the participants and easy to categorise and analyse for the researcher. Also, they make it easier to compare answers. However, the fixed questions might cause the researcher to miss some interesting answers and also make it difficult to establish rapport between participants and researcher (Bryman, 2004: 148-150).

The questionnaire will be divided into two parts. The first part will contain questions regarding personal information including gender, age, residential area, monthly income, level of education, field of education, and occupation. These criteria are design according to previous studies in order to distinguish the social factors that may influence the participant's music tastes (Van Eijck, 2001 and Gronow et al., 2009). The second part will contain questions regarding music preferences. Different types of music are listed in the questionnaire and will be categorised in analysis. Rather than asking the preference of the music, the participants are asked to answer the frequency they listen to certain types of music in the last month, for example, every day, once or twice a week, once a month, and not at all.

Analysis

The advantages and disadvantages of the study are discussed in terms of practical and theoretical considerations. One of the strongest practical advantages of the cross-sectional research design is the amount of time and money saved when compare to other types of research design. Also, it is relatively easy to quantify and analyse the collected data. One of the serious disadvantages in terms of practical issues is the low response rate, especially for postal questionnaires (Bryman, 2004: 133-135). The reason for this might be the lack of rapport between the participant and researcher (150).

In terms of theoretical issues, representativeness is one of the advantages that the large scale of data produced using a cross-sectional questionnaire enables. Also, cross-sectional design is strong at replicability and external validity especially when the data is randomly collected. The disadvantage in this aspect is the internal validity which is comparatively weak owing to the ambiguity of causal influence (Bryman, 2004: 43).

Researchers have been studying the interrelation between music and social factors for a long time. Bourdieu introduce the idea of cultural capital and social class. Based on this study, researchers explore different aspects of this area. Crawford et al. (2014) focused on classical music while Graham et al. (2009) looked at Jazz and Mulder et al. (2010) focused on the development of taste in adolescents. Rather than concentrate on a specific area, Van Eijck (2001) and Gronow (2009) looked at the whole picture of how the music taste is related to social factors in the Netherlands and Finland.

The analysis of the results will reference the model and findings from previous studies. The music tastes will be categorised based on the results of Van Eijck's 2001 study. The social factors will be categorised based on Gronow et al.'s 2009 study. However, in terms of methodology, rather than directly asking people about their music preferences, the questionnaire focuses on the behaviour of the participants in order to obtain other possible results. The cross-sectional research design will allow the results of the study to be compared to previous studies.

Conclusion

This research is conducted to examine Bourdieu's 1984 concept of cultural capital in the UK in 2015. Cross-sectional research design is conducted in order to gain knowledge of music tastes in the UK in 2015. Stratified random sampling is the sampling method and questionnaires will be used to collect quantitative data. The literature review started with the concept of music taste discuss by other sociologists (Van Eijck, 2001 and Gronow et al., 2009). Based on Bourdieu's 1984 study, sociologists have discussed the relationship between music preferences and social factors in different countries. The analysis of this research would refer heavily to previous studies.

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To what extent are the boundaries between the prison and wider society becoming eroded?

Dolapo Akinbolagbe

There have been many conflicting views in society on what the role of the prions is. There have been many arguments to suggest that it is meant to protect the rest of society from dangerous criminals, whereas some argue that it should be there to rehabilitate the individual so they are ready to be integrated into wider society as a law abiding citizen. However, there has been a phenomena that is becoming more and more evident in the 20th century. This is that the institutions of social control are becoming less private and separate to our social world. There are arguments suggesting that the lines between the prison walls and wider society are blurred. I will be exploring this trend by not just looking at how society as a whole is becoming similar to the prison but according to whether or not the prison is becoming similar to society, as it is a fact that market trends and political changes have a domino effect on institutions like the prisons. Overall, I will be identifying and discovering what has contributed to this change and what specific areas these changes have effected.

Firstly, I think it is highly beneficial for us to look at the history of the prison and punishment and look at how this institution was created. Modernity is a period of time that witnessed huge social changes, for example urbanisation, democratisation and scientific endeavours. But modern day punishment and incarceration is one of the by-products of modernity. In the past, punishment was seen as being a public form of deterrent that was done in the act of physical harm on the offender. However, through the emergence of the 'Enlightenment' we saw much more changes occur and the emergence of the modern prison. This form of punishment differs from Medieval England, as bodily harm is now seen as an infringement of the offender's freedoms and liberties. Punishment is now primarily inflicted through societal exclusion, in the form of prisons.

Many have suggested that social control and punishment has taken a full circle within society, whereby we are moving back to Medieval England where punishment is becoming much more public and visible in wider society. This idea of 'community policing' is best used to describe this phenomena. It has been argued that community policing is an alternative to mass incarceration: many have argued that the reasons why this has occurred is due to the fact that prisons have been in crisis since the 1960s. It has been argued that they are no longer fit for purpose and that they are not working, as recidivism rates are still very high within society. The cost of prisons is also an issue that many tax-paying citizens have been very active about disputing. Many have argued that the community policing approach deals with these issues, as it is becoming an alternative that is seen to rehabilitate the individual and deal with specific social and psychological problems that may have led to the offence in the first place. An example of this is contemporary probation, a process that makes it compulsory for the offender to attend specific programmes depending on the nature of the crime. The emergence of community policing has led to different alternatives to imprisonment, saving a lot of young offenders from a lifetime of marginalisation.

However, many criminologists have disputed the arguments that 'community policing' has limited the amount of young offenders in custody. One reason for arguing this is that it is still evident that imprisonment rates are continuously going up, regardless of the

alternative methods. Statistics also show that there is a problem of mass imprisonment in society. It has often been argued that 'community policing is not an alternative but an addition' (Cohen, 1979). This is because the alternatives to custody are still mirroring the ideologies of the prison whereby the individual's freedoms and liberties are still undermined. For example, it is very common for young offenders to be issued with an ASBO (Anti-social Behaviour Order) for offences that are minor and affect the community. However, many have quetioned how some alternatives like ASBOs differ from imprisonment, as they can entail restrictions from certain geographical locations or even curfews that, if broken, would lead to imprisonment. Cohen coined the term 'thinning the mesh and widening the net', which explored the idea that the government was creating new forms of social control: through 'widening the net' they are able to put new forms of control under the umbrella of crime prevention without increasing police powers tackling the issues of anti-social behaviour (Cohen, 1979). When it comes to issues of anti-social behaviour, it is very important to understand that this idea is a social construction. Therefore, anti-social behaviour is relative to the location it is taking place in. This idea links well to Durkheim's idea of moral boundaries, which explores the normality of crime. Durkheim argued that there are amounts of deviance that can still keep society relatively stable. This is because, as a collective conscious, we outline the moral order, creating a consensus on the division between what is right and what is wrong (Durkheim, 1938). Overall, it is found that if an individual deviates from the norms of society they tend to be excluded from the general public. This could be through incarcerations or one of the different forms of 'community policing'.

It has been found that this 'widening of the net' often only allows the government to catch many of the same types of 'fish'. Many studies have found that there tends to be a trend of the same groups of people being targeted by police officers through stop and search, or even further by the criminal justice system, leading to imprisonment. Theoretically, it could be argued that through this process the prisons have emulated certain features of wider society, where we have seen similarities between the ways in which both systems work. An example of this is the idea that there is a disproportionate amount of ethnic minorities in prison in relation to the overall population. Bowling and Philips (2002), through intensive study of prisons and probation, found that in 1985, 8 per cent of the male prison population and 12 per cent of the female prison population were of West Indian, Guyanese or African Origin despite the fact that these groups only make upbetween 1-2 per cent of the general population in England and Wales (Bowling and Phillips, 2002). Therefore, this is evidence to prove the criminal justice system may be directly or indirectly prejudice against ethnic minorities.

Many sociologists would argue that not only does racism exist in society, but the same ideologies have been found to infiltrate prisons. For example, Wacquant argued that the idea of 'ghettoization' can be seen in prisons (Wacquant 2000). Through the abolition of slavery and segregation many would believe that ethnic minorities are free to move and integrate themselves into different communities in the US. Wacquant's study, however, indicates that this is not always the case, as many southern states were found to be still highly prejudiced and racist towards African-Americans who therefore tended to segregate themselves into communities of their own,creating what today is known as a ghetto. Wacquant also believed that the ghetto was one of Americas 'peculiar institutions' and that it was a common instrument for both social ostracisation and labour extraction. Social ostracisation occurs in the sense that immates were often subjected to exclusion by general consent, to the extent that they were even shun of national affiliation and ethnic honour, which implied that they were not at the bottom of the hierarchy but in fact they had no

absolute place on the hierarchy. In regards to labour extraction, Wacquant found that from slavery up until when the practice was abolished, the Black community was created to serve the labour economy, from the cotton production all the way to the manufacturing market. Black ghettos were victims of high unemployment, poverty and dilapidated buildings, leading to high levels of disorder and crime. Wacquant argued that this was a result of the post-industrial economy (Wacquant, 2000).

As the post-industrial period started to take shape in society, and the manufacturing industry was at a decline, there was a clear displacement of occupations amongst many African-Americans. This caused so many to resist the ensuing financial inequality through the illegal street economy, leading them to incarceration. As mentioned above, we can see a lot of similarities between society and prisons, as there is a lot of evidence to suggest that both social ostracisation and labour extraction is found and implemented in the prison system. It was found that society was highly discriminative towards ethnic minorities, especially amongst Black individuals. The statistics also showed that this prejudice filtered its way beyond the walls of the prisons. In the prison system evidence shows that social ostracisation was created within prisons in a literal sense as the prison populations consisted mostly of ethnic minorities. Therefore, as Wacquant argued, the structures of segregation and marginalisation permeated from society into the prisons. Also, labour extraction was evident inside prisons, as it is a well-known fact that there has been a new trend of using prisoners for cheap labour (Winters, 2008). For example, penal labour has been allowed in many American prisoners through the 13th Amendment, which argues that 'neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for a crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction' (Tarter, 2014). There has been a lot of evidence through articles and studies that these trends are also evident in Britain, where we see an increase in international businesses and corporations using prisoners to manufacture and produce goods for the population to consume (Aviram, 2013). Overall, in a sense we could argue that this proves that slavery has not truly been abolished and that Black individuals are still subjected to the manufacturing industry in a post-industrial era. This is one way in which boundaries between society and prisons have been broken, as this evidence proves that the prison is adopting certain features that are apparent in wider societies and specifically some communities.

As argued above, post-industrialism has played a huge part in society and the way in which it works. We have mentioned that it impacted the manufacturing industry in society, thus having a correlation with crime rates and the profile of your average offender. However, I will also be exploring the impact that this era has had on how the prison system is being run. For example, it is evident that political trends have had a direct impact on prisons, thus mirroring the political climate of society at that current time. This is very evident in the case with our current prison system: recently we have seen a huge influence of neo-liberalism in today politics. Neo-liberalism is an economic theory that came about in the early 1970s. Advocates of neo-liberalist economic models disregard the ideas of communism proposed by Marxism as a replacement to the unequal economic system that today we know as capitalism. They also disregard Keynesian economics, which is in favour of a mixed economy of both a welfare state and a market influenced by government intervention (Reiner, 2007). Neo-liberalist models advocate privatisation and the adoption of more retributive and punitive forms of punishment. This had had a huge impact on the prison system today, because we have seen this ideology being penetrated into the prison system. Garland argues that there has been a decline in rehabilitative ideals in both the UK and the US and that even though there was evidence of more community policing, as

mentioned before they were reinforcing the ideology of the punitive prison into the community (Garland, 2001:18). Garland even went further by studying probation and parole and he believed that there was evidence to suggest that they had 'de-emphasised the social work ethos'.

Furthermore, as the 1970s saw a political shift towards the right, there is evidence that this transition acted as a catalyst for a shift in the Criminal Justice System. A lot of the pressure to produce efficient law and order was removed from the hands of the British government and, likewise,punishment and social control have moved from public to private,shadowing dominant economic models elsewhere in society. Garland argued that policing had become a 'Mixed Economy': punishment became increasingly privatised and enforced by private law and order agencies (Garland, 2001: 8-11). Historically, enforcing the law and keeping the peace was seen as the responsibility of the state. This has now changed and the boundaries between public and private has become blurred: we now see the participation of citizens, communities and profit-based companies in maintaining social order. This is done through a range of different techniques and alternatives from prison. For example, through an increase in surveillance, patrol officers and community watch. All this is evidence that prison is not a structure or entity that is separate from wider society, but the politics of society plays a huge party and influence the way law and order functions.

When looking at social control and agents of social control, many sociologists have argued that over the past century we have seen a huge change. Firstly, social control has been expanded beyond the prison walls into society, but the agents of social control have also changed from traditional agents like police officers and the family to other alternatives like surveillance. Surveillance has completely taken over the way society limits and controls the individual's behaviour: it has a created a society that is constantly being watched. Some argue that this creates a sense of safety within society. However, others are a bit more sceptical and argue that it raises questions about human rights. Surveillance is not a new phenomenon but has existed throughout history, especially when looking at specific architectures and the impact they have had on control. When Foucault was looking at the issues of surveillance, one of his most influential discussions focused on the Panoptican that was designed by Jeremy Bentham. Foucault's used the Panopticon to illustrate the function of self-discipline as an apparatus of power. The architecture of the Panoptican was built in order for the individual to self–regulate their behaviour due to the fear of retributive discipline. However, the beauty of the Panoptican building was that it was the 'few watching the many' and the prisoners were never truly aware of when they were being watched (Foucault, 1975).

 It has been argue that this sense of discipline and surveillance is prevailing in the modern world, whereby governments believe that a little bit of the individual's liberties should be undermined in order to ensure security for all. We have seen an increase in the use of CCTV cameras, infrastructures and architecture that limits the individual's behaviour in order to reduce crime. Foucault clearly illustrated this trend when he stated that 'we have seen that, in penal justice, the prison transformed the punitive procedure into a penitentiary technique; the carceral archipelago transported this technique from the penal institution to the entire social body' (Foucault, 1975: 298). The Panoptican today illustrates how the responsibility of regulation is no longer placed on the agencies of social control but on the self-regulating individual. Many have argued that this increase in surveillance is due to the growing paranoia that is growing amongst our state and even its citizens. This is something that has extended beyond the walls of a prison to our everyday lives.

Overall, when exploring social control and how it is ensured, we have witnessed a huge shift in society whereby the individual is no longer a victim of control through incarceration but also within society through marginalisation, surveillance and the oppressive power of the state and the elite. The boundaries of the prison have been eroded as society has found many 'alternatives' for punishment as a result of a concern that prison is too expensive and ineffectual.

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Return to CONTENTS

To what extent are the boundaries between the prison and wider society becoming eroded?

Stephanie Alabaster

In this essay I will explore the extent to which the boundaries between the prison wall and the wider surrounding society have, and are becoming eroded. I will refer to academic literature and various different control mechanisms that are in place to both punish and treat criminal offenders in particular incarceration vs. decarceration. The modern day prison was formed within the late eighteenth century and has had conflicting justifications for its presence. The first justification for the prison as an institution came from a Utilitarian reductionist perspective, with the purpose of deterring the offender, incapacitation in order to separate society from the offender, and rehabilitation in attempt to reform the prisoner. The second justification focus' around the retributive aims of ensuring just deserts are in place, offenders carrying out hard labour within the prison, and making them less entitled to various things such as their rights (Carrabine, 2014:380). However it has been argued that both justifications have spread past the prison boundaries and out into wider society such as through community sentences and also through various other institutions, and I aim to explore this within this essay.

Incarceration is the system by which criminal individuals are confined and separated from wider society and held in institutions with the intention to punish offenders and provide them with any therapy or treatment they may need (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2012:230). Prison sentences are the most severe and also the harshest form of punishment available in terms of penalties that can be bestowed to offenders by the courts of England and Wales. In 2012 there were 85,450 offenders within 138 prisons in the UK, in comparison with the 1992-93 figure of 44,628 (Prison Reform Trust, 2012:4, as cited in Carrabine et al 2014:363).This number has nearly doubled within twenty years, despite the fact that many argue that the penal crisis surrounds the issue of too many criminals and too little prison space (Carrabine, 2014:363). Many have wondered as to why prison became so heavily used and why it became the main and almost immediate response to criminal offenders. In the past, especially before the 1970's, many would argue that prison was the answer, as the actual imprisonment represented an enlightened, more liberal and humanitarian response in comparison with the previous methods of barbaric and torturous methods. Earlier forms of punishment were based upon seeking revenge and were often unjustifiable and brutal. It had been thought that these previous tools of punishment had been replaced by the prison environment which offered a more professional, educated and a beneficial involvement from enforcement officials in order to help reform offenders. However this perception has been disputed by revisionist historians (Carrabine, 2014:369).

Arguably the most significant of the revisionist histories, belongs to Michael Foucault and can be found in his work on 'Discipline and Punish' (1977). Foucault states that the arrival of the prison was not a more humanitarian approach to punishing offenders, but rather allows a more effective and efficient way of punishing for prison and enforcement officers. This new efficient manner of punishing allowed for a higher rate of discipline within the environment in terms of a vast array of surveillance and monitoring techniques, classification of offenders and lastly and most importantly, the examination of the prisoners in the new designed prison space (i.e. Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon). Foucault states that disciplinary punishments in prison environments work as a manner and

mechanism to obtain both power and knowledge in terms of officers taking a dominant role and the offenders becoming subjective and submissive (Garland, 1990:13). Foucault emphasises the importance of the relationship and connection between both power and with forms of knowledge and intelligence He expresses how both surveillance and the actions of monitoring individuals in society have become normalised activities, thus highlighting the erosion of the prison boundaries within society as it is not only the offenders being monitored but also the general public, hence widening into wider society. Foucault explains that many institutions within society such as schools, asylums, barracks and factories have become connected to be mechanisms of oppression; he names this process 'carceral archipelago' and this can be argued to have great impact on many within wider society, not only the select few (Carrabine, 2014:369).

Decarceration alludes to the idea and action of moving away from imprisonment within institutions and instead looks towards the use of other sanctions and punishments within society rather than penal ones; an example of this is community sentencing (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2012:115). It has been argued that community sentencing plays a part within the 'correctional continuum' within society, as the boundaries between prison and wider society have eroded, and therefore offenders and the general public are intermingled and it is difficult to truly know where the prison system ends and the community environment starts (Cohen, 1979:344). Community punishment can consist of various forms of punishments and treatments such as: self-regulatory penalties in terms of cautions and court discharges, financial penalties relating to paying fines, supervisory penalties such as probation and supervision orders, and lastly, other sentences like deferred sentences (Worrall, 1997:8-10). However, despite many stating that individuals remain within the continuum within wider society, others feel that community punishment is a far more humane method of punishment for offenders to receive, and therefore assists with their reformation, when arguably, prison environments can assist in increasing offenders' criminal commitment. Also, many believe that the stigmatising association that being in prison provides makes it more difficult for individuals to socialise back into normal everyday life, thus community sentencing is a method utilised to limit prison numbers and keep the offender within society, hence displaying how the boundaries of the prison wall has eroded into wider society. It is believed that numerous factors contribute to criminals form from within the community in which they live, such as their family environment, their schooling institutions, and also their economic situation, and therefore it is felt that the remedy and preventional methods must also be delivered within that area for true effectiveness (Cohen, 1972:342).

Community programmes however, have been argued to be an extension to prison sentencing, essentially creating a new clientele of criminal offenders who are punished and controlled by other mechanisms than just the prison, such as being under house arrest, or being tagged for example, both of which lead to individuals being constantly surveyed and monitored, similar to the prison environment. This factor leads to boundaries becoming eroded and blurred, individuals liberty and their detention being open to interpretation. Therefore, the process of net-widening is cast further into wider society, reaching and affecting more individuals, and drawing them in by the thinner mesh, making it easier for more people to be caught within the criminal system. This then penetrates the individuals' lives through punishment and disciplinary interventions, such as constant observations, and their livelihoods become under surveillance, which highlights how the boundaries have indeed eroded (Worrall, 1997:25).

Many have argued that the culture of control also exemplifies how the boundaries between the prison wall and wider society have eroded. Foucault alludes to the importance of control within the prison in terms of various observational methods and assessments conducted on the offenders in order to gain full insight into these individuals. Foucault felt that by gaining this information on the offenders also allowed a greater sense of power and control over the criminals. Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon is perceived by Michael Foucault to perfectly exemplify his power-knowledge theory, due to the constant vulnerability and possibility of being viewed and surveyed. It causes offenders to produce and reproduce positive behaviour and self-control in case of being seen. However, this can be argued to have eroded out of the prison walls and into mainstream society in terms of modern day current society being a 'society of surveillance', proposing that all members are under scrutiny, not just those in the criminal system (Garland, 1990:145-146). Foucault expresses that Western society remains within a carceral continuum due to its close association with identifying deviance, abnormalities and those deviating from relevant ideal societal norms; he states that society is disciplined and controlled in all aspects (Garland, 1990:151).

Community sentences have been referred to as being tiny theatres of punishment that are delivered by various means of social control mechanisms and groups, as the actors and wider society are the audience (Cohen, 1985:84-85). Stan Cohen's concept of 'A Vision of Social Control with Mr and Mrs Citizen' can be applied here. Cohen expresses in this piece, the large amount of community services and programmes available within society. However, Cohen portrays this fact in a way that suggests it is almost invasive in the aspect that there are so many community treatments available to both monitor and treat individuals through observation and assessments. This extract exemplifies the intense amount of control that can be exerted through community treatments due to the sheer amount available and deemed necessary "Linda gets off next – at the GUIDE Centre (Girls Unit for Intensive Daytime Education) where she works as a Behavioural Contract Mediator. They drive past a three quarter-way house, a rape-crisis centre and then a drug-addict cottage" (Cohen, 1985:224-5). Stan Cohen supports a Foucauldian point of view in that these various control mechanisms used within society have contributed towards the formation of these various forms of corrections, and has led to and causes a blurring of boundaries between both the prison and society environment, so much so that it is now tough to see where the prison ends and the community starts (Carrabine et al, 2004:244). It can be argued that all these different services, treatments and programmes are in place to control and monitor the individuals' behaviours. Despite them not being within a prison environment they are essentially being assessed like they would be, therefore, the prison walls can be seen to be eroding into wider society leading to both offenders and other members of society experiencing similar treatment and experiences.

Similarities are found between the community which holds the wider society and within the prison walls, both of which host surveillance systems to monitor all of the individuals, ongoing required registration, assessments of people, segregation from others, exerting discipline, and lastly resocialisation to try to mould the individuals into their ideal. Therefore, community sentencing and punishment control, and its formation of new treatment and rehabilitation agencies, help groups and services such as probation, that are offered to offenders and are perceived as a widening mechanism from the criminal justice system (Cohen, 1985:84-85). Foucault expresses his perception upon the expansion of the criminal justice system by stating that 'The prison transformed the punitive procedure into a penitentiary technique; the carceral archipelago transported this technique from the penal institution to the wider society body' (Foucault, 1977 as cited in Cohen, 1985:85),

therefore exemplifying how and to the extent that the prison walls have eroded into wider society.

An example to display the extent to which the prison walls have eroded into wider society can be found in Loic Wacquant 'Peculiar Institution' on his comparison of the prison as a surrogate ghetto and the ghetto as an ethnoracial prison. Loic expresses that both the ghetto and the prison environments have similarities in that they are both institutions that force imprisonment and confinement and have attached a sense of stigmatisation for the members who inhabit, despite the fact one is an institution and the other is out within society (Wacquant, 2000:377). The ghetto acts as an ethnoracial prison, Wacquant expresses, and that within the ghetto, its members are deemed as dishonourable people within society, like prisoners, and this often reduces both the life choices and chances available to these individuals, exemplifying how the prison walls have eroded into and effected members of wider society. Even the architectural structure of the ghetto resembles that of a prison, often with high walls and gates to separate and segregate these individuals from wider society. Wacquant then goes on to express the prison as a judicial ghetto. He states that both the prison and ghetto environment are used in order to imprison and segregate a particular group of people from other members of society. Within this population, often distinct institutions, subcultural and cultural tendencies, and tainted identities are formed. Therefore, arguably, it can be seen that wider society and the prison are intertwined as Wacquant states that both ghetto and prisons are made up of the same four factors: stigmatisation, coercion, physical restraints in terms of enclosure, and lastly, organisational correspondence and screen fitting for both ghettos and prisons and for similar purpose, thus highlighting the extent to which the prison boundaries have eroded into wider society (Wacquant, 2000:383).

In conclusion, it can be argued that it is clear that the boundaries between the prison and wider society are becoming eroded within society in various different ways in terms of punishments, surveillance mechanisms, the increased availability of community treatment programmes and services within society, just to name a few. It appears that many argue and feel that the boundaries have blurred and that there have been difficulties in identifying the prison and community sentencing as two separate entities, arguing that they appear to have merged together in some way. Many feel that this is an intentional ideal in order to extend the penal justice system through the use of community sanctions and penalties as an add-on to the prison. Community sentencing is situated within the wider society but still involves the semi-incapacitation of the individuals involved, striking similarities to the prison environment, hence exemplifying the extent to which erosion has occurred, and there is little distinction between the two in this circumstance (Brownlee, 1998:188) Thomas Mathiesen and many others stance on the erosion of the prison walls as an impacting tool in society, is that community sentencing is not an alternative to a custodial sentence, but rather is merely another form that contributes to an increase to the numbers within the criminal justice system rather than the decrease in numbers. Despite the fact that this statement is often claimed simply because many individuals are being placed within non-custodial community based sentences, the punishment and treatments are entering the wider societal sphere, displaying the erosion in action (Garland and Young, 1983:178). The erosion of the prison walls is not only exemplified in terms of incarceration and decarcerational forms of control and punishment, but is also found in surveillance mechanisms within the society of control today. Mathiesen believed that disciplinary measures in the past had an individualistic focus upon the offenders who had committed crimes and wrongdoings, whereas in modern day society, he felt that this focus would diffuse into the wider environment, therefore focusing and affecting larger groups and

members within society. Mathiesen believed that technological advances such as CCTV cameras, increased security and intelligence in various forms in society would all contribute to a collective observation and monitoring of members of society and their behaviours as a form of social control, again highlighting the impact of the erosion of the prison wall, as like offenders the general public are under constant scrutiny infringing their livelihoods (Garland and Young, 1983:181-182). Therefore it can be argued that to a large extent, the prison walls have eroded into the wider society, and that this has had an impact on, and influenced members of the general publics' livelihoods, as increasingly they are experiencing treatment similar to that of offenders and their experience within a prison system and environment.

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'A binary of sameness/difference informs theory and research on lesbian and gay parent families.' Discuss.

Aisha Arouche

Whilst the study of sexualities has only recently grounded its place in the academic discipline of sociology (Scott 2014), there has been an increasing amount of research surrounding the subject, in particular on lesbian and gay parenting. Dunne (1998) claims 'in Britain and the USA we are witnessing the early stages of a ''gayby'' boom', referring to the rise in the amount of lesbians and gay men who are deciding to have children. Early work in the 19th century often labelled any family type not fitting the norm as deviant; however this new breadth of research can be seen to take on different approaches and often reflects either the conservative or liberal views of society. Recently, academics have argued research surrounding lesbian and gay parenting has come to be informed by a ''binary of sameness/difference''. This essay will discuss the above statement, looking at different pieces of academic research which has looked into lesbian and gay parenting in the current day. Particular focus will be paid to the assimilative and transformative models of researching so called 'queer families', using important work from authors such as Ryan-Flood (2009), Hicks (2005) and Dunne (1998).

Decades ago, research and academic writing on lesbian and gay parenting would not have existed, due to lesbian and gay lifestyles arguably being a taboo topic, especially in relation to their reproductive rights. The majority of research that has been written since the start of a more modern era, has focused on the children of lesbian/gay parents and whether their upbringing was different to that of children by heterosexual parents, often looking to prove that there is no difference between the two family types. Tasker and Golombok (1997) note that the majority of studies on this style of family, compare the children in these households to those children who have grown up with a single heterosexual biological mother. Butler (2004:101) argues that research is either supportive of LGBT families or questions 'what happens to the poor child, martyred figure of an ostensibly selfish or dogged social progressivism'. Positive literature has been extremely useful in supporting lesbian or gay parents in gaining access to their children, being utilized in custody cases (Ryan-Flood, 2009); often parents that come out after being in a heterosexual relationship have a disadvantage in gaining custody or visitation rights due to homophobic assumptions. Researchers who focus on this topic can often be seen to take one of two different approaches, being either assimilative or transformative; Ryan-Flood (2009) highlights that both models have been criticized by numerous academics and a new approach has been called for.

A 'queer shift' in research on family lifestyles can be seen to have happened, however this has led to criticism on the way in which lesbian and gay parenting has been theorized. Clarke (2002) importantly outlined four separate but interlinked dimensions that guide and inform research focused on lesbian and gay parenting; No different to heterosexual parenting (i),different from heterosexual parenting and deviant (ii), different from heterosexual parenting and deviant (iii) and different from heterosexual parenting due to oppression (iv). Her article was one of the first to notice that a sameness/difference approach was being adopted in research and questioned its validity. The assimilative

model can arguably be defined as research that attempts to 'prove' that families with two parents of the same-sex are exactly the same as those who don't, with Hicks (2005:153) arguing that research take up this approach due to 'gay and lesbian parenting continue to provoke strong anxieties within a heteronormative society'.

Looking at the first argument, that a binary of sameness or assimilation has informed research on lesbian and gay parenting, is supported by Distiller (2011:8) who argues that 'much of the social scientific literature has tended to focus on how lesbian families are not really different to heterosexual families, in order to secure respectable visibility and sociopolitical rights for these families'. As previously stated, this is arguably a reaction to homophobic claims that families with two same-sex parents are dangerous for the child, and as an attempt to change negative public opinion. An example of this type of research can be drawn from Ryan-Flood's (2009) book 'Lesbian Motherhood' in which she highlights a study by Tasker and Golombok (1997) who interviewed children raised by lesbian mothers at age 10 and then again at age 25 to look at what effects this type of childhood had on them in adult life. Once completed, this research concluded that there was little to no difference between children raised by same-sex parents or heterosexual parents, looking in particular at sexualisation, the child's own sexual orientation, the way they view gender roles and their gender identity. This assimilative model is also demonstrated in how same-sex family's kinship structure is viewed; Ryan-Flood (2014) argues that in modern society LGBT people, especially those who are part of the younger generation, are much more likely to retain a close relationship with their family members and use their support in parenthood. This follows the idea that lesbian and gay parents have a similar kinship system to heterosexual parents with their families.

Whilst work such as Tasker and Golombok (1997) and other assimilate model based research, have played a 'vital role in challenging common place homophobic assumptions' (Ryan-Flood, 2009:152), they have recently been criticized by academics for complying with heteronormativity. Heteronormativity is defined by Corber and Valocchu (2003) as 'the set of norms that make heterosexuality seem natural or right and that organise homosexuality as its binary opposite' (Valocchi, 2005:756). Often, research branded as 'assimilative' has arguably tried too hard to prove that families with same-sex parents are exactly like heterosexual parents, looking for the similarities and ignoring any difference between the two, whether that be positive or negative. Stacey and Biblarz (2001) have been highly critical of this type of research as they argue it has failed to celebrate the differences that lesbian and gay families may have. They argue that the overlooking of positive differences, could possibly be due to homophobic social and academic environments, in which the aim is to please or reassure people (who disagree with same-sex families) with research instead of opening them up to new possibilities. Previously mentioned work from Tasker and Golombok's (1997) can be used as an example; young adults who had grown up in a lesbian family household reported a more positive account on their relationship with their mother's partner (female), in comparison to the accounts children from heterosexual families gave, on the relationship with their step-father. Critics also point to the fact that findings from research conclude there are no differences between the two types of family are taking the 'easy' route which is more politically convenient (Hequembourg, 2007). It is clear that the legal system in the majority of countries, if not all countries, favour assimilation from LGBT families. They are much more likely to accept and give legal rights to families that don't present any differences that could be seen as a threat to the conservative nuclear family system.

Arguably it is not just the research that is constantly criticised for being assimilative; lesbian and gay parents are under constant scrutiny for choosing to 'assimilate' by entering parenthood, a heteronormative life choice that is the supposed 'norm' after getting married. The same can be said for ideas on marriage and biological kinship;) both of these constructs are argued to be heterosexual, and therefore LGBT members that take on this normative approach are choosing to accept this oppression and blend in with 'normal' families. Ettelbrick (1992:21) voiced this concern that the LGBT community were conforming to heteronormativity by stating 'it will constrain us, make us more invisible, force our assimilation into the mainstream and undermine the goals of gay liberation'. Weston's (1991) academic work, noted in Ryan-Floods work (2009) on lesbian and gay kinship argued that kinship systems were based on choice or love, instead of just being due to a biological tie. However other research such as Westwood's (2015) work on British older lesbian and gay's will writing, re-analysed Weston's (1991) view that LGBT persons based kinship on love or choice, found that on the contrary a sense of duty to biological family members was felt, regardless of their (un)support, and still felt a strong tie to them. This tie and connection to biological family members, and therefore an assimilation to the normative approach to kinship, can be seen in Ryan-Flood's (2014:173) chapter 'Staying Connected', in which she states that 'Many LGBT people now retain significant relationships with their families of origin after coming out'. Ryan-Flood's focus on the actual LGBT parents instead of their children, is arguably refreshing, as most research in the past has only focused on the latter, and more research on the life experience of the parents would produce more valid conclusions.

Hicks (2005) notices two types of difference research in literature surrounding lesbian and gay parenting; firstly, one that concludes that difference is negative and problematic, whilst the other argues that difference between heterosexual and LGBT parenting is a positive thing. Academics have recently noticed that new and current research, in the field of lesbian and gay parenting has taken on what has been labelled as a transformative approach. Looking at lesbian and gay parenting from a transformative approach has seen research that not only argues that LGBT parents can be just as effective as heterosexual parents, but that they may also offer their own positive but different aspects to parenting. It is suggested that same-same parents are in fact not 'just like' the nuclear family but instead present positive differences which arguably a family with parents of the opposite-sex could not offer, with research suggesting this is particularly true with regards to equality. Dunne's (1998) 'Opting into motherhood' is one of the most notable examples of research which takes on a transformative approach, in which she looks at the different experiences of 29 lesbian couples who made the decision to start their own family together. Specifically, she looked at how childcare and housework were shared, questioning the division of labor between two parents of the same sex. In her research she discovered that housework and childcare were shared much more equally in comparison to households led by a male and a woman, which Dunne (1998:4) argued alleviates 'some of the more negative social consequences of motherhood'. This equality of chores in the household leads Dunne (1998:41) to conclude that lesbian households have an 'absence of a gender division of labour', whilst arguably a gender division is highly present in families with parents of the opposite sex. The author therefore shows that in fact, lesbian motherhood is different from the 'normal' family and offers positive differences for women and their children, who consequently grow up in an environment which presents parents as equals.

However, despite this new approaches popularity amongst academics, there have been many criticisms of the transformative approach, particularly with regards to its generalization. Hicks (2002) and Lewin (2001) are both mentioned in Ryan-Flood's (2009)

work on lesbian motherhood, arguing that whilst any challenge to heteronormativity can be seen as a positive trend, it cannot be stated that all lesbian and gay families reproduce this transformative model as that would be unrealistic. Previously mentioned work by Dunne's (1998) can be used as a clear example that the transformative approach is too generalizable; it cannot be assumed that just because a small sample group lacks a gendered division of labour, that every single LGBT family has the same equality when dividing parental responsibilities. As well as generalizing, Ryan-Flood (2009) argues that the transformative model, similarly to the assimilative model, sees heterosexual parents as the 'normal' family structure by labelling homosexual families as different whether this is positive or negative. Subsequently, this puts even more pressure on any type of family that looks 'different'. Finally, research that is informed by a binary of sameness/difference on lesbian and gay families, is criticized for presenting parents of these families as asexual (Ryan-Flood, 2009). It has been recognized that whilst the sexual relationship between parents of different sexes is frequently spoken about in relation to the family, those parents of same-sex are arguably presented by academics as having no sex life, possibly due to fear of talking about what should no longer be a taboo topic. Arguably, lesbian and gay parents are often de-sexualized as it seems they are more likely to be politically and socially accepted as parents if they come across as the opposite to the stereotypical sexually deviant single lesbian or gay persons.

The majority of previous research on lesbian and gay parent families can be said to have been informed by a binary of sameness/difference, which can be seen through both the assimilative and the transformative model. Academic work such as Tasker and Golombok (1997) and Dunne (1998) are an example of research into lesbian and gay parent families which use the concept that they are either different or the same as the nuclear family, regardless of whether this is a negative or positive trend. This type of research into lesbian and gay families has caused some methodological issues, especially with regards to validity. However more recent writings, such as Ryan-flood's (2009) 'lesbian motherhood' is an example of a new type of way into looking at lesbian/gay families and argues that research surrounding lesbian and gay parenting, should not be focused around a binary of sameness/difference, and instead a new form of analysis needs to be introduced, possibly combining the two. Future sociological research should attempt to look at Lesbian and gay families, and LGBT lifestyle in general, with a more complex and deeper understanding rather than just comparing them to the norm at the current period of time, as this just feeds society's heteronormative nature.

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Impact of nationality, race and inequality on the identity of young Black females

Anna Bakalarczyk

Introduction

Our identity is a crucial part of who we are, it represents us and determines how we want to be perceived by others. However, our self-identity may conflict with the way we are seen by others, along with other factors contributing to one's self-identification. Focusing on nationality, race, inequality and invalidation, the research will aim to investigate how those concepts impact the identity of young Black females.

The main question which this research attempts to answer is 'how do nationality, race, invalidation and inequality impact the identity of young Black females?'. I have chosen this question as it includes all the concepts which I would like to explore during the research. As the main research question is composed of many concepts which make it quite complex, it is further divided into sub-questions in order to make the key aspects of it clearer and highlight the different aspects of the question. The sub-questions are: 'Do young Black females experience invalidation of their national identity?' and 'Does race and inequality contribute to the invalidation of national identity of young Black females?'. I believe that the sub-questions clearly correspond and assist in answering the main research question.

The main focus on the study lies in the concept of identity. The concept of identity has been a subject of debate in sociology for decades resulting in many conflicting definitions, however, the research focuses on the definition proposed by Erikson (1968) who saw identity as located in the core of an individual and also in the core of the individual's culture, therefore connecting the community and the individual. Studies of identities of Black females are important as it was found that the experience of identity invalidation can have a deleterious effect on mental health and racial identity, being related to low self-esteem, decreased motivation, anxiety and depression (Coleman and Carter, 2007).

Literature Review

Franco, Katz and O'Brien (2015) carried out research which focused on the racial identity invalidation of Black/White Biracial individuals. Franco et al. (2015) encouraged their participants to talk about their experiences of racial identity invalidation and conducted a content analysis of the collected information. They found that racial invalidation was predominantly formed of two types; through negation or imposition of racial identity (Franco et al., 2015). The research also found that most participants felt either upset, hurt, confused or isolated and excluded after experiencing invalidation, with some participants also admitting that they adapted their racial identity to match the perpetrators' perception (Franco et al., 2015). Franco et al. (2015) also suggest that experience of racial invalidation may be a contributing factor towards feelings of cultural homelessness. These findings further emphasise the importance of research on identity, as the experiences of identity invalidation are shown to negatively affect the mental health of individuals. These findings could also be reflected when looking at other types of identities and possibly apply to invalidation of national identity.

Harrell (2000) examined race-related stress in a multidimensional perspective and also types of racism which invoke this type of stress. She defines racism as:

> a system of dominance, power, and privilege based on racial group designations...where members of the dominant group...maintain structures, ideology, values, and behaviours that have the intent or effect of leaving non-dominant-group members relatively excluded (Harrell, 2000: 43)

which is also the definition used in this research. Harrell (2000) also points out that racism can be overt or covert, intentional or unintentional (Ridley, 1995). Pearlin, Menaghan, Lieberman, and Mullan's (1983) definition of stress is used which describes it as a 'product of identifiable social conditions shared by large numbers of people and not simply as a result of randomly occurring circumstances' (Pearlin et al., 1983: 5) which can be applied to race-related stress (Harrell, 2000). Harrell (2000) argues that on top of life's stressful events that are experienced by everyone, such as death of a loved one or loss of a job, Black people experience stresses which are directly race related, such as experiences of racism. However, the stress of racism lies not only in the specific incident, but also in the resistance of others to believing and validating the reality of one's personal experience (Harrell, 2000). Harrell (2000) also identified six types of racism which range from small scale to large scale acts including: racism-related life events, vicarious racism experiences, daily racism micro-stressors, chronic-contextual stress, collective experiences of racism, and the transgenerational transmission of group traumas. The different types of racism identified by Harrell (2000) are extremely useful as they provide insight into the complexity and variety of the experiences and also give an insight into the stressful effect which these experiences have on individuals. Although the research is useful, account from real life experiences of people would benefit Harrell's (2000) research. Harrell (2000) also does not explicitly look at other factors which could also enhance stress such as gender.

Findings

In order to answer the research and the sub questions, participants were asked how they identify themselves in terms of nationality and how they respond to the question 'where are you from?'. Both participates, although both born in England, saw themselves as British and Nigerian due to their family's heritage as well as the incorporation of both of the cultures in their family and everyday life. As both participants identified their families as influential to their identity, their own nationality and culture impacted them but also saw being British as a big part of identity, due to it being the place where they were born and live. This is an example of hybrid identity which refers to a mixture of two cultures in individual's life (Barker, 1997). This type of identity is usually associated with diaspora identities, which refers to people who were born in another country to that in which they live (Rushdie, 1991), however, as the participants were both born in England this may suggest a change in identities which experience hybridity. One participant has experienced nationality invalidation when introducing themselves as British and found themselves being further questioned about their identity until including their heritage in the answer. The participant admitted that the frequent further questioning had caused them to change their answer to include 'Nigerian', however, she thought it was 'obviously wrong', not because she dismissed her Nigerian heritage but because she felt not accepted because of her skin colour. These finding reflect the research of Franco et al. (2015) who also found reactions of exclusion and adaptation of identity to match the perpetrators' perception as a response to frequent identity invalidation. Although only one participant experienced nationality invalidation, this finding does show that Black females do experience

nationality invalidation and do feel that their race contribute to their invalidation which provides answers for both of the sub-questions. However, one participant stated that the questioning of heritage is 'more out of curiosity more than [they] think it matters' which provides another interpretation of the matter and shows that different individuals may interpret the situation in a different way, suggesting that experiences of nationality invalidation may be dependent on the interpretation of an individual.

Both participants saw their race as an important part of their identity. As both of the participants are from London, they didn't see their race as a big aspect of their everyday life, however, they have noticed a difference upon moving to Colchester. Both had noticed increasing number of people staring at them in public which would be identified by Harrell (1997) as daily racism micro-stressors. Micro-stressors are described by Pierce (1995) as 'micro-aggressions' that include 'subtle, innocuous, preconscious or unconscious degradations and putdowns' (Pierce, 1995: 281). Pierce (1995) believed that these may be perceived as not 'serious' enough for most people to confront and that most have to be allowed to pass, to protect one's time, energy and sanity. However, the accumulation of these experiences contributes to the overall stress load of the individual. Participants did not state whether they had reacted to such situation, however, they had described feeling 'self-aware', 'more cautious' and 'standing out' which reflects Pierce's (1995) findings. By staring, participants were made to feel uncomfortable and exposed which changes the way in which they feel in public spaces. This finding also reflects research by Sanchez & Fernandez (1993) in which the researchers found that geographic location also influences the nature and types of racism-related experiences depending, as both participants suggested, by diversity in a certain location as well as levels of immigration.

Participants also shared experiences of racism which ranged from vicarious racism to racism in interpersonal context. At the interpersonal or individual level, racism is manifested through both direct experiences of prejudice and discrimination (Jones, 1972). One participant describes a situation in which they were refused entry into a pub under the excuse that it was closed, even though it was clear that the pub was still open. The experience made them 'angry', however, they did not confront the worker as they believed that 'if [they were] to do anything [they] know [they] would prove them right', meaning that they did not want to confront them in an angry way to avoid confirming a negative stereotype. They were also afraid in case the pub called the police and 'might have even twisted the story and said [they were] violent'. Although the participant wanted to confront them in order to avoid it happening to other people, they felt 'powerless' as they felt they could not speak up without proving them right. Another participant revealed their experience with vicarious racism, which is defined as 'a person's indirect experiences with racism, resulting from racism targeted directly at one or more other persons in their environment' (Truonga, Museusb and McGuirec, 2015: 2). The participant describes instances of racism towards her cousin and a school teacher which were not met with consequences by the school, to which the participant felt 'so angry' as the school usually told her cousin that she was 'overreacting'. Feagin and Siker (1994) found that when individuals tell their loved ones about their experiences of racism, it can create a 'domino effect of anger and anguish rippling across the extended group' (Feagin & Sikes, 1994: 16) which is reflected in the participant's story. The participant also expressed how 'people just think… minorities are just defensive for no reason….[they] have…the terms like "a chip on your shoulder", that you're always pulling out a race card' which create feeling of further stress and anger as well as of powerlessness towards a situation. Essed (1991) argues that the stress and potential damage of racism is not only caused by the incident itself but also by the invalidation by others of the personal experience which is reflected in the findings.

These findings show that race and racism affect the participant's identity by adding additional stress and anger to their experiences.

A participant also revealed that when meeting new people, going to a new place or a job interview, they're 'always very aware of the fact that [they're] Black' and feel like they have to try extra hard just to be as good as someone else. Crocker and Major (1989) reflect this in their study which found that minority ethnic groups are often more cautious in ambiguous situations. The participant also revealed that sometimes they sometimes feel like they have to act a certain way in order to not be stereotyped. Another participant also reveals experiences of adaption in which their friends were criticised for being loud and 'ghetto' and 'confirming' certain stereotypes which prevented them from expressing their identity. Both participants also expressed that there are certain standards of behaviour which are specific to Black women which restrict them from getting angry to avoid being called 'crazy' or 'ghetto'. This finding shows clearly the effect of race on Black women as some feel the need to restrict their behaviour in order to avoid stereotyping which in turn impacts their identity and how they present themselves.

Another major part of identity is appearance as it serves as a representation of ourselves and our identity. Both of the participants expressed either experiencing themselves or witnessing instances of attempting to fit European beauty standards or feeling negative due to not fitting into the set standards when they were younger. One participant expressed 'wanting to look Western' and wanting straight hair as a young teenager in order to fit in and look like everyone else. Both participants also express how in their community, men tended to prefer women of lighter skin colour opposed to dark as they were see as more 'attractive' and 'prestige', while women of darker complexion were given much less attention which resulted in lower self-esteem and increased pressure to fit into the beauty standards. One participant pointed out that makeup trends such as contouring also promote European standards of beauty by encouraging slim noses which are mainly associated with western ideas of beauty. However, both participants pointed out that these issues were prominent when they were young teenagers and state that they do not feel the need to fit into the mainstream standards of beauty, which reflects the findings of Evan and McConnell (2003) who also found that Black female university students found mainstream standards of beauty least desirable out of other ethnic groups, which suggests that the issues of beauty and body image may be most important for young teenagers.

Reflections

The use of interviews as a method was successful as this method has allowed me to collect a wide range of in-depth data which was relevant to the research topic and allowed me to answer the main as well as the sub-questions of the research. This method was also useful as it allowed me to build a rapport with the participants which is significant in order to make the interviewee comfortable and when discussing sensitive topics. However, as Bryman (2012) points out, too much rapport may result in the interview being too long and the respondent deciding that too much time has been spent on the activity. I believe that this may have been the case for Interview 2 as the interview lasted over an hour and towards the end, the participant's answers became short and uninformative, which shows that building an appropriate amount of rapport is an area of improvement for the future. Leidner (1993) points out that semi-structured interviewing also allows the interviewee to pursue the topics of particular interest to them which may be key to explaining and understanding events, patterns and behaviour. I have found true for the interviews as both participants addressed a concept which I did not consider, the concept of beauty standards,

with one participant in particular focusing on this concept in their interview, which turned out to be a significant concept challenging the identity of young Black women. I have also found that I have successfully met the BSA (2012) guidelines which protect confidentiality, anonymity, privacy and general wellbeing of participants. As the research was of sensitive nature due to potentially distressing subjects such as racism and self-esteem, the participant's wellbeing and comfort must have been ensured. I have found that the participants were comfortable talking about sensitive issues and that my questions were of sensitive nature as interviewees were happy to respond to them.

There were also certain improvements which could be made for future research. I have found that some questions I have asked were confusing and unclear which may have confused the participants and effected the data. I have also found that I have asked two questions at once which may also be confusing for the participant and result in some potential date being lost. Another improvement would be ensuring that I have asked the exact same question to each participant. As Bryman (2012) points out, it is important to ask the same questions as it minimises survey error and prevents from answers being varied. It is also important to recognise potential bias in the research. As the data collected contained a lot of information, I had to identify the key points which may be bias and not representative of the data as well as not match what the samples key points would be.

Conclusion

Overall, the research did answer the research question. Although nationality had an impact on the identity of Black females, it did not affect them in the way in which their gender, race and inequality did. The results showed that the main factors which shape Black female identities are race, gender and self-esteem. The findings show that racism is still a major issue which effects ethnic minorities as both participants recalled numerous instances in which they have experienced it, either directly or indirectly, which caused anger and sadness for the participants. During teenage years where appearances are considered highly important, Black girls face additional pressures due to their race as they do not fit into the European beauty standards which pushes them to change themselves in order to fit in. The results from this research also suggest need for further research into beauty standards for young Black teenagers as it was shown that this age group is predominantly exposed to pressures such as beauty standards and peer pressure.

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[Return to CONTENTS](#)

Appendix A

Participant Consent for Research Project

If you consent to being interviewed and to any data gathered being processed as outlined below, please print and sign your name, and date the form, in the spaces provided.

- This project – 'Impact of nationality, race and inequality on identity of young Black females' - is being conducted by researcher at the University of Essex.
- All data will be treated as personal under the 1998 Data Protection Act, and will be stored securely. The data will be destroyed at the end of the project.
- I agree to take part in the project and understand that taking part in the project will include being interviewed and recorded (audio).
- Interviews will be recorded and transcribed and analysed as part of the study by the researcher. The transcripts will be transcribed without the use of names of the participants or any information which may expose their identity.
- I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any time and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part.
- I understand that I am free not to answer any questions I am uncomfortable with answering and I do not have to give any reasons for not answering the question.

Confirmation and consent

I confirm that I have freely agreed to participate in the 'Impact of nationality, race and inequality on identity of young Black females' research project. I have been briefed on what this involves and I agree to the use of the findings as described above. I understand that the material is protected by a code of professional ethics. By signing below I confirm that I read and understand all the information above.

Please print your name:...

Participants Signature:...................................…   Date:........................

I confirm that I agree to keep the undertakings in this contract.

Researcher's print name:...

Researcher's Signature:....................................…   Date:........................

Interview with: Participant 1

Date: 19/03/2016

Interviewer and transcriber: Anna Bakalarczyk

Length: 00:42:13

So before we start I would just like to confirm that you have read and signed the informed consent form, that you understand that your participation in the study is entirely voluntary and that you may refuse to answer any questions and that you may withdraw from the study at any time. So do you confirm that?

P1: Yes I do.
I: Okay, so let's just start. How old are you?
P1: Twenty.
I: Okay so where were you born?
P1: I was born in Saint Thomas's hospital in London.
I: Okay and where were your parents born?
P1: My dad was born in Manchester and my mum was born in Colchester.
I: Urm, so you lived in England your whole life?
P1: Yes.
I: Okay so, erm, have do you identify yourself in terms of nationality?
P1: British.
I: Okay and why is that, cause you lived in England for a long time?
P1: Yeah.
I: Okay so what do you see as key aspects of your identity?
P1: Erm...well, being Black and female and obviously being British and also being Nigerian.
I: Okay so Nigerian you said but why? Because you haven't mentioned that your parents or that you were born there.
P1: Well even though, like I am, well we've, we were all like born in the UK, erm, my parents was still raised and like bread in Nigeria after they were like kids...and I...there's still like a lot of aspects of Nigerian culture in my home life from my other relatives, from my grandparents, cousins, aunties and uncles, to like the food we eat at home or even language that my parents speak...em, it's kind of weird to explain like I'm British...like..I know all like the British principles and rules and stuff like that but I'm Nigerian...yeah (short soft laugh).
I: So Nigerian culture is like closer to you than British culture, would you say that?
P1: I don't think I can I think they're like equally as important...
I: Yeah.
P1: Like...erm...very much..yeah I think they're equally important and I think they're both equal in my life because sometimes you don't realise how a, your culture, your background can influence you like for me like I tend, I guess I do a lot of British stuff like compared to like..like, when I went like when I meet my Nigerian family members like they're like 'Oh my gosh wow, like she's so.."white"' and like in quotation marks, not white just like so London and whatever and I don't think I realise it just because that's how I've been brought up my whole life.
I: So compared to your Nigerian relatives you're really Western.

P1: Yes! That's the term, Western, West, yeah. Very Westernised...but I don't see it like that I just see it as like be the norm. But then if I was to...I don't know, my White Westernised friends erm I guess my Nigerian Black side comes out a lot more, it's really weird.

I: So it depends on who you're with?

P1: I..not even depends who I'm with, I just notice it depending on who I'm with, I'm like it either way but I really become aware of it depending on who I'm talking to and where I am.

I: Fair enough, so when people ask you 'where are you from?' what do you say?

P1: Well...Nigeria, I-I always say..uh...Na-it depends, again, it depends again on who I'm talking to. A lot of the time when I reply I mean do you mean locally or do you mean like ethnicity wise, like now that I'm older but I feel like...when I was younger I'd just be like Nigerian or...it really Dagh-from Dagenham it really, depends who I'm with...

I: So do you find it like...so when you, have you ever told someone you're British?

P1: Yes.

I: Yeah and have you ever had like a situation where people like further questioned you like no no like..

P1: That I'm not British?

I: Yeah.

P1: No.

I: Okay so why do you tell people you're from Nigeria?...like you say you're from Nigeria.

P1: Erm.....

I: Like who'd or when when you tell people that what...what's that with people you answer that to?

P1: Erm...it really...I feel like in school, in secondary school and sixth from when I'd get asked it a lot...erm...when I'd reply with like...Nigerian it would just be like when my Black friends ask me like when I know they're like African or whatever but it tend to be if I-if, I-if a White persons asking, if my White friend will ask me I kind of assume, assume I mean like locally where am I from.

I: Yuhuh.

P1: Now in university when people ask me...I think I tend to say....erm...in university when people ask me I tend to say where I am from locally because it's, you're not in a setting where like back at home you kind of know where everyone's from automatically.

I: Yeah.

P1: So if they are asking you where you're from they already have like an idea because like we're all from Essex like that's where we've grown up so I can say 'oh I'm Nigerian' they obviously know I'm from Essex but in university when they ask...I'm like are they trying to decide where am I like from London or from North not that I sound like I am from North but (short sharp laugh) yeah that's...I forgot what the question was (short laugh).

I: (short laugh) That's okay urm...so you never like experienced anyone like double questioning where you're from?

P1: Hmm...no, not really erm I guess sometimes...no not really no.

I: Okay that's fine, urm...so obviously your ethnicity is a big part of your identity-

P1: Si.

I: - and you feel like you're like you need to...like, like say that when you introduce yourself...like when people ask you where you're from-

P1: Yeah.

I: - like you feel like it's a part of you.

P1: Yeah, I feel like...not even because I feel like I have to tell people, a lot of the times when I meet people I'm curious as well –

I: Yeah.

P1: - so it's more of a...especially when you look at someone who's not like...stereotypically looking like they are where they're from or if they sound different to how they look like,

that sounds really bad but if I was to see someone who was like...I don't know Black like me but they have a Spanish accent I'd be like 'oh my gosh, where are you from?' like...it's more out of curiosity more than I think it matters...

I: Yeah...(police sirens in the background) so obviously your identity has been, like, being shaped by you, your family, do you agree with that?

P1: Yeah.

I: But do you see your identity being shaped by like what others...like outside your immediate family and friends....do you see like there's anyone else's influence on your identity?

P1: No. I feel like...now that I'm kind of wise and beyond my years I feel like stuff outside of what my family say don't really matter to me, I wouldn't look at someone and feel like oh that's what they're doing so like that's probably of uh (light shuffle noise) typical Nigerian acts and like...I wouldn't...I don't think I let stuff like that influence me, like –

I: Umm.

P1: - maybe when I was a kid, I was like 'oh she's listening to that kind of music and I should probably listen to that too' but now I really don't care...like...like I don't care (loud laugh).

I: (laugh) That's good then! Yeah...so would you say race influences your identity, you said it's a big part before?

P1: (quietly and softly) How does race influence my identity?

I: You can take your time.

P1: I don't really get what that question means.

I: That's fair enough, like...like in everyday life do, does your race influence anything or is it just like...doesn't really matter?

P1: Erm...so like how does race influence like, kind of like, just like my everyday life and stuff like that?

I: Yeah.

P1: Erm.....do you know what, I feel like just because I've been Black my whole life (short laugh) I feel like you get used to it like erm –

I: Get used to what?

P1: Just...uhh, like certain like you might pick up on like kind of odd things...like you know when people look at you...like...I get that a lot, I get like a lot of old like, especially when I came to Colchester....like whenever I go outside of London...now that I'm in uni, like, when I go out I get like a lot of old white people like looking at me a lot. And I don't know for what reason that is...and I-I feel like that makes me kind of self-aware –

I: Uhm.

P1: - like you're probably wondering 'oh why are they looking at me?' and like if you look around no one else is Black and like me so I'm probably thinking 'oh that's probably why' or...maybe I'm just different looking like I feel like...you can pick up on that kind of stuff sometimes but I just get, you just get so used to it...erm....okay I need to think of the question again, what was it, how do umm....what was the question again?

I: It was em how do you see like your race is effecting your everyday life.

P1: Err...-

I: So do you get that a lot like people staring?

P1: Yeah.

I: And it's a lot in Colchester rather than London?

P1: Yeah cause I think there's just so many different kinds of people...ethnic wise, looking wise in London like it's not really strange anymore but I feel like Colchester is kind of erm is not urban... –

I: Diverse?

P1: - It's not diverse. Like it's diverse, like due to...erm... -

167

I: Students?

P1: - Students! But I guess the way in race affects my everyday life if I'm being blunt, I kind of sometimes feel like I should act a certain way or a different way, like, you automatic-, you automatically think like 'ohh this person might have like a bad perception of me so maybe when I talk to my friend I shouldn't really be too loud or draw attention, or I don't want them to think I'm troublesome or anything like that'.

I: So you become self-aware, that you feel the need to change?

P1: Yeah. You just become self-aware I guess.

I: Because you think, eh, so you change, why? Are you afraid of being stereotyped?

P1: ….Umm…Yeah cause, ah, I feel like, when I first came to Colchester it was like that a lot…but now I've, don't care. I feel like when you enter a new place and it's a new situation, I'm always, okay, whenever I go to a new place I'm always very aware of the fact that I'm Black, like, if I go to a job interview, if I go into a new room full of new people, I'm just always really aware, that sounds really bad, but like, if I go to a room full of new people I automatically like look out, okay, who's Black, who's like me, and I'm like if like no one else is like Black or I'm in a room full of White people I automatically get really conscious, ehh, especially in job interviews you feel like, ugh, I have to like be like extra, I have to work extra hard just to get that spot or to be as good as someone else…Like I feel like when I'm in a familiarer setting it doesn't really bother me at all.

I: So during like job interviews you said you have to try extra hard. So do you feel like…race will effect whether you get the job or not and that you'll have to like –

P1: Even though –

I: - work harder?

P1: - I know it shouldn't, and there's like laws to stop that and stuff like that –

I: It can still happen.

P1: - erm….and I know it's the same thing for, er, a lot of people who aren't…I guess I'm just going to say White, cause we're in Britain, but I know that for a lot of people when you go into a job, a lot of the thoughts are 'oh my gosh I hope that person isn't racist' –

I: Uhm.

P1: - like, I think that that's one of the first things I think and, the most frequent thing that I think whenever I go into a job interview and it's really bad, like, you know, sometimes like, when I was really fast [/first/] starting looking out for a job, I would always say to my mum 'just gonna pray I'm gonna hope this person is a nice person –

I: Uhm.

P1: - like (soft laugh) that sounds really bad and really like, sad, and I dunno some people like if I was saying some people might be like 'oh you're overreacting'….etcetera, etcetera, but, unless you're in that situation, in that…in those person's shoes you really won't understand.

I: Yeah you're right, cause a lot people just have that preconception that racism doesn't exist these days just cause it's not like it was like fifty years ago, but do you feel like it still exists today?

P1: Yeah, I feel like instead of racism going down it's just more well-hidden –

I: It's implicit.

P1: - it's very well hidden, that's it.

I: Have you ever had ever had any like experiences with like direct racism?

P1: I have but like…I've, d'you…

I: You don't have to talk about it.

P1: No, it's alright like…I have but I don't feel they're as, bad as like other people and I don't always, I don't remember them of the top of my head, just because, it's just like maybe it was a long ago or just something you just kind of like filter out –

I: Umm.

P1: - but I remember my first (soft laugh) my first example like racism was like in primary school when I didn't even know that I was like Black (short laugh) like I think everyone's just so naïve like in primary school –

I: Umm.

P1: - erm, I think maybe it was like year two or year one? I didn't even know that like (short laugh) there was like Black and White, I just saw like kids. And then at one point I think a kid at his table's like 'oh my dad doesn't like blackies' I was like 'what does blackies even mean?' (loud short laugh) and I was really confused! And I think there was like a helper teacher at the table…like you know when you get the li-little like the assistant teachers –

I: Teaching assistant yeah.

P1: - obviously she was getting like, really like 'oh my gosh what is happening right now, what is this kid saying' and I was just sitting there carrying on. And I think the other kids at the table like, maybe I was like the only Black kid at the table probably, I don't really remember, but the other kids at the table were catching on as well like what he was saying, that it wasn't nice, but I was sitting there like gluing away and cutting away –

I: (short laugh)

P1: - I didn't really understand (short laugh). And then when they is all when they made a big deal out of it I was like 'oh my gosh, like…is he saying that he doesn't like Black people?' like it was just such a foreign thing.

I: So that was like the first time you realised, wait people actually discriminate based on that?

P1: Umm that's always the first thing I remember even though it was like in primary school and, probably like immature point at people's life, in like my life, that's always the first one that I remember but I don't really remember the ones, from my adulthood. I always remember stuff that always happens to other people as well, like, I feel like personally I haven't got a lot but I feel like maybe that's, I don't have a strong presence or whatever, but I know just so many other people like, I know of my cousin, like, her school was…a mess like…there was a lot of racism, like from, between students…from students being racist at teachers, and her school like never really did anything about it even though she's complained, or they'd tell her she was overreacting or exaggerating…..like literally…I don't know if I can say this in the interview, like, I remember once the…they (short laugh) printed out, sorry it's not funny, they printed out like, a KFC bucket with chicken in it and they stuck their Black teacher's face on the bucket and they left it at her desk –

I: Wow.

P1: - I think my cousin saw it and she was with her teacher and her teacher I think just picked it up and scrunched it up and she was like 'they shouldn't be allowed to do that, like, you should tell someone' and her teacher was like 'it's fine, no one will really care'.

I: So, so the school didn't react or anything?

P1: I don't know if, I don't remember if the teacher actually told –

I: So she –

P1: - the school, or if my cousin did but –

I: So she felt like there wasn't even a point?

P1: Yeah. But my cousin she's had like, where people like have like, called her blunt, like blandly like a n***er or a monkey and she would tell her teachers and the teachers would be like 'you're overreacting', cause maybe, I think maybe she's like shouted out or like, become physically aggressive, like pushed a table or something or like…went at them…and like 'oh you can't be doing that' like, obviously like, no one should be pushing anyone, hitting anyone, but, they kind of ignored that fact that, that they had started it with like verbal racism so..

I: So they already…so instead of like, like to react like having general like 'oh you're an idiot' thing, straight away, they pull out the race, attack her race.

P1: Yeah, a lot of times it was her race or her weight.

I: That's really horrible.

P1: Yeah.

I: So when you hear something like that, people like so close to you, how do you feel?

P1: I get really angry, there were loads of times where I was like 'can I go to your school, can I write a letter' and she's like 'no, just leave it, do you know how many times I've complained and nothings ever really happened'….and it makes me so mad…so mad….and it it's gotten to like….the point where, we're just …people just think, I guess minorities are just defensive for no reason or we're always, we have like, I know the terms like 'a chip on your shoulder', that you're always pulling out a race card or whatever but, I feel like we've built, been built to become this defensive. Like it wasn't a problem we wouldn't be like that –

I: That's true.

P1: - and we'd, I guess always being, if you're Black and a female and if you call someone out on it, you automatically get presented as crazy, like, there've been so many times where I've been like, 'what do you mean by that?', but the person is like 'oh, you know, you're overreacting' or whatever or like 'you're being slightly crazy', or if you get angry you're like 'it's not that deep'…but it is that deep.

I: So when you point it out, like 'wait, that's actually a problem' you get it thrown back in your face kind of? It's like they further pull out stereotypes like 'oh you're being aggressive' –

P1: Or it's not that seriously or its 'I didn't mean it like that!' Or you know, 'oh, I didn't really mean it for you to take it to heart like that, I was just saying' and I was like, and you're just like 'hmm, yeah but'.

I: So do you feel, in that way, like that racism kind of became casual? Like people don't even see the problem?

P1: Yeah. I feel…like people get really comfortable as well, like, even when I think to…secondary school like there's no instances I can remember from the top of my head but sometimes I do remember these things, like just sitting down, like in my room thinking about it, and I'd be like 'there is actually so much casual racism that went on'…and like…cause we're all like familiar with each other, we're all friends no one really picks up on it, so it becomes okay…and like I like think about this stuff and you ignore it when you hear it, like, cause we were all friends and stuff but now when I think about it I'm like 'oh my gosh…was that person like slightly racist, like was that person racist? Cause…that's a weird thing to say like' …yeah.

I: So instances like that, do you sit back and think about them?

P1: Yeah.

I: Even though it's been years?

P1: I guess it comes with being Black.

I: That's true. So it does kind of really affect…so, do you feel like it really does affect like relationships you have with other people?

P1: Erm –

I: Your race.

P1: Sorry, repeat that.

I: So do you feel like your race does have an impact on relationships with other people, like especially when you meet someone new?

P1: Erm…yeah. If I meet someone new, I'm really cautious, I'm already like erm…ugh…like, you know when you meet someone new and like me and my friends had this term like 'oh I like her she's woke', like woke means like she's like aware of like all of the stuff that's going on. Like, I think it's like amazing when I meet someone who isn't Black or like a White person they realise like how wrong this stuff actually is rather than meeting a person who

says like 'ohh you know…yeah they didn't mean it like that' or 'it's blown out of proportion' or, rather than meeting someone that's like 'no that's not alright', like I kind of, I guess when I make friends I kind of ask questions like just to know that if they're "woke".

I: Umm.

P1: Erm, if I get like a weird kind of vibe I tend to stay away from them.

I: So…you have to be careful with who you actually be friends with? Do you feel like that?

P1: Yeah I- uh…personally I just, because of me, just the way I am I don't, I don't make close friends that easily, like –

I: Umm.

P1: - erm I'm not the type of person to go out and like, look for close friends cause I already have them, so if I was to meet someone now that I saw like often but I wasn't that close with and they wasn't for example "woke", like…I wouldn't…be like, uhh…like if this person was really trying to be my friend then I'd have to like shy away but if it was like kind of like a casual like acquaintance or stuff you'd just like, just kind of let the feeling slide cos this person means nothing to me basica- well, yeah, I –

I: They're not a part of your life.

P1: (soft laugh) Not really yeah.

I: So…like when you describe instances like, of like, racism, do you feel like it does impact you as a person?

P1: Yeah, d'you know…does it impact me as a person…I think it does just the whole becoming more s-…like, causally more and more becoming more self-conscious of your race, especially when you hear stuff like on the news, like you know America has problems with Black people getting shot –

I: Umm.

P1: - you know. I remember once, I don't even know if it was like a racially like triggled, triggered attack, I was just sitting on the bus and I think someone was outside of the bus, and they were just looking at the bus, and I think they saw me and they spat at the window and I remember I went home and I cried. And in the back of my head I'm thinking 'oh it's probably because I'm like Black' like blah blah blah, but I-I don't know if that was the reason, that person could've just like, thought I was really pretty and was jealous like (loud laughter).

I: (loud laughter)

P1: And that could have been what happened but umm, you automatically…it's just, even though it's in the back of your mind it's not till, when you sit down and you think about it and you're like 'oh my gosh, this is actually such a dominating thing in my life'.

I: So you get so used to it that you don't even think about it?

P1: Yeah I-I've…yeah (pause) It's really hard to explain…umm….yeah.

I: So yeah so do you feel like all these like experiences, all the stuff you've heard, do you feel like they impact you, to, like to the point where you have to like, adapt yourself? Like that you feel like they've changed you a little, that you have to act a certain, a different as a person?

P1: Well in terms of…adapting myself, erm, physically, well, not really now but like when I was younger, like physically…erm…I guess I'd always want stuff like straighter hair…just because, like, I used to like, not, it's not even just me, like a lot of girls permanently straightened their hair…I guess it's just- I think for me when I was younger it was more for me just looking like everyone else, with the straighter hair, I didn't like it when my mum put cornrows in my hair. I personally don't, still don't like it now but that's just because it makes me look like an egghead –

I: (short laugh)

P1: - but (pause) urm…you know, I feel like when I was younger, there was always me wanting to look Western, like everyone else, and it's so stupid, like I'm disgusted with my

own self now. But now…I would not adapt, anymore. Like, if I do adapt it's very like…unconscious -

I: Subtle? Yeah.

P1: - like I won't be aware of it, but…I'm not the type of person to look like really stupid and ignorant people and like…I think now, at this…erm…the closer to me being twenty now, like now that I'm an adult, I really couldn't give a fuck abo-, oh woowowow! –

I: Yeah you can say that, you can say that, yeah!

P1: - I really couldn't give like a crap, shit what anyone thinks like, I would, I would never adapt myself now.

I: Yeah. But do you feel like other, like younger girls, as you said when you were younger, like, the fact that they're Black, they feel like they have to be more Western, do you feel like they, like, the fact that you're Black makes you wanna be more Western, like when you were younger and like influenced?

P1: Erm…I-I can't speak for other girls –

I: Yeah.

P1: - but for me I think it's just because I was in that environment where I was like in a predominantly White area, but things are like really changing now like…just, I feel like, I don't know whether just my eyes more open now but I feel like a lot, like, there's just like, kind of a movement, everyone's just embracing where they're from, like no one's like really ashamed –

I: Yup.

P1: - I feel like, London's also a lot more like urban, like, here I am using "urban" like an old white man! (loud laugh) –

I: (loud laugh)

P1: - it's a lot more diverse, like there are more Black people, more Asian people and really like, I feel like now no one gives a fuck, like everyone's really- well, I dunno if this is just me but, maybe I was just like a nor- an, a weird person who thought they should conform but like really like…I feel like girls today probably have nothing to worry about, like, our culture is so cool man like…fuck conforming to any like –

I: Yes!

P1: - old white man nonsense, like (loud laugh) Bruv!

I: (loud laugh)

P1: (continues laughing) Oh my gosh!

I: So it just really depends on your environment?

P1: I think it depends on the person. How person feels about themselves, their self-esteem…all that kind of rubbish, I was very shy, cos on top of like, being Black I was a very big kid like, I was very shy, I was very aware of the way I looked. But now that I'm buff and I glowed up, like I really don't give a shit! Like I know I'm amazing, like I don't need an old White person who calls me a n***er to get me down or anything like that, like…and I feel like…I-I feel like in the future, even if like, racism didn't go down or anything like that I just feel like we'd be as a people a lot stronger like, I'm gonna raise my kids not to give a fuck –

I: Yeah.

P1: (short laugh) – like yeah.

I: So it all came down to like, growing up and actually accepting yourself -

P1: Yeah.

I: - and being comfortable and actually embracing where you're from and I think that's great. So, having that attitude and having like grown up and matured like, does, like race doesn't affect you that much anymore does it?

P1: It makes me very sad still, cause it's like it's not really any more about…if someone's going to call me the 'n' word or if someone's going to tell me I'm ugly, I have a big nose or

big lips, like…erm…I remember when I was younger I really didn't used to like my nose, I thought it was too big like, it wasn't like pointy and like…like –

I: White?

P1: - yeah, I like my nose now like but erm, moving away from that, what was the question, I can't remember again, I had something to say.

I: So when you're older, now you're older, do you feel like racism doesn't really hurt you personally that much?

P1: Yes. Yes but it makes me, no, no, no! It depends.

I: Yeah.

P1: It depends cause it's not even, like I said it's not about someone calling you 'n' word anymore, it's about a child getting shot in the street (ambulance sirens) or a child being like beaten up in the street, or a Black man being chocked to death in America somewhere because he looked like a mischievous man. Like that kind of racism is very extreme still and –

I: Yeah.

P1: - that makes me sad and I'm not gonna say that I'm desensitised to that, if anything it makes me angrier because it's not even being immature, it's taking people's lives away, taking people's children…it's, it's abuse of the people, it's…it's very bad like everyone hates what Hitler did for, to the Jews but…like, I'm not comparing it like that but, you know, you have sympathy for…like, very well deserved like, you know, that was wrong –

I: Umm.

P1: - what Nazi's did to Jewish people, like genocides, like, but people, a-in like modern day and age, in, like say Western countries like, Britain, I guess Britain's not as bad, but like, places like America, that supposed to be free people are getting killed, because they are Black and they look threatening.

I: Do you feel like it's because it's not like, obviously like…it's not so obvious…to them, that they just like, swipe it under the rug?

P1: I don't understand how someone can say it's not obvious cause it is –

I: It is.

P1: - it's very obvious and I-I don't understand why people aren't making a big deal as, a big a deal out of it, like, like I feel like the only people who care are actually like Black people, but like, I don't know how you can be sitting there, like, not to generalise, I know there White people who, like, really care, like, there would be people who will be like 'oh but it's not about race, it's about'…it is.

I: They kind of put a label on it that's like 'it's their fault', but –

P1: Yeah.

I: - well, it's not…because police are racist, like you can see examples.

P1: There are loads of examples. Even if it's not intentional, like, they say, they were just like 'I thought they had a weapon', like, they're like, there have been studies to show that, like, compared to a White man and a Black man holding like a…something, I don't even know –

I: Cell-phone.

P1: - the details, cell-phone or whatever, you're more likely to shoot the Black man, rather than the White man. Or you're quicker to like, shoot at the Black one, or something like that, but there's like, there is like sort of evidence to prove all that kind of stuff so.

I: It's still really, really prevalent today.

P1: Yeah, very.

I: People just don't, people chose to ignore it.

P1: I guess in a sense, urm, ugh, this is like really bad to say but I feel like eve-, like…not, it shouldn't be like this, but…I feel like I'm slightly luckier to be a female rather than a male. I feel like Black males get it soo bad…compared to, maybe a female, but I feel like, with

females it's very hard, just because it's gotten to the point where like, especially with beauty standards and stuff like that, it's get, it's gotten to the point, you know, where like...even, Black males are saying like, you know, we're not good enough if we're dark skinned, or something like that –

I: In terms of partnership?

P1: - it's idioticy. Yeah, yeah, like that kind of stuff. Again, like, I see that and it makes me angry, but it doesn't bother me cause I wouldn't wanna be with someone who thinks like that anyway, cause that already just shows your intelligence, with the different like level, but (pause) I don't even remember the question (loud laugh).

I: (quite laugh) So, being Black and a female does affect, like, do you feel like it does impact, like, your romantic relationships?

P1: Erm...

I: Or do you feel like you have to look a certain way, like, that there are standards more for Black females, than for other females of other races?

I: Yeah. I feel like it's that, but I feel like it's not even just in terms of looking. I feel like...like I see this like quote a lot, like on social media like, it's okay for maybe, a White person or a White woman to mediocre, but for a Black girl you've got to be like the best at anything...like if, like, when I watched 'Scandal', erm, Olivia Pope's, even though it's fictional, it's still true, like, it hit so close to home, her dad was saying to you 'what have I always told you, you've always have to be like two times as better, than them to get what you want. You have to be twice as better or even more'. Erm...I feel like, yeah. I don't even know why it's like that, a lot of Black boys, like, they kind of like put White woman, or Hispanic women, or even Asian women on a pedestal rather than to like Black woman. I don't know why that is, I can't really speak for them but they're stupid.

I: Yes.

P1: Amen.

I: Amen (loud laugh)

P1: (loud laugh)

I: So in terms of like, really like...I suppose casual racism in your life, so because you're like, you're older now as you said and like more comfortable with yourself, like, casual racism doesn't really affect you, like, you don't feel like you have to change because of those people?

P1: I'm not, no, I'm not really scared of what anyone would say.

I: Yeah, so it does come down to like confidence, accepting yourself yeah?

P1: Yeah.

I: Okay, so, it's not that, a lot of it comes from your race, not your nationality? So even though you're British, people don't even see you as British, do you feel like that?

P1: No I don't feel like that at all –

 I: Okay.

P1: - I just feel like, uh...erm...it's hard to explain it. I-I can't speak for the way people view me, but I assume people see me as Black before they see me as British, but I don't believe they don't think I'm British, because it's not hard to be Black and British, you just literally have to be born in the country, don't even have to be raised, literally you just have to be born in the country, like that's not a, I don't think that's a hard concept for anyone to grasp, I just feel like...erm, I don't know if all people are like this, but I feel like ignorant people see me probably as Black first before they see me as British, or they'll, they, very well may argue that I'm not, I don't know, they'll probably, they could call me an immigrant or whatever I don't know but.

I: So it comes to ignorance?

P1: Yeah, I feel like that comes down to ignorance, yeah, and unintelligence, and very low intelligence levels.

I: Okay, so I think we are done here.

P1: Okay.

I: So, any other questions or anything you'd like to say? No?

P1: No.

I: Okay so thank you very much for your time. I really appreciate you taking part in this.

P1: Okay, thank you.

Appendix C

Interview with: Participant 2

Date: 19/03/2016

Interviewer and transcriber: Anna Bakalarczyk

Length: 01:03:34

I: Before we start, I'd just like to confirm that you have read and signed the informed consent form, that you understand that your participation in the study is entirely voluntary, and that you may refuse to answer any questions and you may withdraw from the study at any time. Do you confirm that?
P2: Yes I do.
I: Okay, so how old are you?
P2: I'm nineteen.
I: And where were you born?
P2: I was born in…the UK, in England, erm, in London (soft laugh).
I: And, err, your parents were born in England or?
P2: Err, my parents were born in Nigeria.
I: Both of them?
P2: Both of them, yeah.
I: Okay so…have you lived in England your whole life?
P2: Yeah, apart from a year. When I was five I lived in Nigeria.
I: Okay so, erm, if someone asked you 'where are you from?', what do you answer usually to that?
P2: Oh I'm from…London, I'm from England –
I: Okay.
P2: - I'm British.
I: So what do you see as the key aspects of your identity? What makes you who you are?
P2: Erm…I do identify myself as British-Nigerian, so I'll say me being born here I am British, but from my culture and, you know…number one my skin, you know, my skin tone, and have I've been brought up in my household, I would say, you know…Nigerian in that sense, I have like two cultures.
I: Yeah, so do you- do you, so your parent's origin is a big part of who you are?
P2: Yeah, yeah.
I: You'd say, cause it's like, so is Nigerian culture, like, really prevalent in your home?
P2: Yeah definitely, from what we eat, from our language, from, you know….yeah, it's a major deal in our household.
I: So, do you have aspects of both Nigerian and British culture in your life?
P2: (soft laugh) The British culture we have is like 'EastEnders', like (short laugh) –
I: (short laugh).
P2: - in our household, and then everything else is like…cause I do speak English, you know
I: Yeah.
P2: - in my home, I would say, yeah that's Eng-, that's British, like, you know, I do speak my home language and I do eat the food and I do, you know, listen to the music, so it's kind of like a mixture in our household.
I: So it's a mixture.
P2: Yeah.

I: Okay, so, erm, you do see your parents, your nationality and your race as part of who you are?

P2: Definitely.

I: Both big parts, okay so…when you introduce yourself, you, you say, you said you say you are British-Nigerian yeah?

P2: Yeah or just Nigerian.

I: So has any- have you ever had an experience where someone…was just like, kept questioning where you're from, that wasn't, like, accepting the answer?

P2: If I say I'm British then they're like 'okay, but, you know, but where you're from?', like, you know, cause, en- in general, like, if I say, if I- if I- cause, it's quite clear that I'm not, you know, you know, my parents wasn't, like, it's quite like clear like I'm not…you know the majority, like, you know I'm not White British, so when I say I'm British, just like in like a general sense cause I was born here, they ask me 'ohhh, but where you from, like, where are your parents from?' and I'm like 'oh I'm Nigerian!', like as in, you know…so.

I: Do you find that you have-, often have to say that?

P2: Yeah, like, yeah, I have to be like, that's why I just say 'ohh I'm just Nigerian', like, if someone asked me 'where you're from?' I'm just like 'I'm Nigerian'.

I: So, did you…so before, so before, because people questioned your answer like, double questioned it –

P2: Yeah.

I: - did you feel like every time you answer now you have to include 'Nigerian' in your answer?

P2: Yeah, like it got to the point where, I just like, I just said Nigerian, like, if someone asked me 'where you're from?' I just said 'Nigerian', cause to be honest with you I do associate myself more with, you know, that culture than I am British, like I say I'm British because I was born here if that makes sense. So nowadays when people ask me, I'm just like 'I'm Nigerian'.

I: So –

P2: When you can clearly see that I'm not a British.

I: So how does that make you feel when they question it? Like…does it make you feel anything or you're just.

P2: Like, if I say, yeah, when I did say I was British and they do question it, I would obviously be like…just because I'm, you know, I'm not White British doesn't make me any less of a Brit, you know, British like…you know –

I: You were born here.

P2: - yeah, like I was born here, yeah like, how every other person was, like every other British person was, they were born in this, you know, country, therefore they are British, and I see myself as British because I was born here and I was raised here. Let alone just born here, but I was brought up in this country…

I: Pretty much all your life –

P2: Yeah.

I: - except one year.

P2: Yeah basically, apart from one year…so yeah, I will say I'm British.

I: So obviously your parents are, like major part of like who you are. Do you see, like, ot-, like others questioning you and others, like, others opinion, do you see that as effecting yourself and how you present yourself?

P2: Erm…it just, you know, changes what, what I, call myself in that sense, like, you know, before, like I said, I would call myself British and then I would change it to Nigerian because…you know, I know what they mean, I know what they mean, like 'oh where's your family from?', like as in, you know, you're Nigerian. But, you know, it yeah, it has changed the way I'd, I do identify myself, like, you know, what I call myself, like, now days I'm just

saying I'm Nigerian….you know, I think, I think it's obviously wrong and that because, like, if, I have a friend, yeah, who like, you know, she's Indian but she grew up in South Africa basically, and another friend who's, again, who's Indian but grew up in Kenya, she identifies herself as Kenyan, but then she's asked 'oh, erm, but where are you from yeah?' cause obviously don't look Kenyan and she will be like 'oh, my fam-, my family are from India'. I feel like that's the same thing, I'm British but my family are Nigerian, you know, it's not like I'm, you know, dismissing my Nigerian heritage, that's not even –

I: Umm.

P2: - you just, I'm as British as you or anyone in this country is.

I: Cause you live here and you were born here.

P2: Yeah, yeah, basically.

I: So it's kind of like other's don't really accept you –

P2: Yeah cause of my colour.

I: - in their culture.

P2: Yeah because of my colour.

I: So, is race a big part of your everyday life? Would you say that?

P2: Erm…it wasn't really because, you kn- I grew up in London –

I: Yeah.

P2: - and it wasn't, it wasn't a major deal really about your colour, erm…not, not necessarily cause –

I: Yeah.

P2: - we were all around, you know, people who were of different shades, different colour, from different backgrounds basically…you know, so my race wasn't really a huge…a huge deal. It was only when I left, you know, when I moved outside of London, I noticed that, you know, you start to notice your colour amongst other people, like, especially when, you can feel that you are minority. -

I: Umm.

P2: - In London you can't really feel it, in certain parts anyways, you can't- especially where I was born, you can't feel it, when you g- you move out of that area you can feel that, you know, your…you can see that, you know, you can be the only one that's odd, of that colour.

I: So it's, location does have an impact –

P2: Yeah.

I: - on how you feel. So when you're in, when you're out of London, like, what do you notice is different?

P2: First of all, like, where I'm from, you know, you can have a whole street just for, you know, of…some, of, like, a- of people of, like, the same culture, like, you know, certain areas where I'm from you have one born- you know, one, sorry, one area that's, you know, predominantly Asian, one area that's predominantly Black, you know, when I go to outside of that area, you know…you can, you can be surrounded by, just predominantly, you know, Caucasian people, and…you know, you realise that there's not a lot of people of your kind there basically, so, you know, yeah, you do notice…you do notice, you know difference.

I: Do few, like, people look at you?

P2: Yeah, definitely! If I'm going- yeah, if I'm…if I'm going outside of London, I go to, no, or just go to a different part in London, they deffo stare. Er, in London, you know what, it's not huge –

I: Yeah.

P2: - in Colchester, in Colchester it was a huge deal, like, you notice that they do look at you…and you're thinking, like, you're not used to it, you're just like' why are you looking at me, like, why are you staring, do I have something on my face, like, what's going on, like, why are you looking?' and obviously know the reason why cause they're not used to…seeing someone like that. Whereas in London it's quite common, despite what area

really or, you're- you know that there's, you know, someone of a different colour, like…yeah.

I: So, definitely, like, do you feel more self-conscious when you're in areas, like, that are not really diverse?

P2: Erm…not self-conscious but…I'm not…I am..erm cautious, like, where I go to if that makes- if that makes sense, like, if, I, like I'm more comfortable in London in a sense that, you know, I know that there's other peo- like, I know there's other people of like me around if that makes sense, if I'm in erm..in a predominantly, you know, place, despite whether it's White, Asian, you know, just somewhere that's not of my culture, like, you know, I am weary in a sense that, you know (pause) you ju- you just, you just never know, like in Colchester, like, if I'm walking to town…you know, I'm just, just quite cautious around me, like, as whereas in London, you know…

I: Are you more, like, afraid?

P2: Not necessarily afraid but –

I: What is it?

P2: - you know…you just never know who might just lure out, you know, who might just l-, because I get more looks in Colchester than I get in London, like, you know –

I: Yeah.

P2: - they do stare at you –

I: You're noticed more.

P2: - Yeah exactly!

I: You're more exposed.

P2: Yeah, yeah, basically, you know, I don't blend in, whereas in Colchester it's just like I stand out, like…you know, the- they just stare a lot. Some are obviously, you know, really friendly and they do smile and some just continue to stare, and it's just like what, like we're not, like, Colchester and London are not far apart from each other so –

I: Yeah.

P2: - you know…yeah.

I: So have you…so when you, like, in such a, do you feel yourself, like, you have to adapt to like certain ways, just like…do you feel like you have to change yourself?

P2: You know what, not necessarily at all, I've seen it happen to other people, er, for sure, like, people, erm, they act themselves when they're around, erm…erm, people of their own colour. Then when they're, you know, around, you know, Caucasian people they change, they change the way they speak, their mannerism. For me I'm-I'm the same, you know, despite, erm, the people I'm with. If I'm in a predominantly, you know, diverse area, I'm still the same as I am in Colchester, basically, I have nothing changes…you know, I still smile at the people in the street, I'm just literally the same person.

I: So why do you feel like people feel like they need to change?

P2: Just to, just to feel accepted in the sense, like, you know, not to appear too different…like, when you adapt to try to esp-…when you adapt to a new situation, you're just trynna to feel comfortable, you're trynna to feel okay in that situation, you don't wanna feel at ease, that's why people change them-, that's why people change themselves…so that they belong, if that makes sense, so that they don't feel the the…what's that word when you're, when you just stand out, what's that phrase? The elephant in the room basically…yeah.

I: So did you-, if-, so people just want to blend in -

P2: Yeah.

I: - and want to be accepted.

P2: Yeah.

I: So, like, have you ever, like, been effected by stereotyping or like…any situation where you felt just uncomfortable, made uncomfortable because of your race?

P2: When, sometimes, when I go shopping...ermm...I do know, I do notice, you know, the way the security guards look, it depends what place though, obviously, but, you know, when I do go shopping, erm, in certain areas, erm, what'd you call it, they do have an eye out for you, they do watch you a bit too carefully, if that makes sense, like, you know, in certain areas it's not the same, like, you know, you go to, you know, like, Westfield, Stratford and there, you know, some people are just smile, smiles at you and that's it, like really, they don't really pay like that much attention –
I: Yeah.
P2: - whereas, you know, security in other certain areas is like they watch you attentively to see what you're doing, like, and they're kind of like, you know whe-, and even, like, some of the staffs, they kind of like, hover around you, not just like to make sure you are okay but, kind of like to see what you're doing, and that's quite uncomfortable cause it's like, you know, you know you're not going to steal anything so it's like...
I: Do they watch you more than other people?
P2: Yeah! Like you notice there's a difference –
I: Yeah.
P2: - a huge difference! Like...you know, if...like, s-someone who could be, you know...someone who could be White basically, yeah, could come in at the same time as me, but the security guard or one of the workers would pay attention to me, like, what I'm doing as opposed to –
I: Automatically.
P2: - Yeah basically, and you prove them wrong when you just buy something (soft laugh).
I: So how does that make you feel when you're, like, in that sort of situation?
P2: Like, it's just, it's j-, it isn't, it doesn't bother me too much, it's just like, you know, they just look ridiculous doing it, like, there was an incident, I came out of Hollister, and, there was an incident in Stratford Westfield where all the Zara bags were causing the alarm to ring, and at the time I had a Zara bag and every time I'd go into the shop and I come out, the alarm would ring basically, and when I came out of Hollister, erm, you know, the guy was like 'can I check your bag?' and obviously I know I ain't got nothing to hide basically –
I: Yeah.
P2: - so I'm like 'yeah, sure' and the guy kept on doing like an extra search-searching me, like more than usual if that makes sense –
I: Umm.
P2: - and more than a standard procedure. And then the, one of the managers came through and she was like 'oh its fine, don't worry, the Zara bags they keep, you know, er, causing all the alarms to ring' and the guy was like 'okay, you're cool, you can go', but I just noticed that he was just being too, you know...like, like he was doing more than was necessary, you know what I'm saying –
I: Yeah.
P2: - usually all they do in a standard check is go through it and that was it, but he just kept on, you know, rambling through my stuff, and taking out my stuff, and it was just unnecessary, and I was just like, I didn't steal anything –
I: He was trying to prove something.
P2: - Yeah! And, you know when you just prove them wrong, and you're just like 'duhhh', like...
I: There was no reason for that.
P2: Exactly, exactly!
I: So...
P2: It makes you feel, it makes you...when that situation happens it makes you question yourself, to think 'oh shit!', oh, sorry, it makes you question yourself and think 'ohh –
I: It's alright, you can, you're welcome to.

P2: - oh yeah, okay (soft laugh). Makes you think 'ohh, oh my gosh, did I put something in my bag, like ohh, did someone accidentally', I always have that fear, like, oh what if someone, like, accidentally slip something in my bag?', you know what I'm saying?

I: Yeah.

P2: And I'm like 'oh my gosh, you never know', you know what I'm saying, so, when stuff like that happen, like, you start questioning yourself, like you know you didn't steal anything but you start questioning yourself, like, you know, 'did I put something?', I dunno –

I: Yeah.

P2: - 'someone put something in my bag?' or 'did something slip in my bag?' or something, you know what I'm saying?

I: You-you still get worried.

P2: Yeah, exactly, exactly! When you know you're so innocent if that makes sense.

I: Yeah. So (pause) have you had, do you have, like, so you don't really have situ- blah, situations in everyday life where you're just like...do feel self-aware...because of some aspects of your identity?

P2: Not at all, I haven't really ques- I've never been in a situation where I- have, had, like to...hugely question my identity...I'm just like, you know, I am aware of who I am, like...you know, I'm British-Nigerian, I never had to, you know, only the time where I do have to tell people what am, what am I, I'd be like British or Nigerian, depends on, you know..like if I'm, if, I realised, if I'm going, like, outside of Britain, yeah, I say I'm British, cause there's no need to explain that you're British if you're, I realised, if I'm, if I'm, if someone asked me in this country 'oh, are you, you know, what are you?', I don't need to explain that I'm British, they can tell by my accent –

I: Yeah.

P2: - really. It's only when I'm going abroad then I do have to say I'm British, if I'm, if I'm here then they'd ask me what am I, I say I'm Nigerian basically, because all of us, most of us in fact are, we call, we call ourselves British, if you've got that British citizen you're, or if you've got that passport that allows you to be here, I'm sorry, you're British. So everyone assumes that basically, so yeah, so I'd-I'd, there's not a point where I'd have to question who am I, like, you know...you know I'm Nigerian.

I: Okay so...have you ever had...a situation...where, like your race, was like impacting a situation?

P2: As in, what do you mean impacting a situation?

I: Like...in just like...erm...it just like...in situations where it shouldn't even be, like, noticed, it was just like –

P2: I mean, yeah, I mean like there was that incident where you-err, it was in Colchester and, erm, me and my friend wanted to get, you know, a drink and we went inside a pub, and...you know, my race has never been a big deal, like it's never, you know...it's never like, been a big issue in a sense that I've never had to experience any racial discri-, like, any discrimination because of it basically, and there was a time I went to get a drink in a pub and...it was, it was lively, it was lit, and I know this pub closes really late, because it says all the opening times as well on the sign, and the owner was just, or the person that was working and saying 'oh sorry we're closed'...and...I was just like, it was, it was as, it was just made me certain feel because it was the first time that I've ever experienced anything like that, because, I was thinking like, clearly you guys are not closed, you guys just saw me and, my friend happened to be Asian as well, so I'm like you clearly saw me and her, of, you know, who are not White and you assumed, you just, you know, said that...said that you're closed, and it just, it kinda-

I: Chose not to -

P2: - Yeah, yeah.

I: - let you in.

P2: Yeah.

I: Was that worker White?

P2: Sorry?

I: Was that worker White?

P2: Yeah! All of them that were there in a pub were all White, there was no one of, you know…who were not White that was there at the pub.

I: Hmm…how did you feel when…?

P2: (with a different accent) I was angry girl! (loud laugh).

I: (loud laugh).

P2: I was angry, like, I was just like, you know, my friend was trying to calm me down and she, and she was really calm, she's like 'oh, you know, don't worry too much about it', cause it's my first time ever experiencing anything, you know –

I: So direct.

P2: - Yeah, yeah, exactly! In such a direct re-, you know. It just got me so mad, I was like how could you just, you know, dismiss me from you pub because you just saw me! Like, you'd, it's not like I gave that, you know, a, erm, like I was gonna, you know, smash up the place kind of look, if that makes sense –

I: Yeah.

P2: - like, if that look even exists, you know what I'm saying, like, I just came in, friendly asking, oh, you know, just, we didn't even say anything, walked into the pub innit, we were gonna, like literally trying to find our-, I've never been into pub anyways, you know what I'm saying, but my friend wanted a drink so, we kind of just, we was walking through, before we could even walk the woman was like 'oh sorry we're closed'…and it just, I just, I'd, what angered me even more was that we passed that place, yeah, about, a few minutes later, and it was still lively and there was still people in there, and it was just like, it got me so mad, and I was just like 'why are people like that? Why are people so, you know…so prejudiced towards people who are different colour to them?', like, it just doesn't make sense to me…I was so mad, I was just thinking about doing different sorts of stuff, but you know (laughs).

I: (laugh) Of course as you would!

P2: Yeah, yeah, because I've-I –

I: Without giving them the reason to –

P2: Yeah! If I was to do anything I know I would prove them right, if that makes sense, so in that situation you kind of have, it's annoying that you have to like, you know, in order to-t, to prove them wrong, yeah, and to stop the w-, not to even stop them, just to prove them wrong yeah, you kind of have to like, ease on back, you know what I'm saying.

I: Not even like…react in a way that would, like, confirm a stereotype.

P2: Exactly, exactly! Exactly! Now, where did that stereotype even come from, if you were to defend yourself, it's like you can't cause it's like, you'll be labelled as something that you know, whatever dis-, whoever decided to make the stereotype against you basically.

I: Yeah. So you felt like in that situation you had to, like, even though, like –

P2: Yeah, I had to be the calm one –

I: Yeah.

P2: - I had to stay calm and I had to forget about it and I just move on from it, cause, you know, it's beca-, uh, I feel like when stuff like that happens it's like I'm accepting it to be a norm. This is why I feel like when I get angry I d-, when I got angry it was because it's not normal for me –

I: Umm.

P2: - and I feel like, if I, if I just, you know, shrug it over, it's like they gon- they gonna think it's acceptable –

I: They gonna do it again.

P2: - Yeah, and they're going to think it's right and I just don't want that. If I don't speak up, yeah, this is why I feel like, when they, when, when you're kind of silenced, yeah, to not speak your opinion or you, not to retaliate, is that, it's silencing you from the bigger, like, from, from…them, you know, being racist towards you, it's kind of telling you to shush, like basically 'hush your mouth' basically, and move on from it…Nah, if in that situation, I could have went back into the pub and I could have just, you know, like explain to the woman, like, you know, what you're doing is wrong, you can't just do that, and I just let it slide. Then she might do the same thing to another person basically –

I: That's true.

P2: - like…you know, I feel like I should've, you know, I should have said something to her, but at that time I was just like, you know I'm just angry, and I know when I'm angry I'll just say thing that I shouldn't really say so I had to let it slide.

I: Did you felt- did you feel powerless in that situation?

P2: Yeah! Cause I feel like they've won in that kind of sense, like, you know, this is wha-I don't understand, I don't understand ho-how people can be racist and when, when I don't do anything or no-nothing is said yeah, they're going to think it's okay and they're going to keep carrying it on because no one is telling them off about it, they think it's okay. So I wa-it was jus- ish- it was just such an annoying situation that I just, I couldn't do anything about it, I just had to let it go, I was, like you said, I felt powerless, like, I just…I couldn't do anything –

I: Umm.

P2: Yeah.

I: Cause even if you were to take a step –

P2: Yeah.

I: - you would have be judg-

P2: They might have called the police! In fact, knowing that, knowing what the kind of people were like, they might have just called the police on me. They might have said, oh, they might have even twisted the story and said I was violent, I was, you know, I was threatening them, and, you know, so I won't take the risk on that, you know what I'm saying, especially I just, I just, I was just like it's not worth it, it's not worth me, you know…doing so. But again, I do wish I would have said something…but it's at that risk –

I: Yeah.

P2: - of them calling the police and them saying that you've been hostile towards them.

I: Do you feel like that situation, obviously horrible, did that come down to race?

P2: Yeah for sure, that's the only reason, that's the only reason why I feel like they could, cause you, you know what, it's not even like, you know, me and the girl were wearing something that was stereotyp, stereotypically, stereotypically, you know, associated with being a thug or a criminal, like, we weren't wearing hoodies or, you know what I'm saying, like, you know when things, you know are associated with that kind of stereotype, we were all just wearing casual clothes basically…like, we might as well looked as how everyone else in the pub was looking like, the, the only thing I can ever, like, say the reason for why they denied us was because we were the only one, out of everyone that was there yeah, we were, you know, we were…we we-I was Black ad she was Asian. If we, if we saw people of different races in there, then I would've understood, I would have been like 'oh, maybe they kicked us out because they thought we were too young'…I'd, I dunno, it wasn't even like they said, it wasn't, but the thing is, the fact that they were like 'we're closed' (pause) that didn't make sense to me because you guys were open and you were guys were still open after we came past that road a few a-, probably twenty minutes after….so it-it, you know, yeah, I think it's that, very, like, you know, down to race. That's the only reason really.

I: So have you ever, like….seen yourself…to avoid situations like that, have you ever, like, had to, like…present yourself in a different way? Just to avoid situations like that, or like felt the pressure to look more like…everyone else?

P2: No, not really, like, if I, if I'll, if I wanna wear something or I wanna…you know…you know, present myself in a certain way I wil-, I'm that kind of person I wouldn't change myself so I'd be accepted by everyone else…I'm, it's like, if, if, if you feel uncomfortable in you that's on you, like…if like…okay, for example, for example, if I'm going to a really nice area, like a really nice area and I know there's like not a lot of, you know, you know Black people in that area, I won't- I-I- I do realise, I won't dress like, you know, as casual as I would on, you know (pause) on…-

I: Every day.

P2: - Yeah but, yeah but it wouldn't be down to race, it'd be more about class in that kind of sense, like if I'm going to a really nice area, I won't dress –

I: Yeah, it's not, it's about class.

P2: - Yeah, I'd dress in, you know, in really nice clothing, like. But that's not due to, you know, oh, I'm changing my identity in a sense that I'm –

I: Yeah.

P2: - you know, changing because of, you know….ohh…you know, like 'there's a lot of White people there, let me try and adjust'.

I: Yeah. So have you always felt comfortable being Black?

P2: Yeah, a hundred percent! A hundred percent, I'm Black and I'm proud, like, love my Black, dark skin like.

I: Like, have you ever been, like, so you've never been like…picked on because you're Black?

P2: Not at all.

I: Have you, so, have you been to a school that's been…diverse?

P2: Like, I-er, you know, you know what the issue, yeah, between in our, in our community and Black community is that, you know, you're not picked on in a sense that, you know…is is you against other races yeah, there's a there's a hidden, like, there's, it's it's…it's to do with colourism basically, like in the scale of how light and dark you are on –

I: Umm.

P2: - I realised yeah, and err, you know, in the lot of…in a lot of schools around yeah, like, you know…the the lighter you are the better, you know, the more attractive you are. It was a hundred percent clear that the lighter, the lighter girls in school, you know, got a whole lot attention while those who have darker skin, you know, they weren't, they weren't given that much attention basically and it was, it was common kno-, it was common, it was a common thing that everyone was experiencing, even when I speak to my little sister as well –

I: Umm.

P2: - some of that still happens to this day. But only just recently, like you know, people are starting to see beauty of all shades of Blackness –

I: Yeah.

P2: - you know what I'm saying, so it's not like oh it's it's, you know, Black against other races, it was more like a hi-, like within the community itself, like –

I: So even Black boys-

P2: Yeah, like, they, they would , it was so evident that they would choose, you know…they'd, they would call, the light skinned girls we called 'lighties' basically, back in my times yeah –

I: Yeah.

P2: - 'lighties' basically, and they were like given more, you know, more than girls of d-, they were seen as more beautiful than girls of darker complexion basically…the darker complexion could be equally as beautiful but because –

I: Of course.

P2: - the girl was lighter, you know, and it was, it was horrible, as only of recently, in my opinion guys started to understand the, how beautiful all shades of Black were like –

I: Yeah.

P2: - it is ridiculous to even think that, you know, just one particular shade was considered a, you know, beauty standard –

I: Exactly.

P2: - like, yeah, so it wasn't really among other races, it was just, like, it was a sad thing that would happen within…the Black race.

I: So you obviously had noticed that so how, how did you feel like?

P2: Because it didn't really affect me directly, like, I really wasn't bothered by-, it's because I saw it , I didn't have, it didn't affect me directly but it, it affected me indirectly because I see, I see how it affected other people –

I: Yeah cause its, you you were able to, it was so prevalent that you were able to observe this.

P2: Yeah! Yeah!

I: Even though it didn't affect you, you could see it.

P2: Yeah, I would see people like, you know, feeling self-conscious about themselves because, you know, they felt they weren't beautiful because of the tension, they weren't getting, you know what, they weren't getting the attention…they wouldn't get attention from guys, especially guys that they liked because, erm, you know, their, their complexion. I had a friend who was, you know, who was really really dark, and you know, they used to call her names like 'bli*k' was the most horrific word ever used against dark skinned people in general, like , it, it was horrific and it used to be thrown, you know –

I: Casually?

P2: - yeah casually! You know, if you are really really dark , you're called a 'bli*k'…and, you know, it used to upset her, you know, reduce her self-confidence basically and she was beautiful as well, she was beautiful and erm, you know, the guy was of a mixed, you know was of mixed race yeah and erm, you know, he he basically made her feel like, you know, soo bad about herself and she just, she felt because she was dark that she wasn't beautiful at all, only recently, you know, not recently but when we started uni, yeah, like she started to love her skin, she started to realise that, you know-, and she was amongst the only girls, yeah, in, erm, my school that had natural hair, like most of the girls in my school had relaxed hair which means you used chemicals to straighten your hair…she was, out of the few girls that actually had her natural hair –

I: Umm.

P2: - and her hair was long, it was an afro basically…she use- she used to hate her hair cause, she wasn't, she wasn't like, she wasn't…like the other girls, if that makes sense…yeah she wasn't like the other girls basically, and then it was only then that she came to uni that she realised that her hair is beu-, you know, was gorgeous and she ended up loving her skin and, you know, you can tell there's a huge self-confidence with her basically…so it hasn't affected me directly but I have seen it amongst my peers, like I have seen what it has done to people….you know in the worst case scenarios some people actually lighten their skin –

I: Wow!

P2: - because they feel like, you know, they'll be more accepted, they'll be more beautiful if they were lighter.

I: So they just want to westernise themselves?

P2: Yeah! It's that westernised beauty ag-, yeah it's that westernised beauty that's you know…that that has effected, and not just Black people, but, you know, Asian, the Asian community as well –

I: Yeah definitely.

P2: - the lighter you are is implanted from, you know…in this culture that if, the lighter you are, the more attractive you are…but…again, I'm quite, you know, happy that we live in an age yeah, especially with social media that we are able to see –

I: Yeah.

P2: - you know, how beautiful, you know, darker complexion can be, and because you see that you associate yourself with that person –

I: Yeah.

P2: - and you start thinking 'I'm beautiful', like, regardless of like, you know, me not being light skinned or, you know, you just end up loving yourself.

I: Yeah

P2: But back then at my age yeah, it was, you wasn't able to access that kind of me-, especially with Instagram as well, you wasn't on Tumblr -

I: Yeah.

P2: - you wasn't able to see that around…so you were just there thinking, you know, ohh..-

I: Western is the goal.

P2: Yeah. Yeah. For me I was just like, you know, I had other issues to concern about, it wasn't more or less my skin tone, it was just like I had acne and I was just focusing on trying to get rid of that, like, I was just like, my self-conscious lies in my acne, let alone, not, my skin tone. Yeah.

I: Fair enough. So you mentioned earlier that…she was called a word…that was thrown so casually, did you find, like casual racism to be like…

P2: Yeah, people didn't even realise it was racism as well, like, the word 'bli*k' like, because, because it was, it wasn't, it wasn't…I, I don't know you know, it wasn't seen as a really bad offensive word, it was so casually, like you know you 'oh you're bli*k, you bli*k', like it was, it was thrown around like…like it was a normal word like, you know, like you're calling someone a girl or a boy if that makes sense, like –

I: Yeah.

P2: - you know, I remember when like, because someone was like really really dark, you know, people would just-, they'd say it in such an insulting way, they don't even realise the the effect it has on that person…like, and it was so upsetting to see wha-, you know, a girl, can you imagine just a girl so beautiful –

I: Umm.

P2: - and just thinking that she isn't, and you're telling her every day that 'you are gorgeous' you know what I'm saying, it's cause a certain group of people are calling you certain names, and, you know, it it, it was just upsetting and, erm, and I thank God that this word is not, you know, people are knowing the offenciveness to that word –

I: Yeah.

P2: - in some sense all the times it's used it's probably as a joke, but it's not, it's not jokingly in the sense that other peo- person is effected and you know –

I: Yeah.

P2: - by it, the word, it's more or less like, you know…it's it's not used to offend anyone anymore –

I: Yeah.

P2: - it's just used as a joke.

I: So it's li-, so it's like racially targeting?

P2: Yeah. Yeah.

I: And it was…do you feel like by…just using the word…like, now do you look back and it's like 'oh it's actually…was really bad'?

P2: Yeah. Now, even just talking about it just now, like I'm starting to think like…like whoah, people was, people were talking, using that word like it was (pause) it was so normal, like you were, you were, you were insulting someone because of how God made

them, you are insulting someone because they were dark, of a darker complexion, like what can they do about it? You know what I'm saying, it was, it was, it was horrible that people used that word to –

I: So casually.

P2: - Yeah! And to offend people as well…it's, it's mad how someone could, c-could, can make someone feel less beautiful…because of their skin tone…because of –

I: Just that.

P2: Yeah! Because there's no standard of beauty based on your skin tone, every, every skin tone everyone is beautiful in their own way basically, there's no skin tone that is dominant to the other one basically, like beauty has no no one definition, it ranges from everything. Beautiful is you, you know what I'm saying, and I'm glad that, you know this, at this age yeah a lot of young people are starting to realise this –

I: Yeah.

P2: - when I was at their age, yeah, it wasn't, it wasn't…a lot of girls couldn't be able to see, they wasn't able to see that. I don't know how I was, because, as I said, I has issues cause of the acne –

I: Yeah.

P2: - as opposed to race but it was just sad that a lot of girls couldn't see how beautiful they were because they were considered, you know, bli*k because of that word.

I: Yeah. So they were self-conscious because of their race –

P2: Yeah, yeah.

I: Okay. Did-, back in your school did you find that, like, there was a lot of like, casual racism? Or was that the most….cause that's quite extreme?

P2: Erm…I'm trying to think of like other casual racism like (pause) mmm, like, things like…I won't say racism but like, you know, there's this stereotype about, you know, light skinned girls, you know, being stush and prestige and thinking they're all that, you know, you know they think they're above everyone else, you know…that, I'm thinking of like, oh, with like Asian, like the word 'paki' was thrown around a lot…like it was, but it was…it was casual, nah, I won't say casual cause that word is obviously really offensive but, they say it as in a joke way and it was amongst the Asian community, you wouldn't catch anyone outside the Asian community throwing that word around, it was someone within the community saying, but just in a jokey manner, that's why I say it wasn't casual racism because it was inside, I dunno –

I: Inside, yeah.

P2: Yeah basically.

I: It's different when –

P2: Yeah, like in a sense, like when Black people use the 'n' word, like, though I'm, you know…

I: You can say that.

P2: Yeah, but people use it, like, people use it casually, not in an offensive manner, just as a joke basically.

I: Because people are like…if you're Black-

P2: Yeah, it's kind of like 'yeah you can use it', if you're not then don't even dare-

I: Don't even try.

P2: Yeah (soft laugh) don't even try basically…and I have noticed yeah with, erm, those far East Asians as well, with the, they will just…in, I realised that in year seven and year eight, yeah, like children were just rude, like, like for example, like, those who had obviously with the far East, erm, Asians like, like they have, erm, eyes that are, you know, they have smaller eyes –

I: Almond shaped.

P2: - yeah, almond shaped eyes, smaller eyes yeah. And you know, they would call them like, you know the, erm…obviously 'chi*ki', but chi*ki was used in a way that was offensive, not in a way that was, you know like 'oh chi*ki'', like cute, like it was like –

I: Yeah.

P2: You know, and they would pull their eyes, you know and they'll be 'oh look you've got chi*ki eyes', like…ugh, this is what I don't understand, what do you want the person to do?! Like, it's like the whole 'bli*k', like what'd you want the person to do, that's how they were made so….what like…

I: And it does impact you cause then, because people say that you have to…you can't be this way.

P2: Yeah.

I: You feel like you have to change yourself.

P2: Yeah, and at that age, you know what I'm saying…during your teenage age you're so self-conscious about how you look. It's that age when you're like, you know, appearance matter the most, sadly, like what people say about you matter a lot. So when people say stuff like that, like, you know, offensive term, it can stick to people…you know, thank God, you know people, people can overcome it. Sadly some people, you know, live with that for the rest of their lives because, you know…it has such a powerful impact on them…and it's like…you know, I'm a bit pleased that this generation is, you know, seeing that, it's a bit easier and that –

I: Yeah.

P2: - you do get them couple or few people that are still, you know, living how I was when I was that age, but…you know it has gone better. People are starting to realise you know…that them kind of words can't be thrown around just as a joke, it has impact on people.

I: Yeah, so do you feel people like people you knew, like…tried to be more western? Just to adapt?

P2: Ohh yes! Erm, basically, erm, so I had em, not even a friend, there's a girl, you know, when she's around, you know, Black people she was herself, just herself basically, then when she was around, you know, her White friends she'll put up the Essex voice, like the whole, you know, like, it was so annoying because why would you change yourself because you're around a group of people that-, and you know what, they could see it, they can see that you're pretending obviously! Like, she'll put up that, you know, really fake Essex voice and you know, just her mannerism as well would change –

I: Umm.

P2: - and I'll be thinking like…you look so dumb, like, trying to change yourself to fit in! This is my opinion, that to change yourself to fit into a group of people, they're not gonna accept you because you, you're changing yourself, you know what I'm saying, if you stand out among, amongst, you know, you're going to be more noticed, you're gonna be more accepted, you know what I'm saying –

I: Umm.

P2: - she would just change her ways, like, and when she was around, erm, you know, her friends who were Black yeah, she would just act herself, by herself I mean she would act herself, like down to earth and just cool, like, you know, no pretend whatsoever. But when she was with, you know, her White friends she just immediately put on the Essex mode, you know, just act, you know, like…something that she isn't –

I: Yeah.

P2: - and I- and I- and I don't get that, I don't get that.

I: So you never felt the need to like…act differently? Like White or any other people?

P2: No, not at all, not at all! My White friends will see, you know, will see me how I am when I'm with Black friends, like, there was no change, you know what I'm saying, like, it-,

but then yeah, I never , I never like had to…acknowledge that oh this pe-, I dunno, like I didn't do it self-consciously, like it wasn't like 'oh I have White friends and oh I have Black friends, and I have Asian friends', like, they were my friends, like, I didn't s-, I-, and obviously I did see colour because you see colour everywhere you go basically, but it wasn't like I had, I had to have it separate if that makes sense –

I: Umm.

P2: - like 'oh, these are my White friends, my Black friends' it was like all in a group, all blended to, in one basically, like it was a whole mixing pot basically like –

I: Yeah.

P2: - it was, I, I, I did have to…acknowledge that oh, you know, oh when I'm with my White friends, you know –

I: I need to.

P2: - Yeah basically…it was the same throughout.

I: That's good. So, erm…we spoke about, yeah, that you don't (paper shuffles). So what do you think comes down to…like, why do you feel people feel the need to change themselves, to act, does it come down to self-confidence, accepting yourself?

P2: Yeah, deffo comes down to accepting yourself, like if you, if you don't fully know yourself and fully like, love yourself, like, it comes down to self-loving. If you don't love yourself –

I: Love your race?

P2: - Yeah, and you don't, yeah, and you don't love your race you have, you feel the need to change it to feel that love, that you're you're craving for. Like, if you're not comfortable in your skin…you're gonna act just like a chameleon and just change it so that you can feel accepted by the, by everyone else. Like, it just comes down to how you value yourself and how you see yourself, and if you see yourself as someone who's beautiful yeah –

I: Umm.

P2: - and, you know, you love your skin, and you love what, how, how you are put together, you will never feel the need to change yourself in any circumstances in terms of, like, your identity, cause it's like if they don't love you then that's fine, you know, but you don't have to change, don't have to change your mannerism and the way you speak just so that you can, you know, that you can be liked by a group of people, like, how- why would you want to be like a group of people, you know, when they only can see, you know, the fakeness uh, you want people to love you because of your realness like –

I: Yeah.

P2: - how you are, like, how you really are, not by the second –

I: By the act.

P2: - yeah, by the act that you put up basically. So when people do, do change their identity it's all down to oh…do I really love myself, do I really appreciate myself, do I- do, you know, do I care for myself basic-, it all comes down to basically self-love and wanting to be accepted by that kind of people, cause when you don't love yourself, you try and find acceptance from other people basically –

I: Umm. So obviously you found that, and you know like…not to change yourself –

P2: Yeah

I: - so you know, like, there's not really a point.

P2: Yeah.

I: So, race obviously…so you see, do you see race as a big part of you?

P2: I see, I see yeah, I see race as big part of me, like…but I, but then again not like, I am passionate about, you know…how like, letting people realise, you know, like all races are beautiful, you know what I'm saying –

I: Yeah.

P2: - me clarifying one race does not put down any other race basically, like, I am passionate about, you know, letting people see that, you know, all shades –

I: Equality.

P2: - yeah exactly, equality. All shades are beautiful basically. Me per-, me personally, growing up yeah, I just…I never felt the need to, you know, feel uncomfort about my skin tone, like I never had to feel to change up my skin tone to feel accepted, you know…or to even go to the extreme of bleaching my skin, like I'd never, never like gone to that extent or to even change my identity, like, I was conft-, like from, you know, early age I was comfortable with ma, with my skin cause (pause) I don't know, I don't know I just was, I was just…I was just –

I: It's just the way you are.

P2: Yeahh! Like I don't, like, I can't even explain it, like, I was…like I said, I had more issues, I had bigger issues again, it was the acne and the , the crispy hair like I didn't even know, like, how to look after my hair, like, I had issues like that basically, like you know them ones when you're younger and you look back at old pictures and you're like 'oh my gosh, did I really wear that, did I really look like that?' –

I: (soft laugh).

P2: - like what the hell. So it wasn't, ohh, you know, ohh me looking at myself like 'oooh that's, you know, I was a bit Black, that's a bit Black', no, it wasn't, it wasn't even that…it was just, it was just, I was so, I don't know, I've been happy –

I: Comfortable?

P2: - Yeah, so comfortable, I never felt the need to doubt on why I was Black or, you know, why I was this shade.

I: So did you find it…strange when you saw other Black girls, like…see themselves like that?

P2: I could understand why, why they could, why they felt that way. I could understand why they felt that way, it just, it just didn't affect me but I know why they felt that way, why they questioned their beauty and why they felt, you know, they weren't appreciated, because I, like I said, it affected me indirectly, not directly so I can see that, you know, the reason why they felt like they had to question their identity and change their identity, is because they were surrounded by people telling them not to love their skin tone, so in that, in that way that was implanted in their head, and they had to feel that they-, in order to be accepted they had to change their ways, they had to change how they were born basically, in order to feel accepted. And that was the sad part basically, like, I haven't gone through that because I was at that level where I was just comfort, comfortable with my skin tone…but I can understand why they did it. When someone keeps telling you, you know, indirectly that you're ugly cause you're so and so skin tone…you know, it's it's gonna effect you.

I: So did you see that a lot?

P2: Yeah! Definitely, definitely. Within the Black community it was…it was quite upset, upsetting because it was the darker you were, you know, the less attractive you were, the less attention you got I fact, because, the reason why it was like that was because those of a lighter complexion was highly praised –

I: Yeah.

P2: - guys would just go for girls who were from that skin tone, if that makes sense, the guys you liked would, were going for that certain look. You know what, even in the culture, I can't even lie because in music videos and rappers, yeah, cause rap was such, esp-especially grime music was such a huge thing in London as well. When you see music videos yeah, the main girls are usually of light skin complexion basically, so it's like when the rappers, you know, go for that kind of, go for that kind of girl yeah, you know the guys will, you know, especially they look up to the kind of guy –

I: Yeah.

P2: - you know, they kind of indirectly go for the kind of girls that look that way –
I: Yeah.
P2: - and in that process Black, you know, darker girls, erm, are affected by it basically.
I: Especially teenagers because, like…you find, like, when you're a teenager, you just generally find like, having a boyfriend so important.
P2: Yeah, yeah, yeah ,yeah!
I: Especially when you're a teenager.
P2: And the crush, you know, your crush liking you back was such a huge thing like –
I: Like you just want to change yourself just so they like you because you're so young and naive.
P2: - Yeah! Exactly, you change your hairstyle, you know, you wear something a bit different, you know, you'll go (shot laugh).
I: It does impact you a lot.
P2: Yeah, definitely, definitely…so it's like, yeah, it's like…I do, I do get why these girls they change, they change themselves, like especially when, you know, I wouldn't just say in school environment just, you know, in the media, like I just said the media effected how these guys think of the girls or how the girls think of themselves and how it ultimately effected them. Like, some girls were like me, they just felt so comfortable with their skin –
I: Yeah.
P2: - they were calm and there was, there was sadly there was some girls that did not feel comfortable with how they were, like I said my friend, like, you know…Like I said she was the only, like most of us had relaxed hair so she was, you know, it was odd to see a girl with natural hair, like, and just freely have her natural hair out. So you know, instead of us, instead of like guys praising that and say 'ooh look at', this is what I mean that they don't accepted her for being different. It's like, when you're in secondary school you have to be the same –
I: Umm.
P2: - you have to, in order to belong, you have to be the same, you have to be similar to people, she was different in all ways, she was dark, she had like really brown eyes and she had natural hair basically, and instead of her being loved by, you know, guys she was ridiculed, she was called bli*k. You know, the guy that she liked, yeah, he basically, you know, he had this, this is what I don't understand like, guys who have a trait for going, for just going for a certain, certain…race basically. Because in, for her, you know how it links to, you know, your crush liking you back, now when you start seeing your crush going for the same type of girls yeah, you're gonna, you're gonna feel down about yourself –
I: You're going to feel uglier.
P2: - Yeah basically, and she felt that, and I had to keep reminding her like, she was beautiful because –
I: Umm.
P2: - you know, her hair was gorgeous, it, this is what I will say, yeah, to my little sister as well yeah, she has never thought that, she's like me, she has never felt uncomfortable with her skin tone innit yeah, but I will say this to her, like, you're hair, like, Black people hair yeah, they need to start loving their hair because, their hair is so magical, think about this, their hair defies gravity, their hair stands up in its own, that's magical enough, you know what I'm saying –
I: Yeah.
P2: - like, you need to start loving your hair because once you start loving yourself, yeah, I swear everything falls into place, everything feels amazing. And if I was to just hear some of these girls yeah, like when I was at that age yeah, is that your skin is beautiful and though you cannot change it yeah, that, you know, it's it's what makes you who you are basically –
I: Exactly.

P2: - like, and don't try to change it so that you can feel accepted because by doing so you can never be accepted, if you know what I'm saying…like yeah.

I: So do you see less of…that, like, the age you are now? Obviously you said you saw a lot of that in school. Do you see that a lot now?

P2: No, you know what it's lessened, it has for sure lessened, like, even when I look in music videos now like, you know, dark skinned girls are like, you know, they, they, they, they're appreciated now, they're like, you know, and it become to a point where it's like, like there's not even about what, there's not not about, there's not even like a light skinned dark skinned thing anymore –

I: Yeah.

P2: - it's more or less like Black, you know what I'm saying cause, you know, they're all Black at the end of the day basically, there's no, there's no, oh, you know –

I: Gradient?

P2: - Yeah! Basically, it's just, it's just, they're starting to, even if it's diversity of women, like, you know, shown on, you know, music culture basically, like, you know, they involvement of Black girls being seen as beautiful now, it's like, before it was every other race in music videos, apart from dark skinned girls –

I: Umm.

P2: - now it's like all races include in them, and it's something that I can see as progressing to children's minds where they feel so much happier with themselves. And my sister, who is in secondary school right now, she's in year eleven –

I: Yeah.

P2: - like, from how she grew up in year seven, cause I was fearful that she might beco-, you know, she might feel down about herself, because of, you know, I know how these girls can feel like, especially in secondary school –

I: Yeah.

P2: - everyone felt self-conscious about themselves. So you know, I just thought, you know, I hoped that she didn't feel, you know, because she was dark that she, you know, she had to, you know, that, you know, she felt any less prettier basically, you know. But, you know, I think, you know, I'm so happy that, you know, you know, she loved herself, you know what I'm saying –

I: Yeah.

P2: - like, though she had, you know, every teenager went through that, when you know, there's something that you didn't like, like, you know, you know what I'm saying –

I: Yeah.

P2: - then she went through that, yeah, she, it, there wasn't issue with race –

I: Yeah.

P2: - you know, she loved her skin tone, like, she she loved that sense basically –

I: Yeah.

P2: - and, you know, I think it has gone better, you know. It could be, it could be better –

I: Yeah, of course.

P2: - but it has, it has gone better and that, yeah.

I: Cause Black girls sometimes they, cause every teenager has that, like 'I don't like my hair, I don't like thing' –

P2: Yeah.

I: - but for some girls it's like race on top of that.

P2: Yeah! It's, exactly! Exactly, like, that's what I mean –

I: A thing that…they really cannot change.

P2: That's what I'm saying, something that you were born with so it's like…and that's a huge part of someone's, you know, someone's i-, identity in that kind of sense –

I: Yeah, how they present themselves.

P2: - their race, yeah exactly! That's the first thing some people actually first see, it's your colour of your skin basically, you know what I'm saying –

I: Yeah.

P2: - so, I dunno, for some, for some people, some girls to…to not like the colour of their skin is very saddening –

I: Yeah, really.

P2: - only because of, you know…how people portray, you know, one race over, and it's, it's not even like, you know, because of praising one race over the other one –

I: Umm.

P2: - it's kind of the neglect of their beauty. They won't being show-, even in media they won't being shown like –

I: Yeah.

P2: - you know what I'm saying, you won't, there won't be like, there weren't a lot of them that you can identify with –

I: Role models.

P2: - yeah, exactly, exactly. When I got Instagram or I see on Tumblr and you, you see like girls that look like, if you see girls of your colour and they're gorgeous, you can immediately ident, immediately identify yourself with them –

I: You feel better.

P2: - exactly. You'd be like 'oh my gosh she's gorgeous…I'm gorgeous!' (short laugh) –

I: (short laugh).

P2: - people do that, they do it subconsciously –

I: Yeah you do.

P2: - no one does it on pur-, like no one does it on purpose, but you, once you identify yourself with someone that is beautiful and they have similar features to you, you're gonna start feeling good about yourself.

I: Yeah. So it's not just, erm, so it's what we talked about it's mostly, like, appearances –

P2: Yeah.

I: - but do you feel like…people do change, like, how they act as well?

P2: What around?

I: Like just any, anywhere (long pause) or is it just appearances they just feel…

P2: Sorry, what did you mean, could you repeat the question? Sorry.

I: Do you feel like…you said that people feel worse and they feel like –

P2: Yeah.

I: - they need to change their appearances. Do you feel like they have to, like, adapt to certain ways? Do you feel like there is a standard ways that you have to act as well for Black girls?

P2: Erm-

I: Or not really?

P2: There is a standard, there is a standard way for sure…there's this whole, you know the word 'ghetto' basically, yeah, they can't, you know, there's a whole stereotype about being loud –

I: Umm.

P2: - like, you know, and an, some pe-, I have, I have a like literally one of my closest friends, she's the loudest of the loudest of the loudest basically, she was shung for that basically, because that stereotype of you know, being Black and loud, like, it's like she couldn't be who she was because there was that stereotype if that makes sense. Like, if you're being withheld because of a stereotype, it's like it, it kinda like, stops you from being who you are –

I: Like, you don't want to prove them right.

P2: Basically…like some, some, some girls, yeah, they're comfortable with, you know, having like different coloured hair basically, but again, it's seen as 'ghetto' basically. But, then again, that's who they are and they like to express themselves through their hair colour –

I: Yeah.

P2: - if that makes sense. So it's like…you know…some had to, had to change themselves because of that bad stereotype that was associated with the, with their race. Like, it was ridiculous in my opinion because…that's who they are-

I: Yeah.

P2: - why should they change –

I: Embrace it.

P2: - themselves because of whoever decided to put, this, together, Black and ghetto together, like ghetto is not a race, ghetto does not associate itself with race. Ghetto can apply to anybody, basically, of who's of ratchet behaviour –

I: That has been, like, racialized now.

P2: Yeeaah, and it's, it's, it's sad because people don't wanna, they wanna act like themselves.

I: Umm.

P2: People don't wanna act like something, they wanna change themselves because they're scared of being called 'ghetto' or being called so and so…and it's just, it's just, it's just like why –

I: They just don't wanna be judged.

P2: Yeah. And like I said, at that age, you know, you….opinions matter the most, opinions matter the most, it –

I: Especially –

P2: Yeah.

I: - cause when you're a teenager you're so easily influenced.

P2: Yeah, of course, of course! It's that needing to be accepted –

I: Yeah.

P2: - the way you're in your teenage years, yeah, it's, it's –

I: An awkward stage.

P2: Yeah cause you're trying to find yourself. That's the thing you're trying to find your identity…like you're trying to find who you are.

I: Yeah. Okay…so have you got anything that you'd like to add?

P2: I would just like to say that, you know, despite what shade anybody is, yeah, just love yourself, despite what you're being told and how, you know, you know, you're being, you know, sh-, how people are making you feel about your race yeah, just love it basically, and you know…identity is a huge issue among people and that who you are…-

I: Like whoever you are, doesn't matter of race –

P2: Exactly.

I: - but race kind of adds, that.

P2: Yeah. But you're, but who you are is not determined by your race –

I: Exactly.

P2: - so…who you are is, is..I don't-, it's who you are, if that makes sense –

I: Inner?

P2: Yeah exactly, it comes yeah, it comes from inner basically, it's how, it's how you are, it's what you think, how do you think you are, like, what, what…like who are you as a person, let alone your physical aspects basically, that makes sense. So, you know, you being Black does not associate you with such characteristic, you know what I'm saying so –

I: Yeah.

P2: - just be you. Regardless of what stereotype is associated with that race.

I: Yeah.

P2: And you know, I just hope people see that basically because of, you know, we're being told that, you know, so and so race is better than so and so race –

I: Yeah.

P2: - so, you know, just, just love yourself. Love yourself at the end of the day.

I: Erm…I feel like identity, it's mostly pressured, like, it mostly pressures you on the way you present yourself.

P2: Yeah.

I: That's the most pressure is at and it doesn't…like….I don't know how to say this, like, it doesn't really care about your inner self.

P2: Yeah.

I: It's just literally you have to fit this outs-….you have to fit in this box…like with your appearances –

P2: Yeah.

I: - the way you act and present yourself.

P2: Yeah. There's like no room for diversity, like, it's this certain look that's, you know, said 'oh you're beauty, you're beautiful' sorry. And that's not, that's not true because, like I said earlier in the interview, beauty is not just one standard. It's…beauty is is, the word beautiful is just, it's beautiful, in a sense that…it's, it ranges from ev-, every, any…any type, any, any type from different hair colour, hair texture, from different eye colour, from nose features, face features –

I: It's not set.

P2: Basically, from height, from weight, beauty is just, yeah, like you said, it's not set at all, like, it ranges, there's the, I don't believe that there should be a check list, like, 'oh, if you're beautiful this is the checklist that how, you have to have, you know, straight hair' and this is what I mean, the check list is kind of westernised and I'm so sorry, there's the, like, the check list is gotten to a point where it's not even like, oh, erm…I don't know, like curlier, it's just westernised –

I: Yeah.

P2: - oh you know, a pointier nose, you know…like…this is a bit off topic yeah, but even, like, I realised this at like, with make up as well, yeah, like I realised the whole contouring your nose, like instead of it being an art, instead of it being like, you know…

I: That's not off topic. Yeah.

P2: Yeah, sorry, oh yeah, instead of it being like an art art of, you know, just enjoying make up, it's become to the point where we are slimming our nose yeah, where does this idea come from…yeah like, it comes from, it comes from the idea of –

I: Western.

P2: - westernised, yeah, westernised beauty basically. Cause it's not a secret –

I: Even make up trends.

P2: - that's, exactly, exactly, exactly! It's not been a secret that slimmer nose was seen as better, cause it's associated with the European standard of beauty, so when I realised that, you know, I thought 'why am I contouring my nose?! Why am I making my nose slimmer?!' I was like 'I love my nose, I love my wide nose! Why would I want to make it simmer?!'.

I: So at that point you felt like…it was so unconsciously! –

P2: Yeah, yeah, yeah! That they tried to make me change myself but I didn't realise that until I thought to myself 'why do I need to make my nose slimmer?' like…and this, yeah, that's when I realised that, you know…

I: You don't even, like some of these…so even in makeup –

P2: Yeah.

I: - like, these trends are trying to, like, set, yeah, so even with makeup trends there is still a set standard.

P2: Yeah!

I: And it's so…implicit.

P2: Exactly! And not a lot of people are realising that…not a lot of people are realising that and it's just, it made me, like, overwhelmed, like, I'm changing my features and my nose…for what? And what reason why, I said 'I have no reason to slimmer my nose'…like it was just because it was a makeup trend basically –

I: Yeah.

P2: - and I said I love my wide nose, like, my wide nose is who I am basically, I enjoy it, like…it's (sings) beautiful! (short laugh).

I: (short laugh) So it's like implicitly, like, suggesting to you –

P2: Yeah.

I: - and yeah, so it's like…cause, I feel like makeup is more popular than ever.

P2: Yeah, definitely.

I: And people, it's much more accessible.

P2: Umm.

I: So it's just so, so, so sneakily.

P2: Yeah that they did that.

I: So sneakily…even though, and even if you can't even like, hide your features with makeup, even that –

P2: Yeah.

I: - makes you question yourself.

P2: Basically, yeah.

I: Yeah. Anything else?

P2: I'm good, I think I said everything that I needed to say.

I: Yeah, okay. So basically…oh yeah, so, we talked about beauty so much –

P2: Umm.

I: So do you think it's a lot of like….people's, identity? Do you, do you feel like it's a big part…of people's identity, how they look?

P2: What, beauty?

I: Yeah.

P2: Def-, definitely-, definitely, like –

I: Yeah cause how you present yourself –

P2: Yeah, it's the first thing people see, your-, in a sense, your physi-, like though inner beauty is the most important of course but in the, to be honest, our physical beauty is what people first see, then it comes to the inner beauty. So it's like with, with, with, you know, with the beauty standards yeah, you know, it plays an important part how, with identity and how people see themselves basically, like –

I: Cause through how you portray yourself you kind of want to present yourself.

P2: Yeah, yeah! You wanna, exactly, how you present yourself on the outside is how you want people to see you on the inside. So it's like, if you're really, you know, if you…like, if you want people see for how you are inside you kind of wanna show it on the outside, you know what I'm saying, so you do…but the, the hard thing is, yeah, when we go down to race as well is that when people just see you cause of your skin tone, they already associate how you're gonna be inside, like your inner –

I: Act?

P2: Yeah. And that's the sad part basically.

I: Umm.

P2: So it's like, you know, like you said, beauty has an important aspect in terms of how people see them, how people see each other –

I: Yeah.

P2: - basically…like –

I: It can give you a label.

P2: Yeah. Definitely –

I: Sadly.

P2: - definitely, definitely (pause) it's true…like even things like, you know…like…like, for example, like, whitening your skin, like, that's seen as more beautiful, like, more beautiful, like, you're seen as more beautiful, like, things like beauty standards as well, like –

I: Western clothing.

P2: Yeah, it all links down to European standards of beauty. And that has been, you know…forced onto a lot of cultures.

I: Yeah.

P2: Now days, yeah, there was a billboard in Ghana, yeah, where…it had like a skin bleaching advertisement, like, it's so common for you to see skin bleaching advertisement –

I: Today?! These days?

P2: Today! Yeah today. There was an Indian advert that I was watching as well where the woman did not get the job, yeah, because she was dark skinned. So she uses cream called 'Fair and White', yeah, everyone knows about this cream yeah –

I: Umm.

P2: - yeah, 'Fair and White' yeah, to make yourself lighter and she got the job. It was an advert promoting the skin, and it'd commonly showed on TV! In this country you're not allowed to do that cause it's illegal –

I: Yeah.

P2: - even the selling of, erm, skin bleaching products is illegal basically. But, in other countries like that it's like, you know, an, and it's, and the reason why, yeah, it all links back to, what do you call it, you know, obviously when Europeans invaded their country, basically –

I: Yeah.

P2: - and they left that mark on the country, that scar, for them to feel like the whiter you are, the better…

I: Exactly.

P2: People are doing, people are changing the-, like it, like it's the whole nose, you know, people are changing their, their, their, you know, their jaw structure, their eye colour in fact, you know -

I: Oh yeah, eye colour.

P2: - yeah, just, just because that one westernised standard of beauty.

I: Even bleaching can be really damaging to your skin.

P2: Of course! These chemicals are no joke on the skin. They can cause cancer…they have, they have really bad effect on your health, but people, again, it's, it's it's, it's that, it's that magical idea that they wanna be, they wanna be –

I: It would change your life.

P2: Yeah, exactly! Exactly, they will make the, they will feel like they're more beautiful. But no. It, the bad effect of it it's, it's, it's, it's horrible –

I: Overwhelming.

P2: - yeah, it's horrible. It's been linked to cancer, causing cancer.

I: So it's that, it's literally that…the western ideas put on pressure so much –

P2: Yeah.

I: - that people are willing to risk, initially their life for that.

P2: Yeah! Basically, exactly, for westernised beauty, cause of what they've been told is beautiful.

I: Umm.

P2: Exactly.

I: Even, even in Indian culture it's not…it's not their culture –

P2: Yeah. Yeah.

I: - it's the western culture.

P2: Yeah. And in India, it's, the darker you are, you know, you're, you're put in a ca-, you know the caste system?

I: Yeah.

P2: Like, you know, you're considered poor basically, like, you know, the darker you are you can't be of a wealthier standard if you're dark –

I: Umm.

P2: - the, the higher caste system are, are predominately really light, to the point where they look white….like, you know, like, that says a lot –

I: Yeah.

P2: - the darker you are, the poorer you are in the caste system, like, the downer you are in the casting system and that says a lot in terms of like, how much European standard of beauty, you know, has implanted in certain culture….and they get the identity thing, like, you know –

I: It's too much, its white equals good.

P2: Yeah.

I: And that's why people strive to have that identity essentially.

P2: Yeah.

I: Some people.

P2: Yeah.

I: Do you feel like it just comes down, yeah, it comes down to like acceptance and loving?

P2: Definitely.

I: But it's difficult in a society where like, these are like forced down your throat essentially.

P2: Yeah, exactly, it's true. This is why I always say to people, just look at yourself in the mirror and just analyse what you have been given and just know that you are beautiful regardless of what you're being told, because there's a reason why you have this, there's a reason why you have this certain nose, there's a reason why you have this certain face basically…that you are beautiful regardless of what people are telling you…and that's what a lot of people need to realise basically. And once you start realising that, your days will be so much happier, cause you will not give an F what anybody says about you.

I: Okay, so anything else you'd like to add?

P2: I am good.

I: You're good? And have you got any questions regarding the research?

P2: Erm, nope.

I: Okay, so I just want to say thank you for your time, and like, for talking to me and sharing all this knowledge and I really appreciate it. Thank you.

P2: Ohh it's alright, you're welcome!

[Return to CONTENTS](#)

Research Proposal: The Contact Centre: The Modern Factory

Tim Chechlinski

Introduction

Traditional studies of the workplace focus on the transition to industrial labour, the 'Division of Labour' and class divide. A considerable time and space has taken place since that era; the factory based manufacturing sector is no longer the dominant sector in the UK. The service sector where my research will be focussed is now the predominant sector of UK industry. Trade union numbers are down and barely register within the service industry workplace, unless there are personal troubles to be defended. The British economy has been sluggish for almost a decade, although unemployment and inflation are both low. I wish to look into this sector to try to understand what key characteristics and features Britain's key industry has on the ground and try to secure some meaning from my findings. I am going to perform the field work in my own workplace: a customer service based office in North East Essex, which specialises in outsourced customer service work for larger media firms, with the idea that this work is the early twenty-first century equivalent of traditional factory work, based on the division of labour and class divide.

Literature Review

Ehrenreich (2001) spoke of the 'demanding emotional and planning skills' which are required for such low-skilled work. She also addressed the variety of different jobs that exist in the service sector, suggesting that there are as many similarities as there are differences. My research will attempt to understand if this level of low-skilled work is emotionally demanding and what the result of those demands are on employees, who are expected to undertake regular training to improve for no clear financial reward. I would propose that at this level of work employees go through a demanding experience to maintain employment through difficult economic times with the hope of improving their position within the work place hierarchy (Ennreich, 2001).

Speaking of the idea of class consciousness proposed by Marx, Wright (1997) saw the collective interest created through levels of power, skill and ownership of position as a reflection of class differences – e.g. those with limited skills have fewer bargaining tools in labour market whilst those with a fuller skill set can obtain and access better wages, benefits and networking tools. Within my research I intend to look for differences between the bottom level customer service agent and the middle management, many of whom have risen through the ranks to achieve this status. Recently several members of management have left, leaving a weak hierarchy and power vacuum. However, this does not appear to have affected productivity or morale. I wish to explore why this has not happened, or if it has, what effect it is having (Wright, 1997).

Grusky (1994) acknowledges that workplaces are inherent grounds of conflicts. However, a more optimistic view suggests that conflict is undermined by solidarity and integration. In my research I wish to observe on a micro level the conflict that occurs, whether subtle or blatant. I wish to understand how the employees of my workplace accept a low level of conflict; actions which in another context may seem negative seem to have a positive effect here, which appears to support a broader consensus (Grusky, 1994).

Questions

My proposed research will ask the question: "What do the workers and environment of a British call centre in 2016 tell us about contemporary low paid working life in the UK in 2016?"

I also wish to ask: "How do the hierarchies and social interactions contribute to the modern call centre?

Although these questions are broad I anticipate that, as the research expands, I will be able to define these queries further to make them more relevant.

Basic Design

I have chosen to do ethnographic research, primarily due to the subject of the questions being best answered through observations looking for power, resistance, dominance, language and behaviours. Ethnography is suitable for the workplace as the subjects may have shared experiences, actions and noticeable patterns of behaviour which help to answer questions about modern workers in a call centre (Bryman, 2008; Carter et al, 2010; Hammersley, 2007).

The specific benefits of ethnography for this research are that it is field based, where real-time subjects perform the activities which take place in their daily life. Face to face contact means intimate personalisation of the subjects. It is conducive to provide descriptive patterns and explanatory theories. The dialogic nature of the research means the participants may offer explanations prior to the final formulation of conclusions (Hammersley, 2007; Warner, 1973).

My ethnography will include notes on details such as the physical structure and layout of the office, such as seating plans, division of space, locations of the office hierarchy, contrasts between habits of those in different locations of the office (for example the difference depending on where a subject sits), analysis of the perceived responses to those in a glass meeting room which is visible in and out for most of the room, as well as observation of the itinerary of the objects in the room. Notes will also be made on the verbal interactions which occur in the room, in response to the situations that occur. Such analysis may include direction of conversations, level, tone, content, volume and whether the conversations are antagonistic or provide consensus. Body language will also be noted: I will be examining physical provocations and reactions and looking for patterns and anomalies (Hammersley et al, 2007).

Ethics

To answer my research questions, I will perform fieldwork in my workplace over a period of several weeks. The office itself is one of several in the company and specialises in taking inbound phone calls and live chat from customers. I perform a mixed customer service/supervisory role. I am aware that my elevated position and time at the company (almost three years) may have an effect on the outcome of the research. I determined the specific area I propose to look into from general research into the field and my own knowledge from my role in the company. As I am perceived to be part of the supervisor team I am aware that this research will be benefited by being central to conversation and

activity in the room, but may also be limited by being denied certain information from staff that fear they may get into trouble (Miller et al, 2002 cited in Mauthner, 2002).

I propose to offer the manager of the office full disclosure for the practical purpose of finding the hours to do this research. I will not use my position to force this study upon other colleagues who I am not obliged to advise. I will advise that the research will be confidential, with an understanding that it may be published with changed names. I am also aware that information in the research may be sensitive or have the potential to affect the legal status, employment and personal lives of my colleagues. As a result, I will make sure that all finalised research is edited in a way not to identify any individuals or groups of individuals who could succumb to professional, personal or legal misconduct. Issues or actions alluding to the possible identification of specific troubles or leading to professional misconduct will be removed. I understand that this may lead to incomplete research results. However, the ethical purity of my research is my greatest concern.

Although my research will be predominantly covert (partially permitted) it will occur during my normal shifts, without making any specific changes, in order to maintain as realistic as possible working atmosphere around myself and not to intrude on working life. I am aware that my colleagues' very knowledge of my field work could change the results of the research. Having performed preliminary overt observation, it had limited effect. From this one-day assessment I was able to experience the limitations of my research. I would propose that a limited time period for the research will be the best way to obtain the purest results without deceiving participants or risk being discovered (Fetterman, 2007).

Access, sampling and Timescale

The long term commitment which I have to my job means I can achieve observations over an extended period of time. I have full access to my office and if necessary would be able to perform my research out of my working hours, with the permission of my manager.

Notes will be taken throughout the period of three shifts for three to four hours at a time, until I have ten hours' worth of field notes, to build up a picture of the understandings of the workings of the single site office. I will attempt to take notes when there are similar staff members in. Rotas are unavailable until a fortnight before the work shift. At this stage I do not have an exact timescale, but I propose that the study should take place during March 2016.

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What and how is the relationship between religion/religiosity and integration among migrants in the Western societies (Europe, North America and Australia)?

Abigail Clennell

Abstract

This paper aims to assess and evaluate the relationship between religion and religiosity levels and degree of integration. The main focus of this paper is religiosity and integration among migrants in Western societies, explicitly Europe, North America and Australia. I will be exploring past literature to attempt to identify any patterns or connections between religiosity and integration among these migrant groups.

Introduction

The International Migration Database, produced by the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) indicates the ever-increasing levels of migration into Western Societies. Migration is an important and often contested topic in contemporary society, regularly dominating debates, especially in political discussions. As more and more individuals adopt a migrant status the exploration into migrant groups becomes an increasingly interesting sociological topic in modern globalised societies. The ways that these migrants settle into their new Western situations occurs in numerous forms and with varying levels of success. An important part of understanding the levels of integration and religiosity among these migrants is to address what is meant by the concept of integration. For migrants integration can appear in different forms. Examples of integration include socio-economic integration, where migrant employment or earnings are similar to the native individuals in the society, and social integration, where migrants have social contact with natives of the Western society.

Literature Review

In terms of past research on religion/religiosity and integration among migrants in Western societies there have been numerous published reports.

Throughout sociological research on religion and migration integration "the position of Muslims in Western societies is the subject of intense study and debate" (Guveli and Platt, 2011: 1008). Guveli and Platt explored the lives of Muslims in Western societies in their paper 'Understanding the Religious Behaviour of Muslims in the Netherlands and the UK'. This study addressed the integration of Muslims, particularly focusing on community interactions and social integration. Guveli and Platt address the idea that 'ethnically-based association and clubs build community resources and create opportunities for integration' (Guveli and Platt, 2011: 1011). Guveli and Platt conclude with the idea that religiosity of Muslims in the Netherlands and the UK is 'highly context specific' (Guveli and Platt, L. 2011: 1024).

Similarly, a paper by Jose Casanova entitled 'Religion, European secular identities, and European integration' explores the position of Muslim migrants. This study compares religiosity between Muslim migrants in America and Europe, observing that 'Americans are

demonstrably more religious than the Europeans' (Casanova, 2004: 10). Further analysis through the paper concludes 'there is a certain pressure for immigrants to conform' (Casanova, 2004: 10). 'Immigrants in America tend to be more religious than they were their home countries', according to Casanova (2004: 10). This suggests migrants hold onto their religion and possibly reject cultural integration by retaining their beliefs; the transition and process of migrating arguably strengthens the faith of Muslims in America.

This idea of migrants focusing on their religion is also explored in a report by Noman Benotman for the Quilliam Foundation, 'Muslim Communities: Between Integration and Securitization' that examined the idea of inward integration among Muslim communities. Benotman observed that 'members integrate on a wide scale with their own Muslim communities based of elements of their ethnic, background, culture, common language and country of origin' (Benotman: 1). This approach sees that Muslims in the West should be integrated as 'various communities, rather than one single entity' (Benotman: 2). Benotman addresses the differences between Muslim migrant communities and thus the need for the model of integration to reflect this.

However, some research into religiosity and integration suggests Muslim migrants in Western societies do not always integrate successfully. The book by Adida et al 'Why Muslim Integration Fails in Christian-Heritage Societies' explores this. The book opens by asking the question 'can Muslim immigrants integrate into the Christian-heritage societies of the West?' which is immediately answered with 'a resounding no' (Adida et al, 2016: 3). This book explores 'discrimination in France directed towards Muslims' (Adida et al, 2016: 77) which ultimately makes integration difficult for Muslims.

A book written by Ali et al about migration additionally explores the integration of migrant groups, focusing somewhat on Muslims in Western society. This book also refers to Muslims in France, reporting that they are 'not all that religious' (Ali et al, 2015: 136). Integration of Muslims in the US is also discussed in this book; in conjunction with other literature, the idea of Muslims in America being largely religious is reinforced. However, it appears that Muslims in America have levels of cultural integration that results in them engaging in 'religious forbidden' (Ali et al, 2015: 136) behaviours, suggesting that sometimes integration can be put before the faith of migrants in the West.

Another book exploring migration highlights 'the importance of religion in transnational migration' (Ritzer, 2007: 196). George Ritzer argues that migration is advantageous to religious belief and integration as 'migrants transplant religions into new places making those places more multi-religious' (Ritzer, 2007: 196).

Past research also shows other factors can also affect the religiosity of migrants in the West, for example, the effects of gender on integration of migrants. A study by Maja Cederberg explores the gendered differences and how '[migration] policies disadvantage women' (Cederberg, 2014: 193) explicitly focusing on migrants in Sweden. This study looks into the incorporation policies that aim to 'facilitate migrant's settlement in the host society' (Cederberg, 2014: 194) and how these policies generally disadvantage women and thus make integration harder. Gender is also important in the research and papers that are included in the book 'Women Migrants From East to West' which explores the different position of females migrating to Western societies. Within this book is a study by Esther Vonk which explores 'Migration, Integration and Emancipation: Women's Positioning in the Debate in the Netherlands', looking at the gendered differences of male and female migrants.

Economic integration is also important for migrants in the West. A paper by Mark-Anthony Falzon entitled 'A Passage from India: Trajectories of Economic Integration in London and Mediterranean Europe' explores this. This study particularly focuses on 'Sindhis in London' (Falzon, 2006: 168) and the economic integration of Indian migrants in London. For these Sindhi individuals 'London was particularly well-suited to act as a hub of the financing Sindhi trade' (Falzon, 2006: 173). This paper shows that economic integration can help migrants become settled into the new Western society they are migrating to. The importance of economic integration is also explored through Rahsaan Maxwell's book 'Ethnic Minority Migrants in Britain and France: Integration Trade Offs'. This book particularly focuses on the understanding that there is a trade-off for migrants between social integration and economic integration, and that focus on one essentially leads to a lack of the other.

Further exploration into past literature on integration reveals that 'integration is a complex and multi faced phenomenon' (Sunier, 2006: 243). A paper by Thijl Sunier on 'Religious Newcomers and the Nation-State: Flows and Closures' investigates the complicated process of integration in relation to migrant Muslims entering Western societies. In this study there is a focus on the political culture of the host country, viewing that the contextual factors of the country largely affects the levels of integration.

The idea of contextual factors affecting integration is also addressed in a paper titled 'Social Integration and Religious Identity Expression among Dutch Muslims: The Role of Minority and Majority Group Contact' by Mieke Maliepaard and Karen Phalet. The research for this essay involved examining religious identity of Dutch Muslims in Turkish and Moroccan minority groups and Dutch majority group societal context. The research found that 'societal contacts affect the expression (or suppression) of religious identity' (Maliepaard and Phalet, 2012: 143). The research carried out in this paper further highlights the effect of context on integration and religiosity of individuals migrating to Western societies.

A lot of past literature has focused on Europe and the US; however, it is also important to consider Australia as a host country for migrants. Immigration policies in Australia are significantly different to other Western countries 'in the sense that there has never been an 'open door' for everyone' (Jupp, 2011: 136). During the early influx of migrants into Australia there was a worry about the perceived problems of 'communication and acceptance' (Jupp, 2011: 138). A study into Australia's migration and integration by James Jupp shows that these problems were addressed and tackled by incentives such as the Migrant English Programme and through propaganda campaigns aiming to make Australian natives more accepting of migrants and thus integration was relatively achieved.

Conclusion

Overall, it is clear from the vast amount of existing literature that the relationship between religion and religiosity and integration among migrants in Western societies is a complicated and complex affair. Literature on the topics of religion, integration and migration clearly indicates the importance and fascination of the topics. From the literature discussed above it is clear to see that there is no straight and clear all-encompassing way to define the relationship between religiosity and integration.

The connection between religion and integration for migrants in Western societies is largely dependent on the context. All Western societies are different; for example, past

research clearly shows that religious migrants, explicitly Muslims, are not widely accepted in France, often struggling with discrimination and thus taking a step back from their faith, whereas, in comparison, religious migrants in England, for example Indians in London, thrive on opportunities of economic integration.

The level that migrants are able to integrate into their new Western society largely depends on the context of the host society they are migrating to. Australia, for example, was able to integrate migrants through programmes directly aimed at integration. Other Western countries, such as in the US, were able to associate with migrants through social and cultural integration. Other migrants bonded on common ground with other migrants in their new Western homes. However, countries where the natives remain hostile generally result in a lack of integration for migrants as they feel excluded from their new Western environment.

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Short Essays on Social Psychology

Nicolae Craciunescu

1. What is the role of authorities in facilitating (or preventing) evil doing?

'What is the role of authorities in facilitating (or preventing) evil doing?' This would probably be the question which drove Milgram (1963) to conduct his experiment on obedience and conformity. His experiment consisted of participants being told they are going to take part in a study which is trying to find out if punishment is going to improve people's memories (Milgram 1963). They were instructed to administer gradually increasing electric shocks to the other participants (confederates of the experimenters) starting from 15 up to 450 volts whenever they were given a wrong answer. No electric shocks were given during the experiment, but the participants were hearing the yelling and complaining of the confederates when they administered a shock. Also, whenever the participants protested regarding the wellbeing of the other person, they were asked by the experimenter (as an authoritative figure) to continue the experiment.
The results showed that 65% of the participants conformed and administered the maximum shock of 450 volts. This shows how forms authority can lead to evil doing, providing some explanation for brutalities that have been performed throughout history, such as the atrocities done by the Nazis and those done by American soldiers during the Vietnam War, such as the My Lai massacre (Milgram, 1974).

A related experiment was performed by Zimbardo in 1971 at the University of Stanford (Zimbardo, 2009). Zimbardo made a simulation of a prison in the basement of the university, using undergraduate students as prisoners and guards. Starting from day one, as soon as the guards had power over the prisoners, who had been stripped off their identity (e.g. being called by their inmate number), the guards abused their authority, demeaning the prisoners and subjecting them to psychological torture in different evil ways.

The findings of this experiment can be applied to real life situations such as the Nazi SS doctors' involvement in the death camp at Auschwitz (which were acting in the same way as the guards from the experiment), but also in the case of the American soldiers involved in the abuse of civilians at the Abu Ghraib Prison in Iraq in 2004 (Zimbardo, 2009).The experiments of Milgram and Zimbardo can be used as explanations for further acts of 'evil doing' throughout the history, such as the genocide of Tutsis in Rwanda in 1994 or the butchering and raping of hundreds of thousands in China by Japanese soldiers in 1937.

2. What happens to human judgments and behaviour in the presence of crowds?

In the presence of a crowd, human judgement and human behaviour change in various negative and positive ways. The judgement side of this argument has been covered by Gustave LeBon in his work 'The Crowd' (LeBon, 1995[1885]). LeBon describes the crowd as 'savage' in many cases due to its susceptibility to unconscious action or thought. According to LeBon, crowds are prone to irritability and impulsiveness due to the fact that they are at the mercy of any external stimuli or impulse which might trigger a reaction. Another characteristic of the crowd is its credulity and suggestibility: any idea or any event witnessed by a crowd is going to be transformed or exaggerated in one way or another. Its

feelings are exaggerated and simplified, being more impressed by excessive sentiments, and also shows and expresses them in ways that make the crowd intolerant, more conservative and even dictatorial.

Another theory about the human judgement in the presence of a crowd is the phenomenon of 'groupthink' which, according to Janis (1973), is an error which is present mainly in policy making groups, making them over-optimistic, less vigilant, and encouraging them to think in a stereotypical way when it comes to the weaknesses and immorality of various outgroups. Human behaviour can be affected by the presence of the crowd in certain ways depending on some particular factors. For example, we can consider social loafing theory and the social facilitation theory, in which the presence of the crowd will make people perform better or worse on a certain task, considering the difficulty of the task (Harkins, 1987). The social loafing theory suggests that if the task performed by someone is a difficult one, it will result in a weaker performance in the front of a crowd than alone, whereas the social facilitation theory says that if the task is an easy one for that certain person, the mere presence of a crowd will facilitate a better than if the person was alone.

Another example of the effects of the crowd on human behaviour is the phenomenon of 'deindividuation', which takes place when factors such as anonymity, the loss of personal responsibility, and even states of altered consciousness (with drugs and alcohol) occur (Zimbardo, 1969). Deindividuation leads to changes in the perception of the self and others and can make crowds behave like a single entity. It allows some positive behaviours such as love for others and intense happiness which are not expressed overtly, but mainly allows the overt expression of antisocial behaviour, making the people more prone to violence, destruction, hostility and selfishness. Nevertheless, this has been challenged by other research which has revealed that under certain circumstances deindividuation can lead to positive overtly expressed behaviour (Spivey and Prentice-Dunn, 1990).

3. Many people believe that after decades of racism we now live in a post-racial world, where racism is no longer a problem. Comment on this proposition using psychological research.

Even though we consider that we live in a world in which we do not see racism being expressed explicitly in our everyday life, it is still present in other forms, such as implicit institutional or cultural ones (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick and Esses, 2010). We can even start from a subconscious level, in which experiments such as the IAT tests (automatic responses to positive or negative words among with images of Black and White people) have shown that people still have a tacit negative bias towards Black people, compared to White people (Greenwald et al, 2009). Another example would be an experiment where people were asked to play a game in which they were shown pictures of White and Black people with an object in their hand. Participants were then asked to shoot as fast as they can any person holding a gun (Correl, Park, Judd and Wittenbrink, 2007). The results showed that people were more likely to shoot an unarmed Black person than a White one – which could also be an explanation for the many deaths caused by the American police against (usually unarmed) young black people (Swaine, Laughland, Lartey and McCarthy, 2015). But another explanation for the actions of the police regarding Black people could be institutional racism, such as in the case of the murder of Stephen Lawrence in the UK where police had failed investigations due to their institutionalized racial biases (McLaughlin and Murji, 1999).

Another example of implicit racial bias would be in the rate of employment of White people in comparison to Black people. Pager (2003) did an experiment in which she asked Black and White participants to apply for the same jobs with similar CVs in different fields, but with a single difference: half of both the White and the Black participants were to mention (during the interview or in the CV) that they had a criminal record. What the results show is somehow unexpected if we assume that we live in a post-racial world: the percentage of Black people without a criminal record who were called back (14%) is lower than even the percentage of the White people with a previous criminal conviction (17%) (Pager, 2003). Even though we do not see as much overtly expressed racism as was present in previous decades, it does not mean that we live in a post-racial world, due to the subtle implicit racial biases which we all might have (Greenwald et al, 2009).

4. What are the barriers that women face when they try to ascent up the organizational ladder?

When women try to ascend the organizational ladder there are two key kinds of barriers which they can encounter: sexism in its hostile and benevolent form (Glick and Fiske, 2001) and gender bias which can be either descriptive or prescriptive (Heilman, 2001).

Hostile sexism is the most obvious of these experiences and it is known to address three points: perceived gender differences (e.g. the notion that women are easier offended than men), perceptions of sexuality (e.g. women like sex less than men) and anxieties regarding power relations (e.g. women are seeking power by getting control over men) (Glick and Fiske, 2001). As a result, men in organizations may be likely to feel threatened by women who are trying to climb up the ladder, whom they may, therefore, treat with negative discrimination. Benevolent sexism is a subtler phenomenon and involves protective paternalism (e.g. women will be saved first in an emergency situation), complementary gender differentiation (e.g. women are pure beings) and heterosexual intimacy (e.g. every man ought to have a woman who he adores). These are subtle ideas which have become imbedded in society's subconscious, making men feel like they have to protect women by putting them on a pedestal and making women seek men for protection and care instead of advancing within the organizational ladder independently.

Gender biases are also another problem in this case. For instance, descriptive gender bias which occur in organizations manifest through a lack of fit between the traditionally masculine managerial roles, which require achievement-oriented aggressiveness and emotional toughness, and the stereotypes surrounding women's behaviours (more communal or emotionally weak) (Heilman, 2001). This results in a tendency not to recognize a women's achievements or, even when they are visible, they are seen as a result of factors other than competence or skill. We can see how descriptive gender biases are a result of benevolent sexism, which describes women in a way which does not fit with traditionally masculine positions within organizations.

Prescriptive biases concentrate rather on what women should be like (Heilman, 2001). This way, if a woman does not conform to the gender stereotypes and she is advancing on the organizational ladder, she will be negatively viewed, provoking disapproval around social or work groups for not conforming to normative prescriptions of female behaviour. Moreover, prescriptive biases are often a result of hostile sexism.

5. What is a stereotype threat? How does it affect the performance of stereotyped group members?

A stereotype threat refers to the risk of confirming and making self-characteristic a negative stereotype of one's own social group (Steele and Aronson, 1995). This phenomenon mainly takes place because of the fact that most of the negative stereotypes regarding a group are widely known within society even if one believes them or not (Spencer, Steele and Quinn, 1999). This also means that those who are the targets of stereotypes are likely to be intimately aware of them. As a result, whenever they are in a situation in which the stereotype might apply, there is a 'threat' that anything they might do or any characteristic that they possess that could fit the stereotype makes them more likely to be evaluated based on that stereotype.

Regarding performance, stereotype threat occurs whenever an individual's perceived aptitude for a particular tasked is 'attacked' by the stereotype, which in turn can place additional pressure that might interfere with their performance (Spencer, Steele and Quinn, 1999). An example of such a stereotype would be that women's mathematical abilities are worse than men's. Spencer, Steele and Quinn (1999) have done several studies to confirm if the stereotype threat is either present or not. The results of their studies have shown that, in controlled conditions, they can produce or eliminate a stereotype threat among women participants by telling to a group of males and females that certain math tests' results have or have not shown gender differences in the past.

In other studies done by Steele and Aronson (1995), the threat of the stereotype according to which African Americans have lower IQs than European Americans has been tested. Certain standardized aptitude tests were given to Black and White students and the tests were represented as either being or not being diagnostics of mental abilities of the two different groups. The results showed that in the groups to which the tests have been represented as diagnostics of the mental abilities, the Black participants' performances were lower than the White participants'.

These studies have shown how stereotype threat can be an obstacle for the groups to which they can be applied during their performance by either inducing anxiety or distraction, inducing self-conscious or self-evaluating cognitive processes and, in the long term, can even produce a loss of the interest in the particular field, which can produce bigger disparities between performance of these particular groups and others (Spencer et al, 1999; Steele and Aronson, 1995).

6. Dan and Sally work in a company, where Sally is Dan's boss. How do you expect their different power positions to affect their attitudes, feelings and behaviour?

The difference between the power positions of Dan and Sally, where Sally is Dan's boss in their company, might affect their attitudes, feelings and behaviour in several ways, taking into consideration the kind of power involved. In this case, the power Sally has over Dan could be defined as 'the relative control over another's valued outcomes' (Fiske and Berdahl, 2007: 679). For instance, their attitudes might be quite different: Dan's attitude toward Sally might be leaning towards attention and accuracy while Sally's might lean towards thinking in a stereotypical or discriminatory way regarding him. Considering the fact that Sally has control over Dan's valued outcomes (his salary, job, chances to advance in the company, etc.), he will pay extra attention to her as a person (from an informative point

of view) and especially to information about her which might be unexpected. This way he can feel like being able to control (or predict) his outcomes. Sally, however, will think of Dan in a more stereotypical way over the individuating one used by Dan. By feeling motivated to maintain the status quo which gives her power over him, she might think of him with negative stereotypes and discriminate against him so she can justify the way the things are.

In the same way, her feelings towards Dan can be increasingly negative with the power she has over him, which will increase her positive emotions towards herself. Considering the phenomenon of hostile sexism (Glick and Fiske, 2001) and descriptive and prescriptive gender biases (Heilman, 2001), we can also argue that Dan's feelings towards Sally might also be negative, giving the fact that she is a successful woman (his boss), who is not complying to the normative prescriptions of how a woman should be, and on top of that she is also challenging his power as a man.

Regarding behaviour, a series of experiments done by Galinsky, Gruenfeld and Magee (2003) have shown that whoever has relative power over others is more likely to take action in general but, more precisely, to act in a self-serving manner, as well as in the service of the public. This would mean that Sally is more likely to take action in any given situation in the presence of Dan, even if the situation might serve her self-interest or if it is in the interest of the company or all of the employees. Research has also shown that someone in the position of Dan is more likely to sexually harass Sally, due to their difference of power which could be threatening for Dan's masculinity resulting in his wish to confirm it (Fiske and Berdahl, 2007).

7. People often uphold the social and political status quo even when it does not serve their group or self-interest. Explain this proposition using system justification theory.

System justification theory has been formulated as an alternative explanation for the cases in which ego justification theory and group justification theory cannot be applied (Jost and Banaji, 1994). Ego justification refers to the rationalization of one's actions and attitudes in order to protect the self, while group justification refers to the rationalization of the same actions and attitudes (involving the stereotyping or negative feelings towards outgroups) in order to protect the status of one's social group as a whole. In the words of Jost and Banaji, 'System-justification is the psychological process by which existing social arrangements are legitimized, even at the expense of personal and group interest' (1994: 2).

Regarding the members of advantaged groups, system justification actually improves their ingroup favouritism: it increases their self-esteem and decreases neuroticism, whereas with the members of disadvantaged groups, system justification actually increases neuroticism, depression and ingroup ambivalence, while the outgroup favouritism increases (Jost and Hunyady, 2003). By ingroup ambivalence it is meant that even though the disadvantaged will show outgroup favouritism this is related to qualities such as intelligence, industriousness, and verbal reasoning abilities, while they will still show ingroup favouritism regarding qualities such as honesty, friendliness, and interestingness (Jost and Burgess, 2000).

Studies have shown that system justification might be stronger among those of disadvantage groups, although we should not consider that everyone maintains such ideologies (Jost, Banaji and Nosek, 2004). System justification is more prevalent when

certain variables are also present, such as the belief in a just world, right-wing authoritarianism, the Protestant work ethic or social dominance orientations. While for the individuals from higher status groups they might reduce dissonance, some possible explanations for system justifying ideologies among lower status groups would be the fact that they could have some palliative effects among them, giving them a perception of control, helping with denying discrimination and the preservation of hope (Jost and Hunyady, 2003). This way, it has been argued that these ideologies could be some sort of coping mechanism with regards to circumstances which cannot be changed.

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According to de Beauvoir, woman has been defined as the 'other' of man. Discuss.

Megan Davenport

This essay will begin by introducing Simone de Beauvoir with a brief background into her major work and notable influences. The aim of this is to provide a greater depth of knowledge about de Beauvoir which helps to fully understand her theories, enabling accurate analysis and criticisms. Then, it will move on to the main thesis of de Beauvoir's work, *'The Second Sex',* examining her words that she is notorious for; about women being made into women, and not being born this way. Her concept of women being the 'other' of man will be discussed and analysed, with reference to the debate of female emancipation to determine whether women are actually secondary to men, or at least to what extent they are. Other theorists and criticisms will be included further into the essay to provide a deeper analysis on her thesis, with a concluding paragraph which will comment on the extent to which women are the 'other' of man.

A French writer and philosopher, Simone de Beauvoir is considered to be the 'mother' of feminist theory for her major contributions to the discipline regarding women's inferiority to men. She is well-regarded for her work *Le Deuxième Sexe* (translates to 'The Second Sex'), published in 1949, in which she received great praise but also great scrutiny. So much so that the Vatican placed it on the Index Librorum Prohibitorum (translates to 'Index of Forbidden Books') for the revolutionary philosophies that de Beauvoir proposes within it (Biography.com, n.d.). Marxist influence can be identified in both de Beauvoir's work and personal life. She has been known for her political interests, criticizing the capitalist system in her works regarding politics. She also challenged the social and cultural norms of her 'bourgeois background' in regards to her relationship with fellow academic, Jean-Paul Sartre (Biography.com, n.d.).

The main thesis of '*The Second Sex'* revolves around the notion of women being inferior to men, being seen as the 'other' of man. This meaning, that women are always underneath men in a hierarchical sense. The man is the 'true human', essential to the human race and thus have a superior existence to that of a woman, whose 'natural' femininity excludes them from having any kind of independence or social standing.

> One is not born, but rather becomes, woman. No biological, psychic, or economic destiny defines the figure that the human female takes on in society… Only the mediation of another can constitute an individual as an Other (de Beauvoir, 1949:330).

Note de Beauvoir's use of the word 'biological'. She is suggesting here that being a woman is nothing more than a social construct. Femininity is not something that can be embedded in DNA, it is purely as a result of the influence 'we' receive from a young age by participating in the social world. This then, points to the idea that we are all born androgynous, without any female or masculine characteristics (Morawska, 2016a). The only real difference between males and females at birth is the biological differences that determine our sex (i.e. genitalia). When referring to "the mediation of another", the 'another' doesn't have to be just one person. This can refer to numerous influences that all contribute to the socialization of human beings which determines our gender identity.

Whether these influences be from our family and friends, in education, the workplace, the criminal justice system (i.e. the wording of legislature) etc., they all play a role in our socialization and 'mediation' of the shaping of our gender.

De Beauvoir's proposition of women being the 'other' of man is aided by her analysis of two inter-related aspects that lead women into becoming this 'other'. The first being the long-term historical evolution of women's subordination, and the second being the process of socialization – of which was briefly discussed above (Morawska, 2016b).

In relation to this first aspect, females have always been viewed as the weaker and more vulnerable sex. In contemporary society, dual-career couples are very common with many men and women both occupying full or part-time employment to support their families. This has now become a normalized practice that is a very common family set up. However, women have historically been preoccupied with raising the children and looking after the family home. These domestic duties that were expected of them meant that they were not able to have any economic independence and that they relied heavily on the man to bring home his earnings for the family's maintenance and survival. This dependence on the husband reiterates the idea that women are the weaker sex, reaffirming their vulnerability which can then in turn be exploited by men. These clear cut divisions of labour that see woman as the 'carer' and man as the 'breadwinner', are what continue to subordinate and oppress women.

Parsons argues that a woman's natural abilities to have the children make her more biologically suited to this type of role. He distinguishes between two roles; instrumental and expressive. The instrumental role is undertaken by the man, which is one where he is expected to be the 'breadwinner' and provide for his family. Women take on the expressive role, which involves raising children and carrying out various functions of the household. Parson claims that women are better suited to these roles because of their biological involvement with birthing the children, for him these roles are **biological** and not socially constructed, it makes sense for women to undertake these roles if they are supposedly better suited to them (Parsons & Bales, 1955).

The second aspect, socialization, was briefly discussed above. This process of a child's socialization in the family is crucial to shaping one's gender. The roles and identities that are learnt become deeply internalized and embedded into their everyday practices and interactions, affecting every part of their life (Morawska, 2016b). Most people do not question the status quo; it is all that has been known to them because they have been socialized this way from an early age. Moreover, women become accepting of their inferiority and allow themselves to be treated unequally simply because they know no different.

Numerous studies have been conducted that attempt to understand the mother and father's influence on the child's activities and interests regarding gendered play (i.e. the encouragement of certain sex-appropriate toys for different genders). In a study by Langlois and Downs (1980), it was implied that the father has a bigger influence (than the mother) on the encouragement or discouragement of certain gendered activities and toys.

> Fathers differentially reinforced play with sex-appropriate toys and punished cross-sex toy play consistently for both sons and daughters (Jacklin et al, 1984:414).

In relation to the second aspect of de Beauvoir's thesis then, this suggests that men have a great deal of influence on the socialization of children despite the fact that they are not traditionally the primary care givers. The first aspect as discussed, that women are the weaker sex, may contribute to this. Women may feel pressured by their husbands, whether consciously or unconsciously, to socialize the children depending on the different gendered traits that society expects of boys and girls. The husband exerts his power as the head of the household by reinforcing what is and isn't appropriate for the children to play with in regards to their gender, because of the woman's subordination and her dependence on her husband, she socializes the children in the way dictated by her husband.

Following on from this, these two aspects that de Beauvoir describes as the process of becoming the 'other', are clearly inter-linked. The process of socialization is reliant on the subordination of women to keep patriarchy alive. It is reliant on women's acceptance of the husband's oppression and the gender divisions of labour which form the inequalities amongst men and women. Women are seen as the 'other' of man because of the ideology that men are the superior sex; this is fed to children from birth. They learn certain gender-appropriate practices from their parents and then observe the subordination of women to be the norm.

The points that de Beauvoir portray are very convincing. Of course there are inequalities amongst men and women, but are they really as extreme as they are made to seem in de Beauvoir's work? This leads to a discussion about female emancipation, which regards the 'fact or process of being set free from legal, social, or political restrictions' in relation to female freedoms and liberty (Oxford Dictionaries, n.d.).

It can be argued that women are now *much* closer to becoming the equal of man than they once were. This can be seen in a number of different dimensions; the introduction of laws to tackle gender discrimination, equal opportunities in getting an education, the increased commonality of dual-career couples, or the continuous decrease in the pay gap between genders. Data published in 2015 by the Office for National Statistics showed that the pay gap for full-time employees had decreased to 9.6%, which is the lowest it has been since this survey began in 1997 (ONS, 2015). Although there may still be areas of society where gender discrimination is recognizable, there is much evidence to suggest that substantial progress has been made towards equality between the sexes. This being said, can we really say that a woman is the 'other' of man when women are continually becoming more and more equal in many different aspects of their life (social, political, economic)? Female emancipation has clearly led to a greater amount of economic opportunities for women, as shown with the statistic above, and also a greater involvement in the public sphere, women are no longer just confined to the private sphere of the home (Adler, 1975).

However, even with these developments towards complete equality among sexes, it can still be contested that women *haven't* become emancipated. Even with full-time employment women still 'bear the brunt of domestic and childcare responsibilities' (Gelsthorpe 2004, pg. 22). This meaning then, that women have been enabled equal access to the labour market but this hasn't fully reduced society's expectations for them to fulfil their expressive role as a domesticated housewife and mother at the same time. Not only are women now working full-time in paid employment, but they then come home to fulfil their roles as the wife, which in a sense suggests that they are in fact participating in two forms of labour as opposed to the one form of labour carried out by the husband/ man of the household. It is very likely that men are aware of this doubled work-load that women

undertake, but if they were to share the labour equally then this could threaten his position as the superior male of the household.

De Beauvoir quotes a 'young man' in her book, saying that "A woman who is not afraid of men frightens them". She also notes someone else saying "I am horrified by a woman who takes the initiative" (de Beauvoir 1949, pg. 822). As mentioned in the previous paragraph, it could be suggested that men are actually threatened by women, particularly if society is in fact moving towards greater equality of the sexes. By allowing their wives to 'bear the brunt' of the responsibilities, men can continue to oppress and subordinate them in order to maintain their superiority as the man and ensure that the woman stay as this 'other'. The biggest concern with de Beauvoir's work, however, is lack of awareness for other structural issues such as class, race and other non-western cultural distinctions that shape women's lives (Morawska, 2016b). A white middle-class woman's experience could be so vastly different from that of a black working-class woman, having such an affect on the extent to which they are or are not the 'other' of man. It is for this reason that she has been criticized for elitism, rejecting many of the struggles faced by 'real women'. It would be naive to assume that all women are the same through-out the great diversity of cultures and ethnicities in society; this may make it difficult to apply the theory universally when there has been such disregard of such important structural factors such as race and class.

De Beauvoir's contributions to the development of feminist theory were revolutionary, but there were also other early contributions which were mostly ignored. For example, Georg Simmel argued that Western culture is essentially a 'male culture' as it objectifies women in terms of its values and hierarchal structure (Simmel & Oakes, 1984). This particular attention to 'Western' culture had not necessarily been touched upon before, and yet Simmel didn't receive the recognition he deserved for these ideas (Morawska, 2016c). Could this be because he is a man? Although men are typically the dominant sex, Simmel's arguments may have been ignored by fellow academics, of which the majority would have been male. As mentioned before, it can be suggested that men feel threatened by gender equality, so it would not be surprising that other *male* academics wouldn't want to make a fuss about such revelations.

In conclusion, de Beauvoir proposes a good argument to show that women are the 'other' of man. The two aspects - subordination and socialization - are useful in understanding the process of how women become inferior to the man. It can be shown that these aspects are inter-linked, and even possibly dependent on each other through the socialization of the children continuing the subordination of women. On the other hand, there has been much movement towards gender equality, there is substantial evidence to suggest that women are, or are becoming, emancipated. Especially when we look at statistics that show a continuous decrease in the gender pay gap, or the introduction of laws that attempt to eradicate and punish gender discrimination. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that de Beauvoir's work, *The Second Sex*, was published in 1949. The social context of this time and geographical location, France, will be vastly different to present day Western industrialized societies such as the UK, which is an important factor to consider when attempting to determine whether a woman is in fact the 'other' of man.

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Becoming an international migrant;
A Zimbabwean mother's perspective.

Angella Denman

Introduction

Migration is defined as a change in 'permanent residence, often of a year or more in duration, which involves a geographical move that crosses political boundaries' (Turner2006:384). This is a century old phenomena, which has included voluntary and involuntary migration. In 2012 it was estimated that over 200 million people had migrated to another country (Blinder, 2016). In the past this phenomenon was mostly associated with young men in search of 'greener pastures', or refugees of war or brutal regimes. However, 'the past 25 years has seen a significant rise in female migrants of various age groups', the reasons for migrating include economic, non-economic factors and personal factors (Caritas International 2010:4). In 2010 it was estimated that '104 million women, 48 % of the migrant global population were away from their homes, either fleeing persecution, poverty, economic and political instability' (Caritas Internationalis 2010:4). This has coincided with a sharp rise in international migration, more or less as a direct result of the effects of globalisation. This has prompted social scientists to research migration and come up with various theories that attempt to explain the factors that create and sustain international migration (O'Reilly 2012). In recent months the migrant 'crisis' in Europe has been covered by the media and there have been migration specialists trying to categorise the migrants, and some governments implementing 'anti-immigration' policies in an attempt to deter would be migrants(BBC).

Research Question

My research is on international migration, focusing on Zimbabwean mothers. I would like to understand the factors that initiated their journey; why they migrated and if possible the circumstances that have led to them staying. The reason why I have decided to carry out research on this topic is that, as an immigrant myself, I have found it difficult to use one theory to explain why I am still in the United Kingdom fourteen years after arriving, with the intention of staying for three years. I feel it is important for researchers to not only know about migration figures and analyse them, but also to understand the migrant's journey; the chain of events that result in migrants making the long and for some treacherous journey into the 'unknown', and the unfamiliar. This research focuses on the experiences of women: mothers, attempting to understand, what migrating to the UK meant for them, and to find out what underlying factors influenced their decision to migrate. The research will also be seeking to uncover the reasons why the final destination was chosen (UK) instead of neighbouring Southern African countries, and finally whether they made a conscious decision to stay or events beyond their control, influenced them to be resident in the UK for more than a decade. The aim of this research is to find a deeper understanding, with regards to how these migrant mothers see the world and how their interactions with other structures alter or not, their circumstances. The researcher's own personal experienced have been influential in choosing this research, and hopefully the

data gathered will add to the current theoretical and political debate on migration.

Literature Review

This research has drawn a broad idea on the current theories on migration primarily from the works of Massey et al (1993) and Morawska (2007). According to Massey et al (1993:463) the current theories on international migration are segmented and have developed largely in isolation of each other; thus depending on the 'model supported and the circumstances', a social scientist might recommend that policy makers attempt to regulate this phenomenon by changing economic, political or social structures within their own countries or abroad. Neo classical, segmented market and new economic theories focused on the 'push and pull' theories of migration, arguing that migration is explained primarily by economic factors (Massey et al, 1993:436-43). Wallenstein's world systems theory argue that migration is triggered by the internal and external structural demands of the richer and more developed countries and their poorer underdeveloped counter parts; in other words, migration is a 'by-product' of capitalism. On the other hand, network and cumulative theory argue that migration is maintained because of informal and formal networks which act as an 'enabler' for individuals or groups in their migration process (Massey et al 1993 444-53). Morawska however, put forward that the structuration theory was most suitable to explaining and understanding migration. She took the position that migration was an ever changing process, which was characterised by interaction and interdependency between agency and structures. Marawksa argued that in as much as political, economic and cultural structures enable and limit migration; migrants reacted to their immediate environment; it is in this proximity that they evaluated their situation and defined their goals and acted according to their own understanding (2007:3-13).

Methodology

Research strategy and design

This project will follow a qualitative research strategy; this involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world and therefore leading to an inductive process of research, whereby a theory may emerge after data analysis (Bryman, 2012:25-38). This is necessary because the research question requires the researcher to acquire an in-depth meaning of the world from the participants. This encompasses, personal experiences and subjective interpretations, therefore it would not be prudent to formulate a theory beforehand.

The research design will be in the form of case studies; unstructured interviews will be carried out with the participants on separate occasions. The in-depth or semi-structured interview method has been selected because it allows the researcher to achieve a holistic understanding of the participant's point of view (Dawson, 2013:28). Thus facilitating an exploration of the participant's attitudes, values, beliefs as shaped by their experiences and personal circumstances. Though this method might have weak reliability and internal validity; it nevertheless has credibility and is dependable (Bryman, 2012). An interview schedule will be used as a 'gentle' guide; however, the participant will be allowed to maintain flexibility as to how they would like to answer the questions.

Access, Sampling and Timescale

No time frame has been put on the length of the interviews, which will be carried out at the participants' respective homes, at a time of their choosing within the period of the 15th and 27th of March 2016. This will allow for two weeks of transcripts and analysis. The participants are two Zimbabwean born females, with their ages ranging between 52 and 58 respectively. They both have adult children, who they left in the care of family over ten years ago, and most of the children were minors at that time. Both women were widowed when they left Zimbabwe. They currently live within a five-mile radius of the researcher's home, thus making meetings easier. The researcher has taken the decision to interview participants of the near 'similar' backgrounds not because of comparison purposes, but to enable a thematic analysis of the data gathered. Finally, it should also be noted that the researcher speaks the same native language as the respondents, this might enable the participants to better express themselves. Although the interview will be conducted in English there may be instances, were the participants might find it easier to express themselves in Shona; instead of English. A direct translation of this will be made available in the transcript.

Ethics

The researcher is obligated to follow the ethical guidelines set out by the University of Essex. Due to the personal nature of the interviews, the researcher is aware that the participants may find parts of the interview process stressful and emotionally challenging. In order to minimise this risk, the researcher will state at the beginning of the interview that the participant is free to stop the interview at any time, and they are not obligated to answer any question which they may not feel happy with. The participants will also be reassured that their identity or that of anyone they mention, will not be revealed or used in any publication of the research, and also that that any recording of them vocally or otherwise will be destroyed after the transcripts are typed out. Most importantly the researcher will take great care in asking potentially sensitive questions, especially with regards to the question of the mothers leaving their children behind. The researcher would like to let it be known that she is acquainted with the participants, having previously worked with both participants several years prior, nevertheless great care and professionalism will be exercised in order to minimise researcher bias and subjectivity. Finally, the participants wellbeing will be of the utmost importance to the researcher, therefore if the participants are not well or busy, the researcher will reschedule the interview.

Research Report:

Becoming an international migrant;
A Zimbabwean mother's perspective.

Angella Denman

Introduction

According to The Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology, migration is defined as the change in permanent residence, often of a year or more in duration, which involves a geographical move that crosses a political boundary' (Turner, 2011). Currently migration has become an emotive topic, political careers have been built and destroyed by it; the rise of Nigel Farage and UKIP may be attributed to their anti-immigration proposed policies (BBC), whereas political parties such as the Labour party, who are predominantly pro-immigration are often blamed for their 'open door' immigration policies (Finch and Goddhart, 2010). As the flow of migrants from poorer countries to richer western countries increases, host countries and governments are scrambling through tougher legislation, in order to curb 'the impending threat'(Kohnert, 2007) This has led to the media and other public figures to use language that 'dehumanises' the migrant (Shariatmadari,2015).

The purpose of this research primarily is to give the migrant a face; to uncover their life stories in their own words. The research hopes to get a deeper understanding of the circumstances that led them to leave the familiar, heading towards the unfamiliar and in some cases hostile communities. The research will focus on Zimbabwean mothers, this was a deliberate choice, because unlike 'freedom fighter, or 'fleeing religious persecution', motherhood is a phenomenon which is universally understood to involve to a large extent the same emotions, responsibilities and ties. The second reason for this research is of a personal nature; the researcher herself is a migrant, who as a young adult left her birth country for the United Kingdom with the intention of returning 'home' after three years; yet over a decade later is married and has settled and calls a small Essex village home. Hence, it is important for the researcher to not only analyse statistical 'faceless' data on migration, but to focus on the experiences of these migrants; how these mothers view the world, their circumstances and the underlying factors that has led them to be resident in the United Kingdom for over a decade. Was it a voluntary decision to leave family and friends, and was it a conscious decision to stay?

Literature Review

This research's broad theoretical base encompasses the majority of migration theories in broader terms, primarily from the works of Massey et al, Morawska and Kohnert. The flow of migration has changed over the last fifty years; countries such as Britain that used to send out migrants, have gradually transformed into migrant-receiving societies. 'This has resulted in these societies becoming multi-cultural and multi-ethnic' (Massey et al 1993:431). The theories put forward for explaining this phenomenon tend to have a micro/macro or a push-and-pull emphasis. The neoclassical economics and segmented market models focus on remuneration; they argue that individuals or communities evaluate the cost and benefit of migration. Wallenstein's World system theory argues that migration is a

consequence of capitalism; it posits that there is a cycle of international labour and goods, between the rich and poor countries, both going in opposite directions. Finally, the network and cumulative theories argue that migration is enabled, and maintained by formal and informal structures which assist or impede migrants (Massey et al1993: 432-437). The above mentioned theories are 'fragmented and were developed largely in isolation from each other', therefore they do not provide an all-encompassing explanation which is required to explain the rather 'complex and multifaceted nature' of international migration (Massey et al 1993:432).

The push factors particularly for African migrants include violent conflicts, gross human rights violations, and poor economic output resulting in high unemployment; this maybe as a result of state corruption, degradation of natural resources or unfair trade relations with Western based multinationals (Kohnert, 2007:6-7). According to Kohnert between '1993 and 2002 the population of 27 out of 53 African states [Zimbabwe included] suffered from violent conflicts'(2007:6-7). This resulted in 18% of all African migrants being refugees by 2005(Kohnert, 2007:6). Another reason for gross human rights violations and poor governance could partly be that:

after independence of their former colonies, European states, driven by geo-strategies and cold war politics, fostered corrupt and autocratic regimes in Africa over decades with dire disregard for the principles of 'good governance'. The aftermath of these regimes is still felt today (Kohnert, 2008:7).

A large proportion of African migrants reside in the European Union, with a ratio of 51 to 1 with African migrants in the USA. The main reason for this unequal distribution could be the geographical distance, which might makes travelling to Europe comparatively cheaper than the USA, and also the 'cultural and socio-economic ties the African migrants have with their former colonial' [masters], which include Britain (Kohnert,2007:7-8). However, the ability to migrate appears to be largely based on socioeconomic advantages; the richer and better educated migrant appears to have the most to gain. Due to their strong financial position and their 'resource endowment' thus placing them in a better position than 'others to benefit from the pull factors', such as better living conditions and remuneration in the host countries (Kohnert, 2007:9). Analysing the migration to Europe by African migrants has highlighted that migration is not an event, but rather a process of which cannot be explained by a single theory.

Morawska (2009) took the position that international migration was such a complex and fluid phenomenon; therefore, in order to fully understand and explain it, more inclusive and multi-factored theories were required. She argued that migration was triggered and maintained by the interaction of human agency and structures. Meaning people made the decision to migrate based on 'time-and –place specific interactions', with structures such as the economy or political state of their birth country and their country of destination; and much more personal factors such as their family, health and financial capabilities. Morawska (2009) put forward the Structuration theory as best placed to explain migration because this explains it as an ever changing process, whereby human agency reacts to structural changes, and vice versa. This allows social scientists to explain why the process of migration evolves, and why migrants in some instances settle whilst others move on. Another important factor is that the structuration theory 'bridges' the micro-macro gap because 'it accommodates in one theoretical framework the reciprocal influences of migrants' purposeful activities and home and host societal structures' (Morawska 2009:11). Morawska argued that:

[in as much as] the upper structural layers which include political systems, economic and cultural formations, 'set the limits of what is possible and impossible within which people act; it is at the level [of immediate] social surroundings that individuals and groups [alike], evaluate their situations, define purposes and undertake actions. The intended and unintended consequences of these individual and collective activities in turn affect, sustain or transform these local-level and, over time larger-scope structures" (2009:12).

The above theories have put forward their perspectives in explaining, why individuals and in some instances whole communities migrate, what leads them to settle in particular countries and not others. It is with these same questions in mind that this research will be carried out.

Findings

During the process of interviewing the participants and transcribing the interviews the researcher noticed certain themes emerging from the answers given by both participants. This formed the basis of the thematic analysis of the data. This type of analysis is highly inductive, 'whereby themes emerge from the data and are not imposed upon by the researcher' (Dawson 2013:119).

Despite the participants being raised in different parts of the country and from different social classes; it became evident that both of them had a sense of 'perceived racism'; this is defined as the 'subjective interpretation by the affected individual of an event, situation or experience as negative, unjust or undignified and one that solely occurs due to one's racial background' (Dailey 2008:73). This might be exacerbated by the fact that both women lived under colonisation from birth right up to their late teens and early twenties respectively. Therefore, primary and secondary socialisation might be playing a significant role in influencing their attitudes towards the indigenous population of their host country (Gross 2010:344-348). The colonial period was characterised by racial segregation and oppression on the ethnic majority black Zimbabweans (they were called Rhodesians then) by the white British minority government. This segregation was across all structures, education, health, and even residential locations; your life chances were largely based on the colour of your skin (Zimbabwean Embassy). This might explain why both participants broadly stereotype all white British residents as 'racist'. There also seemed to be a certain acceptance of this perceived situation; participant *D* laughs off the fact that '[white British people] don't like black people', and participant *G* 'preferred [racists] who pretended' and at the same time argues that most of the white British 'pretend anyway'. This might also be because of the unconscious 'denial' by the British government and subsequently its citizens of the injustices carried out during the colonial era (Craib 2001:42-43). Even the researcher found it difficult to find literature that documented such injustice.

The second theme that came out of the interviews was that both women were influenced to immigrate by economic, political and cultural structures. Participant *D* left Zimbabwe in 2000 and *G* left in 2003; for both women the decision to emigrate was as a result of a set of circumstances; for *D*, not only did she feel that the economic situation was making it difficult to sustain her family's upper middle class lifestyle, she also had to contend with continued harassment from the security services because of her 'alleged' political support for the opposition. Whilst for *G* it was the overall economic collapse that made it challenging to look after her children. However, the 'catalyst' would be the acquaintances that were already residents in the United Kingdom, who were in a position to help with accommodation and also financial in relation to participant *G*. This supports Morawska 's

position that the decision to migrate is in some cases influenced through everyday interactions with structures of which can either aid or impede their goals. Individuals use projective elements; in which decisions are based on 'possible future trajectories of action' which encompass their hopes, fears and desires for the future (Morawska , 2007:12), 'killing two birds with one stone' as aptly put by *D,* when describing how she was evading the potential danger from the police, whilst at the same time maintaining her family's lifestyle.

When the women arrived in the UK, they had to overcome' broad external structures' which include leaving family, familiarity and security, by relying on' proximal structures' that make communication with and sending financial support to their loved ones much easier (O'Reilly 2012:66). This is particularly so for *D* who spends her free time talking to her family in Zimbabwe. Both participants immediately gravitate towards members of their own community for employment, accommodation and with regards to *G* her social life as well. This ties in with the network theory, which focuses on the interpersonal ties that connect settled migrants with new migrants, thus assisting them with employment, and on ways to regulate their residence if necessary (Massey et al, 1993). Regulation of residence is another area where both women were resourceful. Despite the fact that *D* would have qualified for refugee status, she did not take it because it would have prevented her from going back home to Zimbabwe. Participant D did not see the UK as her home, rather like the former military personnel she was, the researcher got the impression that she viewed coming to England, as making a 'sacrifice' for her family's education and life chances. Even when she had developed a physical disability and was in constant pain due to her arthritis, she still refused the offer to get state help. This maybe because of the fact that she identified being in England with being at work, as she states casually, '... I have to look after my mother[...] I have to send money to my daughter who is doing her Master's Degree [......] your child is your responsibility even after death'. However, she longed for the day when she could return to a society where she had cultural, social and economic capital and status (Bourdieu 1986:241-258). Whereas G saw England as her home, her marriage to a British national afforded her settlement; she had made friends and her youngest daughter lived nearby, unlike back in Zimbabwe where her parents were deceased and her other children had families of their own. The respective way in which both women have managed to regulate their residence over time, highlights that when faced with a structure such as the Home Office, both women were able to use 'practical-evaluate elements which entailed making a rational judgement, in response to the demands, dilemmas and ambiguities of [the UK's ever evolving immigration policies]' (Mische and Mustafa 1998 in Morawska 2007:12-13).

Finally, the main theme that has been prevalent throughout both interviews was that, neither woman had planned to stay in England for this long, nor are they simply passive 'victims' of circumstance; instead their present circumstances has been a result of 'the time-and-place-specific contexts of the interactions between [themselves and relevant structures]' (Morawska 2007:13). In relation to participant D, her children's continued education has meant that she had to carry on working, and for G meeting her husband has allowed her to have a 'solid' base of which she can call home.

Reflections

There was a good rapport between the researcher and interviewees, this was most likely due to the fact that they were similar gender, migrant background and were all from Zimbabwe. Another important factor to point out was that although we never met socially

we had worked for the same care agency nearly ten years ago. However, I feel that this may have had a slightly negative effect because, participant D asked me not to question her about certain aspects of her social life, including male friends, and about her current residential status, although I was made aware of it. Similarly, participant G asked me not to inquire further about her strained relationship with her children; I was asked to delete it from my recording. I feel that maybe if I had been from a different country they would both have not felt threatened by having that information in print. Nevertheless, I feel that the method chosen was appropriate because it allowed the participants to freely talk about how they viewed their lives; as it gave them the flexibility to provide their own interpretations of what influenced their migrant journey (Bryman, 2012). I think that it would be beneficial if the interviews were longer; I feel that due to my inexperience I made the interviews too short, therefore missed out on a lot of rich data. However, the little information I have uncovered highlight a significant impact colonisation has on the oppressed majority, even years after gaining independence; it would be interesting to see whether there is any difference in perception of Indigenous White British people, between those people born during and after colonisation.

Another significant finding that supports the structuration model of explaining migration was that, it was evident how these two women interacted with various structures in order to achieve their goals, from becoming a student to getting married, and finally the major decision to migrate ten thousand miles from their families in order to provide for them.

Conclusion

This research has managed to give a human account of the migrant's journey; an account of two mothers' self-sacrifice for the benefit of their families. An important finding was how past experiences and socialisation play a significant role in influencing stereotypes and expectations of the migrant women. The possible 'mental scars' of colonisation appeared to influence their attitude and stereotypes of the native inhabitants of the host country. Finally, the research also shows how complex and fluid the process on migration is and how it is influenced by interactions between structures and agency, resulting in intended and unintended consequences. Throughout this research process it has become evident that the structuration model, with its ability to encompass a multifactor explanation to migration is best suited in explaining this phenomenon.

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Participant D and researcher R

R: Before we start I would like to thank you for allowing me to carry out this interview. However I would like you to know that you are free to stop this interview at any time and that you do not have to answer any questions, which you do not feel comfortable, with.

D: (Laughs), would you not get into trouble if I don't answer (laughs)

R: Laughs. No I will not, no it's not like that at all, laughs, no one gets into trouble.

D: Laughs.....I understand, they are very big on rights in this country laughs, which is very good.

R: They are indeed, and speaking of rights, I have a form for you to sign it's a consent form, it is a written statement to make sure that you are aware of your rights during and after the interview, if you could read it and if you agree with it you can sign and date it and I will do the same.

D: Thank you (puts on spectacles and reads quietly)......It's all very clear; you explained this to me last time we met *ndazvinzwisisa* (I have understood it).

R: Let me sign and date it also. Right are you comfortable

D: Oh yes I am

R: Can you tell me a little bit about yourself, what is like to be D--- from 19--- till an adult in Zimbabwe.

D: laughs a little, I was born in Chipinge, Manicaland. I was the second born in a family of five. Ehh, my father was a Vet; he was the first black vet in our province. You know that was a big thing because *MaBritish akange achiri kuti tonga* (we were still under British rule); so to have a black man looking after white people's livestock was a great achievement for my father. My mother was from Mozambique, she came from a very poor family, and she was about sixteen years younger that my father. *Amai vangu vange vasina kudzidza(* my mother had not had any form of education*) ,* but my father put her through school and taught her to drive(laughs) she drives even now at seventy (laughs), and *vakazenge vave shamisira* (she became a snob), *asi* (but) she was very intelligent. She didn't like me because I didn't go to university, my big sister went to university and became a doctor and she married a doctor as well; she was very beautiful, and we were very close, *asi vakashayika mukoma vangu ndiri kuno muna 2007, vakazoita divorce, vakazove alchaholic, hanzi vakaita liver damage* (my sister passed away in 2007, she got divorced and became an alcoholic, they said she had liver damage). (Short period of silence as if reminiscing) Anyway, *ndokutonga kwaJehovha* (That is the will of the Jehovah (name of the Christian God). Do you want me to carry on or am I going of topic (laughs)?

R: You are not going off topic, please carry on (pause); you mentioned that your mother was not happy with you because you did not go to university? Was this something your parents thought highly of?

D: Ohh yes! All my siblings have degrees, except for me (laughs) asi (but) I passed my O-levels, I have 2 A's. After that I got a job as a temporary teacher for primary school children, but just before we got independence I was a collaborator for the Comrades, ehhh you understand, the freedom fighters. It was our job, to ehh, to inform them when the oppressive regime's soldiers were patrolling...it was a big responsibility. You know many people say the War Veterans won the war *asi dai pasina ma collaborators* (if they did not have the help of the collaborators), they would not have

managed to defeat Ian Smith! We were their eyes and ears and so that is why we were recognised by the government and we were awarded compensation and gratuities.

R: Do you have any memories of your time as a collaborator?

D: Meeting my husband (laughs), he was an officer, ehh we met during the demobilisation. He did not do any actual fighting, because he had just finished his A-levels when he joined up; he was sent to the Soviet Union to study from 1974 till 1979; you know RUSSIA was our friend during the liberation struggle, and so was China and Cuba, (laughs). When he came back he was in charge of internal communications in the party, so after independence he quickly rose through the ranks; by the time he died he was a Brigadier in the Zimbabwean Army, but he was ehh, attached to the United Nations and so he lived there for 4 years, ehhh in America. (Silence, pondering look). Anyway, I got married when I was twenty years old, DH (husband) paid all the bride price (laughs) my father was very proud, and the wedding was the biggest people had ever seen in Chipinge (laughs). The army supplied buses to ferry people to and from the village to the wedding hall, the army supplied all the food at our wedding, ahh! People were shocked; that a young girl like me could have such a big wedding (laughs) a white man's wedding (laughs). Not soon after we managed to buy our own house, because we were staying in the barracks we were able to buy our private house, in Morningside (an exclusive suburb in Mutare). Our first tenants were white people (laughs); imagine that, white people renting from me! Ahh! Those were the days. Unfortunately it took me five years to fall pregnant; my mother thought someone had done witch craft on me, ehh you know. People were jealous of my life, but God is merciful, I had two children a boy and a girl (laughs). What more do you want in life? DH didn't want the children to live in the barracks so when they were young they often stayed at my parent's house; of course my parents were happy with this because DH gave them money and provided groceries (laughs) my children were 'gold' to them (laughs). You know how it is back home *mwana wamai (my sister*) (We both laugh*).

R: How long did your children stay with your parents?

D: They stayed with my son for nearly six months because I had to be bed bound with my second pregnancy, because it was threatening to abort ehh do you understand?

R: Do you mean that you had complications, with your second pregnancy?

D: Ohh yes The Doctor said that' Mrs.-, you need to have complete bed rest'; that was from four months till nearly eight months. None of my children were full term, ehh, but God is good, they are normal children and very intelligent (laughs) what more do you want *mwana wamai* (my sister)? When my father passed away, DH brought my mother to our house in Morningside and so that was the time we moved out of the barracks and DH got his post with the UN. I then started my business, in transport, ehh you know commuter omnibus business, I had a fleet of cars, and my own garage(laughs).They were all in my name, everybody knew me , all the top bosses in Mutare knew who I was, the mayor's house was smaller than mine (laughs) , it still is (laughs). Those were good days, I used to take my children to Manica Hotel for breakfast, you know, I had a house girl, a garden boy and a guard! My children had everything they wanted; they went to white people's schools, you know expensive private schools. Everybody wanted to be my friend. I used to throw a *braai (barbecue)* for my workers, when I entered the gazebo they would shout Yeehh! Yeehh! Murungu awuya (the white man has arrived- this is a direct translation, however it is colloquial for the boss or the rich one has arrived)!

R: You said that those were the good days. Did things change?

D: Ohh yes *(mwana wamai)* my sister. After my husband died in 97, I was still a very rich widow. *Asi zvinhu zvakazongo chinja* (this changed); the political situation and the collapse of the economy. Eeeh! (Shakes head) that was a disaster. Four of my vehicles were impounded because they were hired by the MDC (political opposition party in Zimbabwe), my drivers and conductor were beaten by the police, mmmm! *Zvaka tanga kuchishata manje* (the situation became ugly). Each week the

Zim dollar was losing value, you remember the days *mwana wamai* (my sister), and on the other side I have children in private school, medical aid to pay, the house girl, garden boy , my mother to look after. The vehicles were losing money because they were getting impounded each week; for no reason whatsoever! Politics! (Shakes her head) One CIO (central intelligence organisation) friend of mine tipped me off that someone had passed them information that I was sponsoring MDC! Ahh! Big problem! Who are you going to ask to solve your problem? I thought to myself, what will happen to my children, the lifestyle they are used to, I cannot let them down, I had to find a solution and fast. I rang one of my husband's friends and he told me to disappear for a while, until it all dies down. You know those days if someone didn't like you or jealous or something, they could just fabricate stories about you to the secret police to damage you ehh get you killed (shake her head) *mwana wamai* (my sister), things fell apart. My mother knew some people at church, whose relatives had gone to London. They said that they were jobs in London and the Pound was strong, so you could work for three years , solve all your problems and come back sorted; and so I arranged to see if they could help me. I sold four of my cars, paid my children's school fees for the year , left my mother with money and went to the airport, (shakes her head) heading for London. I was killing two birds with one stone, running away from my persecutors and securing my children's future.

R: What was it like when you first arrived in the UK?

D: Eeehh! Mwari wangu (My God), it was a disaster, London was a disaster (tilts her head back and laughs). They were not the white people that we were used to (laughs). I have never seen anything like that in my life eeehh! I lived in S-- gardens in B--, London. My first shock was how small the houses where, everything was fast. The people I lived with were devils, absolute devils; they stole my money, You know I came here with seven thousand pounds and because I didn't understand pounds or the rent system they told me that I had to pay a six hundred pounds for rent (shakes her head) I was leaving with them and sharing a bedroom in 2001! Ahh! They played me for a fool (shakes her head). I didn't want to claim asylum because that meant that could not go home to see my children. So I became a student (laughs) studying computers.

R: How did you find the British people? What kind of reception did you get?

D: (Laughs) They are good at pretending (laughs) but during election times their true colours come out, they don't like foreigners, they don't like black people (laughs). Can you be surprised, when they came to our country and treated us like rats, what more when we come to theirs (laughs) of course they will be angry mmm! But they respect the law, and they don't want to be called racist. They don't like us but they need us to look after their grandmother and fathers, and wash and dress their husbands and wives ahhh! It is sad; the white people in this country do not look after each other. It's each man for his self and the Queen for us all (tilts her head back and laughs). *Asika chokwadi chakanaka (however the truth is good)* England has allowed me to look after my family, England has allowed me to maintain their good life. White people are not spiteful, or dishonest like our fellow countrymen; they are fair. The terrible things I have suffered in England are at the hands of fellow Zimbabweans. You know that when the care agencies I joined were owned and run by Zimbabweans, so they preferred to hire fellow countrymen; *asika (however)*, because they knew that you are running away from a terrible situation back home, coming to white people country, you have no choice but to work for them, because they speak Shona asika *(however),* I was never offered a day off! Ehhh! I worked every day of my life for over ten years! We didn't know that you could take annual leave nobody told us*.* I have been bullied at work by a Zimbabwean work mate, simply because she found out that I have a lot of property back home. What they forget is that for nearly thirteen years I have lived in a box room, a box room! There was no space for a chair. It was a shared house with only one bathroom! (Laughs) When I came to England I was a healthy thirty-something year old (laughs) but now look at me (laughs) I am haggard! I have severe arthritis; the Consultant told me that I should not work (laughs) recommended early retirement ehh, because I need both knees replaced, I hip, and the arthritis has spread to my spine, and fingers and toes ehh. (Pause)You know we come into this country healthy, we spent every day working , and living in terrible conditions because we want to send the money home *zvakaoma mwana wamai (it is not*

*easy my sister).*I don't have friends , I don't go to anybody's house, I keep to myself because our people are jealous. Especially now , that I have been given a council flat, ground floor, in this quiet area. They can't believe it; because I am working they think that I am committing benefit fraud (laughs). They don't know that I qualify because I am disabled; the benefits people offered me full disability benefits, but I told them that I want to work (laughs). You know how the British love benefits , (tilts her head back and laughs) they were shocked that this woman, who cannot bend or walk long distances without a crutch , is refusing full benefits and choosing to work as a carer! They were shocked, my case worker said, "Is somebody forcing you to work" I told her that I want to keep busy (laughs). You know that you cannot tell them that 'ohh I have to look after my mother, ohh I have to send money to my daughter who is doing a Masters at university'. You know in this country when a child reaches eighteen they are considered an adult, they are on their own, (shakes her head), not like us your child is your responsibility even after death (laughs). Do you know they even offered me carers (laughs), I told them that I might need them when I stop working, people like me when we stop we just die ehh, because all those illnesses come out when you have all the time in the world to listen to them. (Pause) Anyway I will be back home by then *kana Mwari vachida (God willing).* But thank God now I work only five days a week, I am off Saturday and Sunday.

R: What do you do in your spare time?

D: I speak to my children and my mother (laughs). My children told me to get a computer; you know a lap top and a better mobile phone so that we can see each other. Do you know how to do it?

R: Yes I do; did they mention Skype or whatsapp?

D: Yes (laughs) one is video and the other is messages and calling (laughs) you see how backward I have become.

R: (laughs, and shakes her head) You are not backward at all. There are a lot of people who do not know about this new technology, simply because they have not been exposed to it. If you like when you get the lap top and phone I can download the apps for you and show you how it is done.

D: Ohh thank you so much *mwana wamai (my sister).* I will do that thank you, it will be good to see them on the video; even though we talk nearly every week it's not enough. I have two grandchildren, you know from my son. I talk to them and they send me pictures but it will be better to see them. I can't wait to go back home. As soon as my daughter finishes her Masters, I think that I will be going back. Her university education has cost me over twenty thousand US dollars. You know people see me getting into that banger of a car; they don't realise that I am somebody high up in society back home. It has been hard but it has been worth it, I maintained what my late husband left. I have done my duty, nobody can say otherwise. I have rental properties, my husband's pension , it will be enough for me, and my pension here; it may not be a lot but I have been paying into a pension here as well, and I have a insurance. When I die my children will get two hundred and fifty thousand (laughs) I have done my duty , very soon I will be at my house, sitting on my garden chairs playing with my grandchildren (pauses), I can't wait , I am tired now.

R: Is that where you see yourself in the next five years?

D: Ohh Yes! I am going back home, this is not my home, England is work, Zimbabwe will always be home. You are nobody here, just an African, poor African (laughs). Have you noticed they call us all by the continent, ehh by the skin colour. They do not take time to say where you from are, are you Zimbabwean, Kenyan (laughs). It is too much trouble for them (laughs) so they just say, "after all they are all black, Africa". My home is where my children are, my mother, my good memories. My house in Morningside is home, *mwana wamai (my sister*); not this flat, not England; this is not life.

R: I think we can conclude this interview. It has been an absolute pleasure, seeing you again and hearing about your life. Thank you very much.

Participant G and researcher R

R: Before we start I would like to thank you for allowing me to carry out this interview. However I would like you to know that you are free to stop this interview at any time and that you do not have to answer any questions, which you do not feel comfortable.

G: Thank you

R: Before we start the interview, I have a form for you to sign it's a consent form, it is a written statement to make sure that you are aware of your rights during and after the interview, if you could read it and if you agree with it you can sign and date it and I will do the same.

G: Reads and signs it.

R: Let me sign and date it also. Right are you comfortable? If you would like to make yourself something to eat fell free. I can either stop the interview or we can go into the kitchen together and carry on talking.

G: No don't worry; I have just had my breakfast. Do you want a cup of tea or anything?

R: No thank you. (Slight pause) Can you tell me a little bit about yourself, what is like to be G--- from the time you were born till an adult in Zimbabwe?

G: There is nothing much to tell really. I was born in Mabvuku, Harare. My father was a cook at a small hotel in the town, and my mother was a vegetable vendor. You know those ones that sit by the road side selling tomatoes, greens and so forth. You know things were very difficult those days, but my parents were hard working. We always had new clothes at Christmas and had plenty to eat unlike most of our neighbours. I had my first child early, she was a very responsible Christian girl, unfortunately God took her, she died when she was twenty one, and she took her own life. I will never know why, she was the best daughter anyone could ever have.

R: I am sorry to hear that, it must have been hard for you and your family.

G: It was hard, I was not with her father, by then I was married to a mixed race person; you know here they call them all black, but back home mixed race are called coloured, but it is not a bad word. You know this isn't.

R: Yes, I do.

G: That man was good to me, we had a plot, eeh like a small farm, something like that, and we raised chickens, which I supplied to the shops. We used to have lots of parties. You know how the coloured are like, they behave like white people. That husband of mine taught me how to drive; I used to drive big American cars, my third born (name provided) went to a posh primary school. They used to use serviettes at lunch and had the serviette ring; you know it was a good school. I had a nice life, lived in a big house, but you know nothing lasts forever. My husband was framed and put in prison for five years. By then I had my youngest child (name provided) she was only a year old when he was put in prison. All the cars were taken by customs, I had to move to Harare, and rent in B---. It was tough, but I was clever, I managed to look after my children . My son's father got me a job at ----, as a cleaner, and another old friend helped me a lot (laughs). F (husband's name) came out of prison after four and a half years, but he didn't last long, (pause) he had a heart attack and died in my arms. My dear, life is tough, but you have to get on with things. The world does not stop because you are a widow; I had two young children to feed and look after. My son lived with his father. I looked after those girls. But you know children sometimes are never satisfied, you can only do your best (long pause).

R: What made you decide to come to the United Kingdom?

G: The situation in Zimbabwe was getting worse, no jobs, no money for school fees, it was getting worse. So I had a friend of mine who I grew up with, who lived in Coventry in the UK. She said, "I can loan you the money for the ticket and you can come and work for your children, like what everyone is doing'. It was around the time they changed the visa system, you couldn't get a visa at the airport you had to get one at the embassy. I was given six months. I came and lived in Coventry for two months and then I joined the Zimbabwean care agency in Ilford. I began to work and send money home to my sister because by then both my parents where dead so I left my children with my sister and her family. I used to send a lot of money.

R: How did you find the United Kingdom, were the British welcoming?

G: I was shocked to see how small the houses were; you know when you are in Zimbabwe you just think that all white people live in very big houses and they all have a lot of money. I was shocked to see that they were a lot of poor looking whites. I find that most of them are racist, but the rich ones try not to show it mmm, the poor ones are the ones that show it. One day my friend and I were coming from work, it was around ten at night, we saw a man on the bus, ehh, you know British. He started to shout at us, "Go back to your country! Go back where you came from". My friend and I remained quiet, (pause) it was because I did not have papers then. If it had been these days I answer back, ehh! They came to our country first, (laughs) we are here to stay, so they better get used to it. I can't stand racists who tell you to your face. It's better for them to pretend, we all know that most of them are like that anyway. I don't care (laugh) R--- (husband) gets very cross, he say, "G--- not all white people are racist, sweetheart" (continues to laugh) I tell him, "only you sweetheart, only you are not racist" (continues to laugh). My husband is a very nice man, I am very lucky to have him.

R: Was that the only incident you experienced direct racial abuse?

G: Yes it was he was an old drunk man (laughs).

R: Are there any positive experiences you can recall in the first five years in England?

G: Making friends, I have always been someone who makes friend easily, so I have made a lot of friends most of them from Zimbabwe and we used to meet once a month at a Toby Carvery for a roast and drinks, and also my husband is the best thing that has happened to me, and my wedding; I had never really got married before. You know back home if you have a child with him and you live together and he pays part of the, you know the *lobola*, you know the dowry. He is your husband. So actually wearing a gown and walking down the aisle was a first for me, at fifty! (Laughs). Yes that was the best day for sure.

R: How did your meet your husband?

G: I was doing care for BC (name of agency given). I had a client in Woodford, and he used to visit his friend next door. Then my clients neighbour told her (the client) that, "R—is always asking after your carer. He says that she has a wonderful smile" (laughs) ehe. The next time I saw him we had a chat, you know British people (laughs) we talked about the weather. A few weeks went by we would just stop and chat, a little while, until he asked me out for dinner (giggles). I was so excited, I mean I had been out with men before, and they usually just asked you out there and then, but not R---. He was a true gentleman, he was so kind and well spoken, and you could tell that he respected women. When we went for dinner, we talked about ourselves; you know we both had children, although his were older. He had been divorced for over twenty years. I told him that I was a widow, you know that sort of thing. I didn't tell him too much, you know how it is. Anyway we courted for nearly a year and then he proposed and we got married in 2007. It was a wonderful day, we went on honeymoon to Suffolk, and it was lovely. I stopped working you know because I had to sort the

papers, and the home office took forever. That was frustrating, but I have them now anyway, and I have a job, in support work. Although the pay is not that good, it is a very easy job, it is good for someone like me. I just want to take it easy. My husband has not been well these past few years and I have been diagnosed with diabetes so it is better to take it easy. Life is too short.

R: Do you keep in touch with your family in Zimbabwe?

G: I got my youngest daughter over here, she lives in the Midlands with her partner; a white British, he has got some money. She drives a nice car and every time they come to see me, they bring me flowers and a bottle of wine.

R: How old is she?

G: She is turning twenty- three this year. When she came nearly three years ago I advised her to go to school, but you know what children are like. Anyway she works full time in support, and the company she works for pays more money than the one I work for. She has a good life, the partner looks after her. You know, he is older and wiser. My only son is a mechanic in Zimbabwe; he has a wife and a daughter. A few years after I came into England I bought some land just outside Harare. I wanted to build a home for my children and myself but since I am now married, Britain is my home. I gave him the land. His father was a wealthy man, but he had a horrible wife, and so they ill treated my son. When his father died, he did not get anything, ehh! That woman is evil, but never mind, I have given him the land. I told him that he should build himself a home for his children. That is all you can do he is a grown man, he is thirty –four. Then my other daughter has got three children, the first from a previous relationship; that boy lives with my sister, I look after him. And then the other two live with her and her husband, I was against that relationship from the start, because the husband is no good, but what can you do. If she is happy with him who am I to stop her.

R: You mentioned that you look after your grandson, do you send money regularly?

G: Oh yes, I sent money every month for food, clothes and his school fees. However last term, my youngest daughter paid the fees. I have no choice but to look after him, his mother is busy enjoying her new life and family and has forgotten about him.

R: In light of that do you think that you will try to bring him over here?

G: I would love to, but you know things are getting really difficult. I do not think that we can get the visa. I talk to him anyway on the phone, and he is very well looked after by my sister. He is very happy there, so it is for the best, since he has been staying with her ever since he was two years old. He is nearly ten now.

R: Where do you see yourself in five years time?

G: I will still be working, probably part time, you know my husband is old and not very well, if God decides to take him I will move to be nearer my daughter. Rentals are cheaper there; even though this is a council flat it is very expensive. All in all the bills for rent and council tax come up to nearly six hundred, I think. So that is too much for me. Yes I see myself taking it easy, working for holiday money (laughs). I will be a true British then, working, holidays. (Laughing)

R: I think we can conclude this interview. It has been an absolute pleasure, seeing you again and hearing about your life. Thank you very much. Is there anything you want to ask me?

G: No nothing, it was a pleasure. By the way no names will be published isn't?

R: No none at all, it is all confidential.

G: That is good, thank you too.

Informed consent form (Bryman2012:141) (signed copies will be brought in if requested)

I, the undersigned, have read and understood the Study Information sheet provided.

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I understand that my personal details, such as name, will not be revealed to anyone outside of the study.

I understand that taking part in the study will include being interviewed, and that this interview will be recorded.

I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any material related to this research, to Angella Denman who is carrying out the research study.

I understand I can with draw from the study at any given time, and I will not be asked any questions about why I no longer want to take part in the study.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Researcher

Information sheet (Bryman 2012:141)

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this study. This Information Sheet explains what the study is about and how I would like you to take part in it.

The purpose of the study is to discover the underlying reasons why individuals migrate.

This study seeks to understand the individual's personal experiences. And why some migrants decide to settle in the host country, whilst other do not. In order to elicit your views, I would like to interview you on behalf of the University of Essex. If you agree to this, the interview will be audio recorded and the interview has no time limit. The information provided by yourself will not be used in a manner which would allow identification of your individual responses.

The study has been considered by an Institutional Ethics Committee at the University of Essex and has been subsequently approved.

Once again I would like to thank you for agreeing to take part in this study. If you have any questions or concerns about the research at any stage, please do not hesitate to ask me.

Regards.

Angella M. Denman

Return to CONTENTS

What and how is the relationship between religion/religiosity and integration among migrants in Western societies?

Abigail Futter

For many years religion was seen as a dull topic of study in sociology, as secularization theory was accepted and unchallenged. However, when predictions of this theory failed to be consistent, attention turned to the importance of religion within modern societies. The topic of migration and integration is also a growing focus of study. Yet little research has been carried out on the relationship between this topic and religion. While some sociologists argue that secularization theory is still realistic, others believe that religion is, in fact, increasing in importance owing to the increasing migration that the world is currently experiencing. These opposing views have led to five main theories that explore the links between religiosity and migrant integration in the Western world.

In 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights declared the freedom to religion and belief a fundamental human right, yet for sociology the topic of religion was insignificant (Garnett and Harris, 2013). Since the 1990s religiously motivated events such as the 9/11 terrorist attacks; sparked new interest in studying religion. This same time period saw increased migration and, with it, the failure of integration. Scholars agree that, due to modernity, migration is increasing. Yet they disagree on the effects of religion on migrants. There are four ways in which the integration of migrants is categorised: socio-economic, cultural, political and social. The process of integration involves the acceptance of immigrants by natives as equal within their society (Li, 2003) (Arnold, 2012). Although both migration and religion are becoming focuses of sociological research, religion is still often overlooked as a cause of migration and influencing factor on the success or failure of integration (Hagan and Ebaugh, 2006) (Vilaca et al. 2014).

Assimilation theory is key when considering the relationship between religion and the integration of migrants. It predicts that migrants will integrate with their host society by taking on board its behaviour, values and norms over generations. The countries of Western Europe have seen a large number of Turkish immigrants in recent years. Over the last century Turkey has experienced a religious revival with 93% of the population affiliated with Islam in 2006, and the election of the Justice and Development Party that passed religion-friendly policies in 2002. Following the predictions of assimilation theory, data from the European Social Survey shows that Turkish migrants are more religious than natives, but 2nd and 3rd generation migrants gradually remove themselves from the high levels of religiosity held by their parents and grandparents. These generations are more accepting of secular Western European lifestyles (Guveli, 2014). Similarly, the relationship of religion and migrant integration in America supports assimilation theory. As the 2nd and 3rd generation migrants took on American lifestyles, the natives integrated immigrants and their religions to the mainstream, for example elevating the minor Jewish holiday Hanukah to a large celebration. This integration can be explained by the high level of intermarriage between religious groups, with the marriage rate between Jews and Christians rising from 10% to 50% in the years 1960 to 1990. In these multi-faith families religious boundaries are blurred, as families practice rituals and celebrations from both faiths (Alba, 2010). Since the amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 the U.S.A. is experiencing far higher immigration rates from Latin America and Asia, bringing more Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists to America. During the process of immigration and

integration research has found that it is common for migrants to transplant the traditional religious institutions of their home country to the host society. This adapts the religion to the new social conditions in which it finds itself and can be taken as an Americanization of religions. These studies commenced in the U.S. conclude that religion helps 1st and 2nd generation immigrants to become more 'American' (Foner and Alba, 2008) (Yang and Ebaugh, 2001).

Parallel to assimilation theory is segmented assimilation theory; which predicts that the integration of migrants depends on the group characteristics of the migrants themselves (Samers, 2010). The different factors influencing the integration of migrants in Canada have only been truly considered since the 1970s, when the immigration of Asians as well as Europeans began to grow. This immigration brought more religious diversity to Canada, increasing the number of Sikhs, Buddhists, Muslims and Hindus living in the country. However, data from Canada's 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey shows that the ethnicity of immigrants has a larger impact on the integration of migrants than religion (Reitz et al, 2009). Canada's neighbour America has received immigrants from Mexico and Italy for centuries. Although both of these migrant groups are predominantly Catholic, they experience different levels of integration within the U.S. It can be seen that Italian migrants experience high levels of integration and, currently, the Catholic schooling system in areas largely populated by Italian migrants is better developed than that in areas populated by Mexican migrants. Thus the lower levels of integration felt by Mexican migrants can be attributed to ethnic factors rather than religious factors (Alba, 2010).

While immigration appears to be rising in the U.S., the increased fears of fundamentalism and terrorism is leading European countries to tighten border controls (Joppke, 1999). Developed specifically for Europe, comparative integration context theory claims that as different European countries have different policies for migration, the integration of migrants will be different across Europe (Samers, 2010). Within Europe religion acts as a key marker for distinguishing immigrants from natives. Muslims are one of the largest immigrant groups in Western Europe, and although religiosity is decreasing, the historic institutionalization of Christianity has rendered the integration of Islam difficult. Germany is a clear example, where all established religions except for Islam are taught in public schools. Likewise, in France although strict neutrality in regards to religion is a fundamental principle of the French state, there is extremely little recognition of Islamic holidays, and the 4 million Muslims living in France have just 1,558 places of worship which are also small in terms of physical space. Moreover, in 2010 a policy to ban the wearing of burqa in public spaces was passed (Alba, 2010). Until recently many European countries were more relaxed in regards to border control, but many have now begun to look to the UK for guidance on how to better regulate their borders, as UK has strict immigration policies and controls to keep its borders secure (Joppke, 1999).

A further quintessential thesis on the relationship between religion and migrant integration is religious reliance theory which claims that as migration is a high risk situation, migrants turn to religion for guidance and reassurance. The aim of migration is to create a better life for migrants and their children. Therefore, religion provides not only reassurance during the migration process, but also a network for 2nd generation migrants to remember their origins (Arnold, 2012). 21st century America is home to more than 35 million migrants; over 90% of the total U.S. population have a belief in God meaning religion is a key element in American society for both natives and immigrants. Some claim that the migration process turned them to religion, as it provided reassurance during this time of upheaval. Research also shows that the longer immigrants are in the U.S. the more

religious they become, especially those who are less integrated with American society (Stepick et al, 2009). This is a branch from Norris and Ingleharts' existential security theory which argues that those who are most vulnerable in society are the most religious, as they turn to religion for support in difficult times and situations (Norris and Inglehart, 2004). Since the Second World War Australia has experienced a high flow of immigration making it one of the modern world's most religiously diverse societies. Data from the 2011 census shows that the number of people refusing to answer questions on religion is decreasing. This trend is explained on the basis of the high migration rates and important role that religion plays for these migrant populations. Young people make up a large proportion of these groups showing that religion continues to be important for 2nd and 3rd generation migrants (Garnett and Harris, 2013).

The final theory to be addressed is community and identity formation theory which reasons that religion gives migrants a sense of identity and brings them together as a community. Religion, therefore, provides a centre for migrants to organise their new communities around and a central aspect for the individual's identity. The 20th century saw the U.S. become defined as a white, Protestant nation, as a growth of Jewish and Catholic immigrants intensified xenophobia and caused a resurgence of the Klu Klux Klan (Alba, 2010). Individuals migrated to America for the promised economic and cultural advances. However these traumatic times left many feeling lost. Individuals came to depend on religion as their identity, meaning religion defined different migrant groups (Smith, 1978) (Vilaca et al, 2014). An important feature of religion is the symbolic ties it creates between migrants and their origin society, with the hanging of home country flags in places of religious congregation being a common practice. Furthermore, these congregations provide spaces for the exchanging of goods, aid in finding housing, jobs, childcare and supporting businesses (Stepick et al, 2009). With 4 million Turks living in Western Europe, they make up the largest non-EU migrant group and the majority of them are Muslim and organised around religious communities. Many natives argue that this organisation makes Turks unable to integrate with wider society as they refuse to accept Western lifestyles and stick to their backward ways. As migrants feel excluded from their host society they turn to religion, creating a cycle. 2nd generation Turks often experience an identity struggle between their cultural roots and the host society. In such cases, religion provides a connection with their ancestors and traditional principles, becoming a key aspect in the individual's identity. This is evident in the fact that 2nd generation Turks are far more religious than non-migrant Turks or native Western Europeans (Guveli, 2014).

These five theories provide an insight into the relationship of religion and migrant integration in Western societies. Assimilation theory proves to be valid in many societies and when applied to the countries of Western Europe it is supported by the statistical evidence of secularization theory. Both religious reliance theory and community and identity formation theory provide interesting and insightful views on the relationship of religion and migrants, although these two theories may be far more relevant in countries where little help is provided by the state, such as America, and not in countries where welfare is provided. Although comparative integration context theory is certainly not invalid - as the experiences of migrants undoubtedly differ due to different immigration policies - it can be argued that this theory is becoming irrelevant as European countries increasingly have corresponding policies. What can be gathered from studies conducted within the framework of each one of these theories is that in the initial stages of the migration process religion is a highly important tool for migrants and religiosity increases during this period. However, it can also be seen that this high level of religiosity often hinders the integration of migrant groups in their host societies. This field of sociology is

only recently coming to light as an important topic and it is certain that more research needs to be carried out in the future.

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What and how is the relationship between religion/religiosity and integration among migrants in the Western societies (Europe and North America)?

Ingrid Masovn Haave

This essay will look at the relationship between religion/religiosity and integration among migrants in the Western societies, focusing especially on cultural integration and Muslims. Just in 2015, 1,046,599 migrants were reported arriving in Europe making this a highly relevant and important issue (IOM, 2016). As there are so many people arriving at the same time, it is important that the integration process is fast and successful which makes it easier for the migrants to adopt to the new culture.

Table 1. Average gaps in cultural outcomes between immigrants and the native born in the EU

	First generation immigrants	Second generation immigrants
Language of country spoken at home	-0,33	-0,06
Frequency social activities	-0,174	0,045

Algan et al. (2012) research question is focusing on the importance of cultural and socioeconomic integration patterns of immigrants using data from The European Social Survey [ESS]; to analyse their data, they are utilising regression. One of the most important outcomes for immigrants are peaking the language; table 1 shows that first generation immigrants have 0,33 points lower chance of speaking the language whereas second generation immigrants have a 0,06 lesser chance than natives of speaking the country's language at home. There is also a difference in how actively they participate in social activities; first generation immigrants are -0,174 points less likely while second generation immigrants are 0,045 more likely to participate in social activities compared o the natives. As time goes on, the immigrants are adopting to the receiving country's cultural values.

Figure 1: Integration Patterns over Time

Legend:
- First Generation Muslims
- Second Generation Muslims
- First Generation non-Muslims
- Second Generation non-Muslims
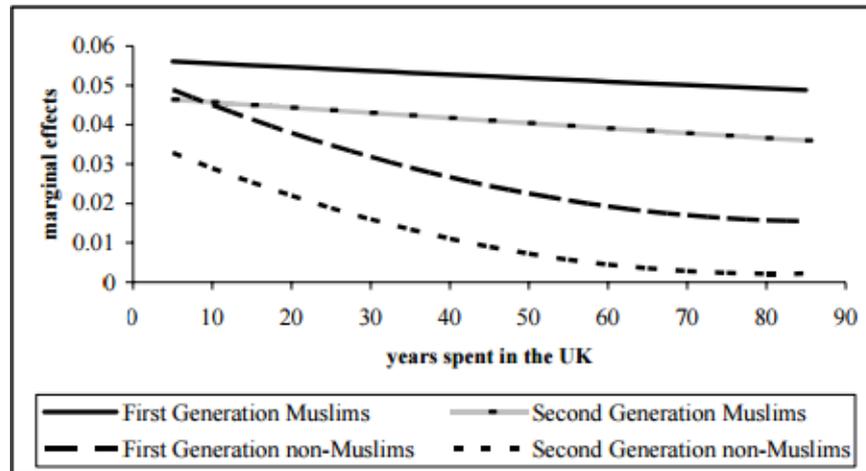
Bisin et al's (2008) research is focusing on whether Muslims are different from other immigrants in terms of cultural integration by using data from the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities [FNSEM]. To study their data, they are utilising empirical analysis of religious identity. As figure 1 shows, Muslims integrate less and more slowly than non-Muslims, whereas second generation immigrants have lower probability of showing high attachment to their culture of origin over time; this reduction is more marked for non-Muslims than for Muslims. Years spent in the UK have little effect on the level of religious identity of Muslims, whereas they decrease for non-Muslims.

Table 2. Unstandardised coefficients of OLS regression for two measures of socio-cultural integration

	Host-country identification	Freq. Of using host-country language
Germany, non-naturalised	ref.	ref.
Germany, naturalised	0,34	0,09
Netherlands, naturalised	0,73	0,03
France, naturalised	1,06	0,17
Netherlands, non-naturalised	0,88	0
France, non-naturalised	0,5	0,09

Ersanilli and Koopmans's (2010) research question focus on how socio-cultural integration differs between naturalised and non-naturalised immigrants; they use data based on quasi-

experimental design and analyse the data with OLS regression. They find that for two out of the three countries, there is a positive relationship between naturalisation and identification regarding host country identification (as shown in table 2). In two out of the three countries naturalised immigrants speak the language of host country more frequently than those who did not naturalise.

Table 3. Distribution of variables by nationality and generational status (means/%)

	1. generation immigrants	2. generation immigrants	Natives
Egalitarian division of labour	42	45	59
Education: more than basic school	28	49	63
Assimilation: Speak host-country language	20	49	

Diehl et al.'s (2009) research question focus on how high levels of individual religiosity affect gender attitudes and gender role behaviour among migrants from countries with a predominantly Muslim population; they use data from the 'Generations and Gender Survey [GGS]' and analyse it empirically. Table 3 shows that first generation immigrants approve less of gender equality and are less likely to practice an egalitarian division of household. As time goes by, immigrants also become more likely to obtain higher education and speak the host-country's language.

Figure 2. Intergenrational discrepancies in GRV
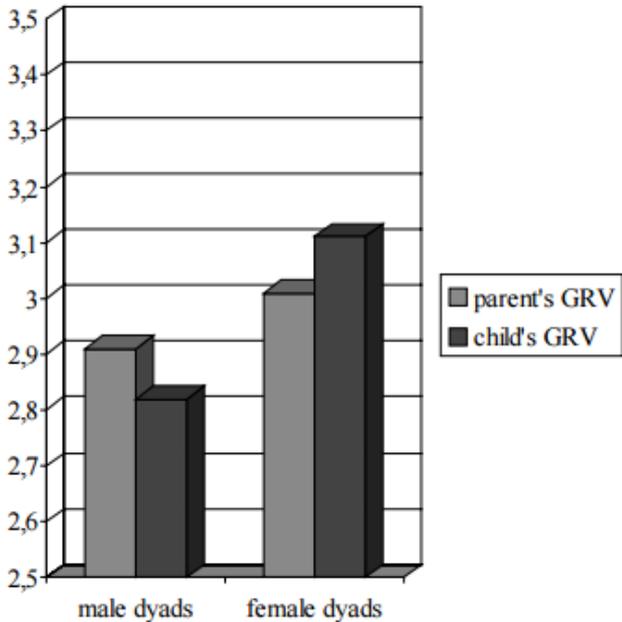
Idema and Phalet's (2007) research question focus on how gender-role values [GRV] are shaped by intergenerational and intercultural relations; the data was gathered from a survey by Nauk in 2000 and were analysed of covariance. As figure 2 shows, the relationship between father-son dyad was negative while the mother-daughter dyad was positive; females have stronger value transmissions.

Table 4. Multi-group structural equation models of religiosity (standardised coefficients)(Berlin)

Lower education	-0,233
Higher Education	-0,151

Fleischmann and Phalet (2011) hypothesise that higher levels of educational attainment will predict less religiosity; they use data from The Integration of the European Second Generation [TIES-project] and analysed it by utilising multi-group equation models. Table 4 shows that higher education goes together with lower levels of religiosity, however so do lower education.

Table 5. OLS of two-dimensional measurements of Muslim immigrant's ethnic identity

Integration	-0,821
Assimilation	3,069
Separation	0,885
Marginalisation	1,867

Constant et al.'s (2006) research question focus on the adaptation process of immigrants; data used are from the German Socioeconomic Panel [GSOEP] and analysed with OLS regression. As table 5 show, among the immigrants overall they find positive assimilation, separation and marginalisation; only integration is negative.

Manning et al's (2007) research question focus on the immigrant's view of their national identity; they use data from the Labour Force Survey and the Home Office Citizenship Surveys. The longer you have been in the country, the more likely you are to assimilate into a British identity; immigrants from poorer and less democratic countries also assimilate faster.

Table 6. Traditional Gender roles (mean)

First generation - men	2,88
Second generation - men	2,52
First generation - women	2,76
Second generation - women	2,27

Bekman et al's (2009) research question focus on cultural continuity and discontinuity in Turkish migrant families; they use data from Value of Children [VOC], which they analyse empirically. Table 6 shows that the transmission of traditional gender roles is weaker among the second generation for both men and women meaning that over time immigrants will lose their original culture.

Table 7. Ethnic Identity and Employment

First generation	-0,1722
Second generation	-0,0630

Bisin et al.'s (2011) research question focus on the relationship between ethnic identity and employment prospects of immigrants coming from non-European countries; they use data from the European Social Survey [ESS] and analyse the data empirically. They found out that the relationship between ethnic identity and employment prospects may depend on the type of integration and labour-market policies implemented in the host country. Moreover, they found out, as table 7 shows, that the second generation is more likely to be employed than the first generation.

Table 8. National Identity, Individual feelings: Feeling of integration (%)

As German	1,55
More as German	4,45
As German, as other nationality	23,75
More as other nationality	16,65
As other nationality	53,3

Dustmann's (1996) research question focus on determinants of a migrant's integration with him identifying the feeling of national identity as one of the most important factors in the migrant's integration; he uses data from the German Socio-Economic Panel [GSOEP] and focuses on first generation migrants. As table 8 shows, over half of the surveyed participants answered that they felt more as another nationality than that of their host-country; the migrant still feels like a part of their old country rather than their new country and this will therefore affect their integration negatively.

Table 9. OLS of Two-dimensional Measurements on the Immigrants' Ethnic Identity, assimilation

Constant	2,64
Muslim	-0,073
Higher Ed. Home Country	-0,306
Incomplete Ed. Home Country	-0,568

Constant et al.'s (2009) research question focus on measuring ethnic identity among migrants; they use data from the German Socio-economic Panel [GSOEP] and use OLS regression to analyse it. They concluded, as table 9 shows, that incomplete education from their home county leads to a greater loss of their ethnic identity compared to having higher education from their home country.

Table 10. Robust Poisson Models of the Ethnosizer for Working Men

	Integration	Assimilation
Catholic	-0,261	0,362
Muslim	-0,317	0,252

Constant et al.'s (2008) research question focus on measuring ethnic identity among migrants; they use data from the German Socio-Economic Panel [GSOEP] and analyse it. The results in table 10 imply that Muslims are less integrated while Catholics integrate better. Catholics have stronger assimilation than Muslims (0,362 and 0,252 respectively).

Table 11. In many ways I think of myself as British (%)

	African Asian	Chinese
Strongly Agree	25,79	10
Strongly Disagree	2,2	8

Battu and Zenou's (2010) research question focus on minorities that either identify or reject the dominant culture; they use data from the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities [FNSEM]. Around a quarter of African Asians strongly identity themselves as British while 2,2% of the same group do not at all. Meanwhile, 10 percent of Chinese people identify themselves as British while 8 percent do not.

Table 12. Reported religion and whether practising religion among ethnic minorities

	Pakistani	Black Caribbean
Christian	1,03	84,31
Muslims	95,8	0,9
% practising religion	83,9	56,2

Georgiadis and Manning's (2009) research question focus on whether Muslims are different from other ethnic minorities in terms of economic and cultural assimilation; they use data from the Labour Force Survey [LFS] and analyse it. The results, as shown in table 12, imply that Muslims are more likely to practise their religion than Christians or it could be dependent on the individual's home country. However, Pakistanis might be more likely to practise their religion than Black Caribbean people.

This essay has looked at the relationship between religion/religiosity and integration among migrants in the Western societies, focusing especially on cultural integration and Muslims. The main findings were that Muslims integrate less than others; Muslims are also more likely to practise their religion. It was also found that time is an important factor in this relationship; as time goes on, one is more likely to be integrated.

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Research proposal:

The Management of identity, within 'settled' Gypsies.

Shane Howe

</div>

Introduction

My interest on this topic has arisen primarily from my own experiences of having Gypsy heritage; from a young age a fear of being discovered was instilled. Due to this, a part of my identity has always been hidden from co-workers, friends and institutional organisations. Occasionally the negative consequences of being revealed were substantiated. The Gypsy or Traveller sub-culture is a topic which has received relatively little attention in sociology, in part due to the difficulties in accessing this group. The limited research available focuses on a variety of topics such as educational inequality, police harassment, and general cultural beliefs and practices. Yet a common thread does arise in the extent to which Gypsies manage their identity to outsiders, although this has not been the primary aim of research. One such study is James's research on Gypsy interactions with police and other institutional forces and the perceptions of these forces as authoritarian rather than inclusionary (James, 2007:375). Whilst it did not receive much attention, it was noted how some members hide or camouflage their vehicles to hide the fact they live within them which could symbolise their status as a traveller; this is achieved through removal or obscuration of chimneys so the authorities would not 'recognise them as living vehicles and stop them' (James:380, 2007).

Levinson's study on educational and cultural influences on literacy rates within the English Gypsy community has some relevant findings for this proposal, namely that the management of identity can begin within the school environment. Interview participants discussed their desire to 'pass' within the school and would often worry over accidently using Romani terms, which could reveal their origins, spurred on through fears of reprisal for this disclosure (2007:21-23). Parents themselves also revealed levels of shame in being illiterate and unable to aid their children with homework, and that certain tools such as literacy and language skills can facilitate in fooling the *gadje* (non-Gypsies) (Levinson, 2007:23).

Research questions

Whilst identity management was not the focus of James (2007) or Levinson's (2007) research, it does illustrate a common theme, this being that Gypsies employ a variety of methods in managing aspects of their identity, due to a fear of being discovered. As such, the research aim I propose differentiates itself by focusing on the management of identity amongst the 'settled' community of Gypsies.

Whilst very broad, the questions the research aims to answer are:

1. Whether experiences concerning disclosure (either intended or accidental) have been positive or negative?
2. In what situations if any do they attempt to conceal part of their identity?

3. If so, how do individuals manage their identity in daily interactions (examples being, in their attire or language used)?
4. Whether identity management and beliefs surrounding this are reproduced generationally? Specifically, what their parents advised them, and what advice they give to their children.

Research design

Epistemologically the project subscribes to a Constructivist position, embracing subjective accounts of the interviewees and favouring a view of the participant's narratives as knowledge, rather than constructing a single truth on reality. According to this position, researchers are an integral part of the research 'rather than objective observers, and their values must be acknowledged by themselves and by their readers as an inevitable part of the outcome' as such significant time will be spent on reflexivity (Mills et al 2006:26). Rather than claim external validity and high levels of inference, due to ontologically questioning a single truth to be obtainable, the accounts of a participant's experience of identity management is no doubt subjective, nevertheless it remains valid.

My research project will entail two semi-structured interviews; due to the clear focus of the research questions and aims, I can better direct interviews towards these goals, something difficult to achieve in observational research. Furthermore, an ethnography would entail more ethical consideration and disruption to participants. Semi-structured interviews were selected as this offers a more flexible and adaptable interview process, promoting interviewee elaboration, and divergence into topics not anticipated. This is largely an inductive position, as few preconceptions exist besides the assumption of some level of negativity in disclosing their heritage, on account of personal experience and the negative connotations often applied in the media.

In any research it is difficult to disentangle the critically minded researcher and the individual behind the referencing and theory, who has gained a lifetime of attitudes and beliefs. Arguably my partial 'insider' status, will only add to this entanglement. However, as Anne Oakley suggests, this may also allow for an easier rapport or closeness to develop (1982, as cited in Puwar 1997:10). I do not believe this rapport to be instantaneous due to one common identifier, as there remain other cultural divisions, but I believe it may facilitate as a bond towards commonality. However, whilst I have a privileged position, which can facilitate a greater understanding of the issues presented, significant time has been spent to remove any leading questioning. Likewise, reflexivity will be an integral part of the findings, for transparency and owing to a constructivist paradigm.

Ethics

Dienar and Grandall (1978) define ethical issues as arising from four main areas: harm to participants, lack of informed consent, invasion of privacy and level of deception (as cited in Bryman, 2012:135). The emotional harm to participants is considerable due to the intimate nature of the research topic. The participants' biography is not known, as such it is impossible to perceive the emotional distress it could cause; the questioning is designed to understand feelings and causes of alienation, which could undoubtedly cause emotional pain. Phoenix (2010) recommends the importance of silence, this will not only be used to analyse the transcript but during the interview, to be aware of considerably stressing questioning. Actions such as paying close attention to body language, not pressurising responses from participants who are distressed, and offering to turn off the recording

device, can all aid in circumventing possible distress.

Ethical consideration or consent is an ongoing process of research, and will not be considered absent due to acquiring a signature, as Miller and Ball note it is difficult for interviewees to be fully aware of what they are consenting to, besides just being 'interviewed' (2002:54). Due to this, before beginning interviews, the project and its aims will be explained thoroughly; with an opportunity to clarify or ask any questions relating to this project. Consequently, no deception will be present. Consent will be gained before the interview through documentation and interviewees will be reminded during the interview process that it is possible to exit or stop the interview.

All data will remain confidential, and in line with the Data Protection Act (1998) and any possible identifying material will be removed or changed in the transcript. Data such as the transcript and recordings will be stored on an external and encrypted drive to prevent any information leaks, and the information gained will not be shared outside the purposes of academic function.

Access and sampling

As mentioned this is a difficult and hard to reach group within society. Fortunately though, I have an existing contact who has given consent to participating in this study. As such I will use snowball sampling, being a purposive and opportunistic method of sampling, taking advantages of my own social network and those of the participants (Bryman, 2012:424). Due to the requirement of similar social identifiers for comparing and contrasting answers given, consequently the sampling is largely prescribed by the first participant, who is a Male, 'settled' Traveller, and a parent.

I believe an explanation of 'settled' and Gypsy or Traveller is required. A Gypsy in the model I propose will be considered 'settled' if they have lived in a fixed home for more than five years. Whilst an arbitrarily designated period, if a line is to be cast between the often romanticised traditional roaming gypsy, and their settled counterparts, five years is a sufficient amount of time for distinguishing. It also assumed that those who are settled will have greater motive to hide their origins for purposes of social cohesion, among their 'Gadje' (non-gypsies) neighbours and bureaucratic organisations.

Discourse surrounding what constitutes a Gypsy or Traveller is very vague with Race and Ethnicity being used liberally to ascribe it. Subsequently it is assumed that by 'race', commentators mean biological differences, whilst 'ethnicity' is used to indicate cultural distinctions. Whilst certainly not a homogenous group, and whilst distinctions and tensions exist between Gypsies and Travellers, rather than cast further divisions between these subgroups the terms will be used interchangeably. However, participants will be asked to explain the distinction. As such interviewees will be considered a Traveller or Gypsy if they have certain cultural practices attributed to them, such as the Romani language, and having lived a nomadic lifestyle. Furthermore, they must also trace their ancestry through either maternal or paternal lineage, to cover both cultural and ethnic discourse used in categorising.

Timescale

Timescale	Project stages
29th February – 7th March	Finalise interview dates. Test recording capabilities of phone. Ensure Interview Guide contains appropriate questions.
7th - 14th March	Continue literature review.
14th – 21st March	Gain written consent and undertake first interview. Transcribe recordings.
21st -28th March	Gain written consent and undertake final interview. Transcribe recordings.
28th March - 4th April	Re-examine transcripts for possible errors. Begin analysis of transcripts and highlight points of interest.
4th – 11th April	Re-examine literature review.
11th – 21st April	Write final report.
21st April	Submit final report

To summarise, the semi-structured interviews proposed aim to examine to what extent if any settled gypsies manage their identity, either through promoting their heritage or attempting to conceal it; why they feel it necessary and through what preparation or methods they achieve this. The value in understanding any social group's construction and management of identity is self-evident; it is perceived as a purely personal experience, yet it relies upon external interactions of structural and agentic forces beyond the individual. Debatably, due to the difficulty in gaining access, and the subsequent scarcity of knowledge surrounding their cultural experiences, any minuscule contribution to our understanding of the cultural practices should prove rewarding.

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The Management of identity, within 'settled' Gypsies

Shane Howe

Introduction

Travellers or Gypsies invoke certain imagery in society, often dichotomous between the mysterious and romanticised roamer, and the local menace who swindles the elderly and steals all within reach. They have an illustrious and colourful representation within the media and society's inhabitants. A social identity appears to most as a personal or private construction; however, it is a deeply social matter and a social concern. If others view their identity as stigmatised, this is not a natural state; it has a historical, social, and political construction. Whilst the construction of this stigma is not the central point of this research, it is important to understand it is neither innate nor a personal or private concern.

This research project focused on the management of identities within settled travellers. I was curious to explore to what extent, if any, individuals choose to inhibit or promote this aspect of themselves; where this perspective originated, whether fostered through personal experience or instilled from their parents; what tactics are employed to hide their heritage from others and the emotional experience tied to this.

My interest stemmed from my own personal experience of managing information concerning this aspect of myself. I became intellectually curious as to the coping mechanisms of those that have stronger ties to this aspect of their identity than I do. At most I am a partial insider; as Merton (1972:22) notes, individuals possess 'status sets', not a 'single status', and it is likely my status set will not correlate perfectly with those that are being researched. Insider status is best observed as a spectrum rather than a binary notion. However, I believe this aspect of my identity will assist in forming a relationship, or positive rapport, to aid discussion, in line with Oakley who suggests it can aid in creating a comfortable environment (1982, as cited in Puwar 1997:10).

Literature Review

When conducting a literature review, two things became apparent: firstly, that there exists a scarcity of studies focusing on the gypsy and travelling community; secondly, the limited research that does exist focuses on interactions with governmental institutions, and objective measures, such as literacy rates or police enforcement methods, rather than a *Verstehen* or subjective account. The limited research is not surprising as the topic involves an often hard to reach sub-group; furthermore, those that are settled would not be apparent to researchers unless disclosed, which as this research project discovers is unsurprisingly unlikely, due to fear and a lack of trust.

The existing research did illustrate methods employed to conceal their heritage (James, 2007 and Levinson, 2007). Andereck's (1992) ethnographic study in America proposed that rather than assimilate into the dominant culture, Gypsies would often go through a process of accommodation, hiding their cultural and ethnic identity to reduce conflict within schools. Smith and Greenfields (2010:405-406) study on housed Gypsies identified

that those living in a housing noted prejudices and racism from neighbours was not uncommon, if achievable their heritage would remain hidden. This is referred to as 'Passing', which relates to assuming an identity of a 'Gauje' or, or non-gypsy is evident in all the literature I uncovered, but never the explicit focus of research (Smith and Greenfields 2010, Anderecks, 1922 , Levinson, 2007 and James 2007). Consequently, this only encouraged my conviction that there was an area largely ignored: the methods used in hiding this aspect, and the reasons stated for this and experiences of this.

Some categories used in the construction of an identity can be so odious, that information pertaining to them is inhibited, and tactically managed to avoid disclosure for fear of reprisal. Goffman defines these identities as 'spoiled'; to borrow his own words it is 'an attribute that is deeply discrediting', but not one innately creditable nor discreditable, rather dependent upon the observer and society to ascribe these negative or positive connotations (1963:15).

A spoiled identity will contain specific stigmatic terms to describe this attribute, an example being 'pikey' (Goffman, 1963:15). These stigmas are not always visible. When not apparent the individual exists in a state of flux, between 'discredited and discreditable'; the former relating to when knowledge of their stigma is known, and the latter when it is not yet discovered (Goffman 1963:14). Whilst the existing research on the Traveller or Gypsy community did not focus on this state of flux; I decided I would refocus my literature review on identity construction and management, as employed by others with a stigmatised identity.

A key component in understanding identity construction, as Kaufman and Johnson (2004:811) note, is 'reflected appraisals' which proposes that external beliefs held by others are pivotal in understanding an individual's concept of self. This stems from Cooley's (1902) concept of the *looking glass self*. The terminology hints at its most pivotal point, that this is not merely invoking an imagined others perception, but also their judgement. As Cooley succinctly states 'the thing that moves us to pride or shame is not the mere mechanical reflection of ourselves, but an imputed sentiment, the imagined effect of this reflection upon another's mind' (1902:184). It evidences the concept that identity is a continuous and dynamic process, one which is constantly in action, not a stagnant personal or innate quality, rather a relationship with others and society.

Most researchers focusing on concealable stigmas call upon Goffman as this research has previously done. Snow and Anderson's (1987) research on the homeless further developed Goffman's analysis. They proposed that individuals undergo 'identity work' to actively construct their own identity. They proposed amongst others that 'associational rejection' can aid in preserving a positive identity, as this accepts and promotes the idea that others warrant their stigmatic label, but that they themselves are not deserving of it; they are in effect not like the majority (Snow and Anderson, 1987:1349). Whilst there has been little research specifically on the concealable stigma of Gypsy heritage, the existing research on other stigmas and concepts of identity have proven fruitful.

Findings

Epistemologically this project is aligned with a Relativist approach: that there exists no singular truth to be uncovered in research, but instead that there are various and valid versions of social reality (Stanley and Wise, 1983 cited in Fawcett and Hearn 2004:209). As such my findings need not be representative, nor could they be due to the sample size. My

interviewees were both middle-aged male, settled travellers, as such they had ample experience in both the traditional notion of a traveller roaming in a caravan, and one that had permanent residence in a house, and local community.

I had an existing relationship with the first participant (Alex) who was a friend of my guardians, but had not spoken to him in a number of years. I employed snowballing sampling, which is an opportunistic method of sampling, taking advantage of my own social network and that of the participants, primarily due to the difficulty in gaining access (Bryman, 2012:424). Alex provided me with contact information for Ben (pseudonym), my second participant.

My interviews were recorded and transcribed in verbatim. I used thematic analysis to further explore the transcription. Gibson and Brown (2009:127) define this as the analysis of data in relation to three principles: 'commonalities, relationships and differences' amongst the data set. Construction of themes is largely a subjective approach to analysing data. However Ryan and Bernard (2009, cited in Bryman 2012:580) recommend searching for metaphors or analogies, similarities and differences, repetitions and reflection upon what is missing from the data. This is the approach I followed.

A commonality that arose in transcribing was the necessity of 'passing' for fear of reprisals. Alex stated that:

> So you gotta look on the bright-side, so we can hide behind errm... err... a mask really don't we, we just pretend we're *somebody else*... Live a lie, live the life of a lie all the time, you don't like it... but you *gotta live it*. (Interview 1).

Whilst Ben stated 'We blend in, I guess cause you have to... if you don't, you won't be able to survive' (Interview 2). Unsurprisingly presenting a 'mask' to the world was not seen as a positive aspect, but a necessary one, as Ben who is currently employed in a factory believed if he was to disclose this in an application, he wouldn't find employment (interview 2).

Alex recounted a story of a friend who disclosed information about his heritage and was subsequently fired (interview 1). 'Passing' for both is seen as a requirement for economic survival, and both believe that they would struggle to find employment if their real identity was disclosed. Economic security appeared to be a driving factor in hiding their heritage, however social factors such as fair treatment were also important, and believed to be endangered through disclosure.

Questions concerning actions they would inhibit in achieving 'passing', found these were primarily tied to language, both inhibiting their use of Gypsy language, and slowing down their speech (interview 1 & 2). As Alex noted '...they don't know you're a traveller...... you speak plain English, you got 'em. If they knew they'd be sniggering in the corner, probably spit in your food. They *would*!' An interesting choice of words: 'got 'em' implies a level of competition or a zero-sum situation where only one party in a conversation can walk away winning (Interview 1).

Existing in the flux of being discredited and discreditable, that Goffman (1963) notes, has its advantages and is desired due to fear of repercussion, however both interviewees noted their disapproval when friends they know hold negative beliefs concerning Gypsies or Travellers. They noted that it not only changes their opinion of these people, but they also become fearful of whether these individuals' attitudes toward them would change. In this

way they illustrate the 'looking glass effect' (Cooley, 1902) and how influential an external other is, in constructing and managing an identity. As Ben explained, his understanding of the connotations applied to 'pikey' are a 'dirty, filthy person' and that 'you're gonna thieve everything or that you're useless' (interview 2). Ben perceived this belief to be ubiquitous, which understandably promotes concealment.

'Winning' was a key factor for Alex; when asked how he feels about his customers making negative comments about Gypsies, he stated '… you think to yourself *you bastard.* But, see we can win now…'. It is never explicitly stated what exactly they could lose or win. However it is likely discovery is at stake, and an element of satisfaction is derived from fooling those who display verbal disapproval. Controlling their anger or inhibiting verbally retaliations was another way to win, as Ben stated '… can't win by fighting 'em or speaking your mind. Just gotta learn to ignore it I guess…', illustrating that winning relies on ignoring initial reactions, such as physical or verbal confrontation (Interview 2). Akin to Andereck's (1992) findings, these individuals pay lip-service to assimilation, but do not change their ideology or have a desire to assimilate.

There was some divergence in literacy, as Alex couldn't read, whereas Ben 'knew enough to get by' (interview 2.). Although they both believed this would be a common way of identifying a Traveller, as Ben stated 'they know what you are if you can't read and write, it's easier to… err get by and well hide what you are' (interview 2). Alex found it both embarrassing, and a sign to identify him as a traveller, and disclosed a turbulent encounter with his friends teasing him, because he couldn't read at a restaurant (interview 1). Subsequently Alex noted some coping strategies: if it was unexpected, he would blame his inability to write on lacking his reading glasses, or ask his wife to attend in his stead if it was pre-planned (interview 1.). It was apparent that their wives who were not Gypsies were paramount in interactions such as these, Ben also believed his wife to be instrumental in his children's success at school (interview 2).

As aforementioned, being discredited is seen as negative. Both participants' parents told them to not disclose this information to an outsider for fear of reprisals. Both experienced physical confrontations at a young age when this information was disclosed to locals; belief in not 'mixing' was reproduced, and both informed their own children not to disclose their heritage (Interview 1 & 2). When their children attended school, they in turn experienced problems when interacting with others, as information relating to their heritage would always 'come out' (Interview 2).

I shared with both that I was told to never 'mix'; and whilst such advice is impractical and unachievable when settled, both agreed with this statement. Alex, in an emotional statement, told his children: 'if you get a friend *don't tell them what you are*, keep your mouth shut' and admitted it was a troubling lesson to teach, particularly when asked 'why are they calling me names dad?' (Interview 1). However, he took pride that his children are in a position of authority, where they are needed now, a power reversal. Perhaps this would be considered 'winning' - regrettably I failed to ask.

Alex experienced problems with his neighbour who would make inappropriate jokes at his expense, implying he ate 'hedgehogs' and that he needed to race the 'pikeys to the dump' (interview 1.). This was obviously a distressing experience, and although he has not experienced similar problems from his other neighbours. Behaviour such as this only reinforces his belief in non-disclosure. Ben did not mention any problems with his neighbours, but the interview itself was cut short, due to him disclosing a troubling

experience: His wife's mother refused to accept her grandchildren, due to them being 'Gypo's'. This stigmatic belief caused an insurmountable rift, which has yet to be reconciled. Unsurprisingly Ben became distressed after discussing this, and wouldn't maintain eye contact after this point. These experiences, despite involving individuals, were understood to be representative of the wider attitudes of society, requiring only a small amount of Weber's term *verstehen* or empathetic reasoning to understand why those affected prefer concealment.

Stigmatic terms such as 'pikey' instilled much anger within both participants', particularly when others do not comprehend the hate they cause, especially when used nonchalantly. An example given was shopping at bargain food stores (interview 2) or a mother commenting on her child being dirty (interview 1). When asked why they believe such negative terms exist, Alex would blame the Irish travellers, for the negative connotations applied to them. Several times when asked to comment on the negative beliefs surrounding travellers he would mention this sub-section, and how they 'rip people off' (Interview 1.) Ben used the term 'Irish tinker' implying they should not be categorised with them. Furthermore, this illustrated that the negative connotations of thievery could be applied to these 'others', as he stated 'they'd steal from their own mother' in an attempt to distance himself, akin to Alex's belief. Quintessentially it can be observed as 'associational rejection', acknowledging the negative beliefs surrounding their stigma, but casting these on deserving others, not themselves.

Reflection

The research process was insightful both academically and personally. I found my partial insider status to be helpful, in not only gaining access through snowball sampling, but also allowing participants to feel more at ease in the interview process. My questions were personal by their nature, dealing with areas of their life the participants were not accustomed to sharing, and have more practice in hiding or obscuring than divulging; Ben found this process less comfortable, which was why the transcript was significantly shorter, lasting little over than thirty minutes, whereas Alex's lasted for over ninety minutes. I ended Ben's interview prematurely, after he became distressed when discussing his explosive confrontation. Not wanting to probe any further and cause distress I ended the interview. If I were to be critical, I believe I overestimated my participant's level of comfort with the topic. In future I believe implementing follow-up interviews would be helpful. These would have allowed me to build a rapport, check my interpretation, and not tackle these sensitive issues after our initial meeting.

As I already possessed a topic of interest, and its nature was sensitive, a semi-structured interview was used. This allowed for tactful wording of my questions in a less formal and more relaxed capacity in comparison to a structured interview; it also allowed for unexpected divergence in the interviews, to discuss what the participants felt were relevant (Bryman 2012:471). My participants diverged considerably. I believe this is due to the nature of their identity and their heritage, which has been a part of their existence since birth. My participants gave a life narrative as a response in some areas of the interview. This could be interpreted as a flaw, owing to my inexperience in interviewing. Reporting this has felt rather reductionist, and it is difficult to do justice to the feelings provoked and the frame they present their experiences in.

Truthfully I cannot but help wonder, akin to Fawcett and Hearn (2004), whether the voice I have given my participants is the ones they would have chosen for themselves, which

illustrates the uncomfortable power relationship between those that are studied and the researcher who reports the snippets they believe are noteworthy. Arguably, sharing my findings with them could diminish this to an extent.

I did not anticipate the questions shifting back to myself, an example being when asking Ben about disclosing his heritage when applying for jobs. I felt uncomfortable playing devil's advocate on why 'pikey' is viewed as an acceptable or throw-away comment by some people. I was both the researcher, and to a limited extent the topic of the research. Despite being aware of this I was slightly surprised it reminded me of my own personal experience, and that my identity is not primarily the critically-minded researcher. It was a sudden jolt, which reminded me of my more prominent role, as an idiosyncratic and biased individual, who possessed similar experiences to those I was interviewing.

A future area of inquiry would be social networking sites, which have become ubiquitous in interactions with others and arguably the most 'managed' construction of identity. For instance, most people only have one Facebook account, which is visible to everyone within their network. Difficulties can arise if certain information such as their heritage is known by some, but not others. Also I believe interviewing the second generation of Gypsies who are now 'settled' would be interesting, particularly as to what extent they identify with their parent's heritage, and whether it mirrors their parent's attitudes or diverges. Lastly the role of female partners within the family structure would be another interesting topic, as it implies both a symbiotic and specialised division of responsibilities, emotionally and physically.

Conclusion

Having taken a relativist approach, participants' reality and my interpretation of these experiences is one where hiding their heritage is central to their existence; one instilled from a young age by their parents, and reinforced through negative personal experiences. This is later replicated and told to their own children to provide protection from others; before the children commence what is arguably, the first significant interaction with outsiders, school. Hiding their heritage largely involved slowing their speech, not using their language, and lastly suppressing their anger and retaliation, when stigmatic terms such as 'pikey' are used in an often blasé way. Trust is paramount to disclosing this, but it is a vaporous and often difficult process for participants to describe, what prerequisites are needed for disclosure.

I would not however want to present two individuals as homogenous, or that their social reality is the singular truthful account for identity management, within settled travellers. Perhaps some have had only positive experiences. Whilst no sweeping generalisation can be gathered from this research, it is a stepping stone to understanding the social reality of individuals like Alex and Ben, who have developed several coping mechanisms, and manage to preserve a relatively positive identity, despite these stigmatic beliefs which ensnare their daily lives.

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Sample study information sheet (Bryman, 2012:141).[1]

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this study. This sheet explains what the study is about and what your role would be within it.

The main purpose of the study is to understand to what extent information concerning your heritage as a settled traveller is managed. This is for the purposes of understanding to what extent if any you may conceal or promote information about who you are and why you may feel this necessary. Questions will also explore information you may have told your children or what your parents told you.

This study is being conducted as part of my research module for University at the University of Essex, where I am studying Sociology and History. My name is Shane Howe and I will be the only person contacting you and undertaking the interview. If you agree to participate, the interview we conduct should last approximately one hour and will be recorded for the purposes of reflection and analysis. All data gained will be anonymous and will not be shared to anyone outside this research project, and the information used will not be able to identify you. Stored data such as the audio recording will be deleted promptly after it has been analysed.

Thank you once again for considering to be a part of this research. If you have any queries please contact me on my mobile number or my email address.

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[1] This was distributed to participants before research, and through snowballing, participant one offered this to participant two to briefly outline the contents.

Book Review

James Ingham

Alice Goffman's 'On The Run' is an ethnography set in West Philadelphia; where she lives in a neighbourhood called '6th Street'. A neighbourhood that is notorious for its crime and its association with young black males. Throughout Goffman's 6 year stay in 6th Street she was looking to analyse a few key elements of social life. Firstly, Goffman wanted to study how these young black males were being treated by the police and criminal justice system, and whether this differed from normal areas. And secondly, Goffman wanted to study what sort of effect this type of policing had, not only on the young black males' social lives and career aspirations, but also on their friends, family and partners' lives. Goffman wanted to study how all these people were affected by the approach the police had taken in this area and how everyday life became more of a challenge for people living in this area, even if they were not and never had been convicted or associated with any sort of crime. It was almost as if everyone who lived in that area was an assumed criminal and it was just a matter of catching them out; the police of course had many different methods of trying to catch people out as we will see later.

'On quiet afternoons, Chuck would sometimes pass the time by teaching his twelve-year-old brother, Tim, how to run from the police' (Goffman, 2015:9). This opening line to Goffman's book sets the tone for the whole ethnography. These young black males are always waiting for the police to hunt them down, and therefore had to teach themselves how to stay away from the police. Throughout this book, there are many references to America's harsh style of policing, the zero-tolerance policing style being one of the main reasons why so many young black males feel under threat; it's as if everything they do is being watched. 'Those officers or units who cleared more warrants or arrested more people were informally rewarded; those who cleared or arrested fewer people were encouraged to catch up' (Goffman, 2015:19). As Goffman suggests, the police force in this area were operating on almost a commission-based incentive system. Policemen and women were rewarded for hunting people down and giving out punishments, further evidencing the zero-tolerance policing style adopted. The police adopted many different methods to catch young black males in these communities doing anything suspicious: the constant use of curfews, warrants and probation targeted black males, while white members of the community often got off lighter.

One incident that particularly highlights the police's intentions is an arrest made in the hospital shortly after the birth of a man's child:

> It is standard practice in the hospitals serving the black community for police to run the names of visitors or patients while they are waiting around, and to take into custody those with warrants, or those with injuries or presence there constitutes grounds for a new arrest or a violation of probation or parole. (Goffman, 2015:34)

As Goffman suggests, the police in black communities go to extreme lengths to try and catch people out and make arrests, perhaps evidencing why prisons are becoming so overcrowded, especially with young black males. Examples such as these are evidence of how the criminal justice system is designed in such a way that creates a massive

disadvantage for young black males and possibly indicates some forms of institutional racism.

A key theory that is a permanent theme throughout Goffman's book, although not mentioned specifically, is labelling theory. Due to the high intensity of hunting by the police, many of these young black males are given a criminal record from an early age, meaning that they are unable to find employment; therefore, the only form of income they can establish is through dealing drugs. This obviously escalates and gives birth to bigger problems. Effectively, the police attempt to tackle the 'broken windows' (as per Wilson and Kelling's 1982 broken windows theory) by arresting all these young black males; in turn, this only leads to the problem of labelling them when they come out of prison. Therefore, this has the opposite effect to the desired one, as these very people become worse than they previously were, as a result of the label attached to them as a deviant after their spell in prison. As Goffman indicates, even the people who had not been sent to prison would not be able to achieve any sort of advancement due to the fact that no-one will employ them with court cases coming up or warrants outstanding:

> These young men are also at a standstill in the sense that their warrants and court cases and probation and parole sentences loom over them as barriers to advancement (Goffman, 2015:198)

All-in-all, this constant supervision from the police creates a society destined for crime and lack of social mobility. Although, Goffman does indicate in her conclusion that the police are not arresting people because they see that as a solution to the social problems they are faced with:

> Many in law enforcement recognize that poverty, unemployment, and the drugs and violence that accompany them are social problems that cannot be solved by arresting people. But the police and the courts are not equipped with social solutions. They are equipped with handcuffs and jail time (Goffman, 2015: 203)

Goffman argues that the police have only one available response to the social problem in this area, and that is to remove any potential problem they encounter; this means arresting or punishing anyone they see to be deviant, usually young black males. The police do not have the ability to actively tackle social problems such as unemployment, but instead they just harshly tackle any deviant response to that social problem with the only means available to them, handcuffs.

These communities become very hostile in the sense that the police often turn family and friends against each other. Goffman suggests throughout 'On The Run' that the police often pressure mothers and partners into telling them where their son or partner is, the police extract an answer from these women by threatening their futures or their families' future, further increasing the animosity towards the police:

> Mothers and girlfriends find themselves committing a seemingly endless series of crimes as they attempt to hide, protect and provide for their legally entangled sons and partners (Goffman, 2015:202)

Goffman argues that these women are placed in a situation where they either have to 'snitch' on their loved ones or face potential criminalization themselves. These attempts

from the police to catch criminals and reduce crime rates actually has the reverse effect due to the amount of people caught up in the situation.

It is evident that in Goffman's book 'On The Run' the police actively target young black males through a variety of different means. Goffman tries to show the reader that during a stage of supposed racial equality in America, there is still a very real over-representation of police with zero-tolerance attitudes in urban areas dominated by young black males. She suggests throughout her book that these young black males are raised to avoid the police and certain areas due to the constant fear of being arrested; these young black males are doomed to a life of deviancy from birth due to the nature of their surroundings. Goffman clearly indicates throughout her ethnographic study that young black people are targeted and oppressed by the criminal justice system, leaving them stuck in a constant cycle of crime and jail time throughout their whole existence, with very little opportunity to escape due to the labels attached to them from early ages.

David Garland's 'The Culture of Control' is a book that differs in style and objective from Goffman's 'On The Run'. Garland's message was one that opens the viewer's eyes to the vast reform in the penal system over the past 30 years – a change that has gone unnoticed to most, but has completely changed our society. Garland argues:

> Since the late 1970's, those who work in criminal justice have experienced a period of unrelenting upheaval and reform that shows no signs of letting up (Garland, 2002: 18)

The 'unrelenting upheaval' Garland speaks of is the dramatic change in our culture from the rehabilitative ideal to major focus on retribution and incapacitation. Garland describes the culture in the 80's and 90's that lead us to where we are now:

> In its emphases, if not in every respect, this culture was more exclusionary than solidaristic, more committed to social control than to social provision, and more attuned to the private freedoms of the market than the public freedoms of universal citizenship (Garland, 2002: 191)

Garland argues that through modernity; our culture has become so fixated on social control and consumerism that we no longer value fundamental aspects of life such as liberty and freedom. He proposes that our constant fear of crime has destroyed our sense of humanism, that we no longer look to fix people, instead preferring to just lock them away from the masses and almost forget they ever existed. Garland contends that 30 years ago the society that we live in today could never have been predicted.

Garland argues throughout his book that as a society, we have far too much reliance on the penal system to ensure social control. He argued that when we were a society guided by penal welfarism, we were able to control ourselves through informal means of social control, such as family influence. The people that were unable to make a rational choice regarding the opportunity to commit a crime would then be rehabilitated instead of locked away. Garland suggests that in the rapid change of culture, the focus on crime prevention shifted from a collective societal effort to the full responsibility being in the hands of the state:

In this process, the character of crime control slowly shifted from being a generalized responsibility of citizens and civil society to being a specialist undertaking largely monopolized by the state's law-enforcement system (Garland, 2002: 31)

As Garland suggests, in agreement with much of Foucault's work, we have become a society fixated on social control. Surveillance on virtually every street corner ensures that the police will never miss a thing; and the massive increase in prison populations is representative of the world we live in, a penal system that much benefits the middle-class and criminalizes the working-class. Garland appears to share the view of Mike Davis (2001) when he suggests that society is now constructed in a way that targets the working-class, prison time for the minor offences has increased and ensured that problematic working-class are kept off the street.

Garland suggested that when society was focused on rehabilitation, as a human race we had shown intelligence and reasoning, as well as faith that people can be corrected:

> Punishment in general, retributive punishments in particular, were viewed by the modernists as irrational and counter-productive, as remnants of pre-modern practices based upon emotion, instinct and superstition (Garland, 2002: 40)

As evidenced here, Garland suggested that the ideas of retributive punishment and incapacitation were viewed as counter-productive. This further adds confusion as to why society so rapidly shifted into a mechanism that believed in these very ideas. However, Garland does put up a case for the introduction of a penal system focused on incapacitation. He looks to James Q. Wilson as an argument for this: 'Wilson insisted that American crime rates were high because the prospects of being caught, convicted and severely punished had become very low' (Garland, 2002: 59-60). Garland suggests that Wilson argued for the modern penal system because the 'rehabilitative ideal' wasn't offering enough of a deterrent for criminals. Therefore, we needed to sacrifice the rehabilitative ideal to ensure the lowering of crime rates.

This summarizes the main message of Garland's book; we have shifted from social provision to social control. Instead of being focused on helping people to become civilized we instead just remove them from the situation. But how did we climb from one end of the spectrum to the other so dramatically? Garland argues that the middle-class have a major impact on how society is run and how the penal system is operated. He suggests that in the 1950s/60s, the middle-class did not often encounter the working-class and therefore understood crime as the criminologists and stereotypes had suggested; therefore, they were happy to combat crime in the way suggested by criminologists:

> Their preferred image of the criminal was that of the under-socialized, under-educated, undernourished adolescent – the juvenile delinquent, for whom social reform and correctional treatment were the appropriate response (Garland, 2002: 149)

The lack of knowledge from the middle-class regarding crime meant that they were happy to listen to criminologists for the best response; however, it could be argued that as the working-class and middle-class came into closer contact, the fear of crime increased and the middle-class called for this radical transformation in the penal system as they wanted the deterrent to be stronger and criminals to be locked away.

When analysing these two books there is one clear similarity that is a running theme throughout both. This similarity is the focus on the poor or working-class in the criminal justice system. In Goffman's 'On The Run' there is a clear picture the whole way through of how the criminal justice system has been designed in such a way that it targets the working-class, specifically young, black males. Garland is more concerned about how the criminal justice system has become more unrelenting on the working-class, through the change of culture and the obvious shift towards the state having complete social control over the masses. This suggested hunting by the state of the working-class would work as an explanation of the over-representation of ethnic minorities in prisons as well as the general over-crowding of prisons, both in the UK and the US.

One resulting theme in both books guides the reader to a specific theory, the labelling theory. The label attached to someone after they have been in prison is something that is almost impossible to escape. This label almost encourages unemployment and the criminal activities that often come with it, as evidenced throughout Goffman's 'On The Run'. As a result, these areas dominated by the working-class are often those most policed due to the lack of social mobility and the label of ex prisoner acquired by many of the residents, demonstrating further how the working-class are stuck in a constant circle of surveillance and social control. The ease with which the working-class can end up involved in the criminal justice system is evident and it could be argued that this is a form of social control in itself. As the working-class become more deeply involved in the criminal justice system, their potential for social mobility decreases, therefore ensuring there will always be a class gulf with very limited opportunities to escape, in a society with a penal system virtually designed by the middle-class.

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Return to CONTENTS

Is capitalism a social system? Why or why not?

Daniel Jarman

Before entering into any discussion regarding the nature of capitalism, it is first necessary to establish what it is that we mean by this term. The term 'capitalism' refers to an economic system based on the production and exchange of goods for profit, rather than for the immediate need of the producers (Scott, 2014). Capitalism is characterised by private ownership of the means of production, the desire to expand and invest in order to accumulate capital and free competition between different organisations in selling their goods, which is often referred to as the 'free market' (Giddens, 2006). In line with the desire for expansion and the continuous accumulation of profit, capitalism often leads to increased specialisation in the labour market in order to maximise productivity (Scott, 2014). In this sense, capitalism can be considered to be a purely economic system, in that it focuses simply on the production and exchange of goods, rather than containing an explicitly social element. However, it could be argued that to assume that capitalism has no social effects would be an extremely reductionist approach. As capitalism is a structure which is likely to have at least some involvement in most individuals' daily lives, whether this be through working to produce profit or through the consumption of goods produced under the capitalist system, it is almost certain that it will have at least some effect on their social relations. The study of the relationship between economic and social processes is often referred to as 'economic sociology' (Scott, 2014). This essay will aim to consider whether or not capitalism can be regarded as a social system, and to discuss the reasons behind this, eventually demonstrating that capitalism is in fact, largely, a social system.

Arguably one of the most famous thinkers to have considered the social nature of capitalism is the German philosopher Karl Marx, who produced a critique of capitalism based on his observation of the industrial revolution in England. Marx argues that capitalism is an inherently class-based system which is characterised by class struggle and the exploitation of one class at the hands of another. He saw capitalism as being based upon the relationship between two distinct classes, the 'bourgeoisie' who own the means of production and the 'proletariat' who must sell their labour to the bourgeoisie in exchange for a wage. It is the unequal nature of this relationship, according to Marx, which makes capitalism an exploitative system. Karl Marx argued that all of human history is the history of a class struggle between the ruling class and the oppressed class, and that this struggle is the basis of our social lives (Marx and Engels, 1998 [1848]). Furthermore, Marx's analogy of the 'base' and 'superstructure' may be key to our understanding of his views on the social nature of capitalism. Marx argues that the economic structure of society (the 'base') underpins the culture and ideas of society (the 'superstructure'), such that the culture and ideas of a society reflect the material relations of that society (Marx, 1977 [1859]). From this perspective, it can be argued that capitalism is very much a social system, as it directly affects the social lives of individuals through their culture and ideas. However, it may be important to note that Marx was writing at a time when society was far more industrialised, and economic relations were based heavily on production as opposed to the provision of services. This may render his theory, at least to some extent, irrelevant to modern society.

In addition to the work of Karl Marx himself, another sociological perspective which may provide a useful insight into the social nature of capitalism is that of the Italian neo-Marxist

Antonio Gramsci. Like Marx, Gramsci saw capitalism as an inherently exploitative system. However, Gramsci sought to provide an explanation as to why those members of society who are oppressed by capitalism have not yet risen up and overthrown this exploitative system. In doing so, Gramsci gives an insight into the social nature of capitalism. Similarly to the theory of the 'base and superstructure' provided by Marx, Gramsci argued that there was a relationship between the economic relations of society and the realm of culture and ideas. However, rather than seeing this relationship as a mere 'one-way flow' whereby the 'superstructure' simply reflects the 'base', as in Marx's theory, Gramsci argued that the relationship was a far more fluid one in that it was possible for the realm of culture and ideas to influence the material relations of society (Gramsci, 2005 [1926]). Gramsci uses the term 'hegemony' to explain the way in which the ruling class in a capitalist economy are able to maintain their power over the working class. The term 'hegemony' refers to the way in which the ruling class gain the consent and approval of the oppressed class through the spread of beliefs and values which support ruling class interests, in order to maintain their power (Haralambos and Holborn, 1990). As a result of this, the working class accept the authority of the ruling class and do not challenge the exploitative conditions of the capitalist system under which they live, as they begin to believe that the power of the ruling class is natural and justified (Long and Wall, 2013). In the same way that Marx's analogy of the 'base and superstructure' is significant to our understanding of the social nature of capitalism, Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony' is particularly useful to this analysis. This concept further demonstrates that whilst capitalism may be, at its core, a purely economic system, it is almost inseparable from the interactions that it has with society and social relations. As Gramsci demonstrates, there are particular values that coincide with capitalism and which serve to support its operation. Therefore, capitalism must be considered a social system, or at the very least, a socially influential one.

Another sociologist who has contributed to the consideration of the social nature of capitalism is Emile Durkheim. Durkheim demonstrates the relationship between economics and social relations through his concepts of 'organic solidarity' and 'mechanical solidarity'. Durkheim's primary purpose in doing this was to establish the causes behind the breakdown of social norms within societies and, conversely, the mechanisms through which social order is maintained. These two related terms are a means of describing the processes through which social order is maintained within a society. The term 'mechanical solidarity' refers to a form of solidarity based on similarities between members of society, something which is more prevalent in smaller, less developed societies. Such societies are integrated due to the fact that emphasis is placed on the shared values of the community. This type of solidarity is possible due to the fact that such societies are relatively undifferentiated, meaning that all members of the society do similar jobs. However, Durkheim argues that modern societies require organic solidarity in order to maintain social order, due to the fact that people have become increasingly differentiated as a result of increasing specialisation in the labour market. This increasing specialisation could be associated with the rise of capitalism. The term 'organic solidarity' refers to the way in which social order is maintained as a result of interdependence, which is necessary in a society in which individuals' lives are so different from one another. (Scott, 2014). However, Durkheim does argue that the increased differentiation seen in modern societies is associated with a breakdown of social norms (Durkheim, 1984 [1893]). Whilst Durkheim does not explicitly argue that capitalism is a social system, his theory does suggest a relationship between economic structure and social life, much like Marx's theory of the 'base and superstructure'. Therefore, it is possible to argue from a Durkheimian perspective that capitalism can be considered a social system. Whilst useful, Durkheim's theory of 'organic' and 'mechanical' solidarity could be considered reductionist, in that it

attempts to understand society as a dichotomy based on two separate and distinct forms of solidarity. However, although his theory may ignore some of the complexities of societal organisation, the suggestion that social relations are associated with economic structure remains relevant.

In addition to Marx and Durkheim, the work of Adam Smith also provides a useful insight into the relationship between economics and social life. Smith argued that humans are naturally self-interested, and that they will therefore naturally seek to maximise their own personal gains. Much like Marx and Durkheim, Smith also believed that there was a relationship between social life and changes in the division of labour. At this point, it is perhaps important to note that the term 'division of labour' refers to an organisation of individuals or groups carrying out different but integrated tasks (Scott, 2014). So an increased division of labour simply refers to a shift towards a more differentiated society, as briefly mentioned with regards to Durkheim's work. Adam Smith believed that an increased division of productive labour would greatly increase the wealth-creating capacity of a society (Scott, 2014). Smith argued that the increased division of labour that was brought about by capitalism would lead all members of society to lead wealthier lifestyles, improving the lives of all individuals. However, he also warned against the dangers of overspecialisation in the labour market, in that it would likely render individuals incapable of performing well in any task other than that which they had been specially trained to do (Smith, 1982 [1776]). Whilst Adam Smith's analysis of the role of capitalism would appear to be far less social in nature than those of Marx and Durkheim, it does still contain a clear social element. In warning against the dangers of overspecialisation in the labour market, Smith appears to take into account the effects that capitalism may have on the social lives of individuals, thus adding weight to the argument that capitalism is in fact a 'social' system. Furthermore, Smith does begin to touch upon the social nature of capitalism in his discussion of the way in which human interactions are shaped by capitalist economics. Smith argues that, under capitalism, it is not the benevolent nature of individuals that drives them to provide goods and services to one another, but rather a desire to cater for their own self-interest. Smith believed that all humans are naturally self-interested, which would appear to suggest that capitalist economics are in fact intertwined with the social nature of individuals.

As has already been mentioned in reference to the work of Karl Marx, capitalism is a class-based system. What is meant by this is that, by its nature, it divides individuals into a hierarchy of distinct groups based on their shared economic resources (Giddens, 2006). This view is supported by the British sociologist Andrew Sayer, who argues that capitalism would be unable to survive without the existence of social class (2005). While Marx saw these classes as 'economic classes', it is important to understand that these groupings are not formed of mere numbers, but rather of many individuals. As a result, it is necessary to understand the issue of class from a social perspective. Despite being grouped together on the basis of occupation or economic resources, shared location within a particular social class tends to be bound up with particular experiences and values. Members of the same social class may bond with one another through household and family formation, such as shared living arrangements, marriage or friendship, and through social interactions such as shared participation in certain leisure activities or clubs. As a result, members of economic classes begin to develop shared experiences which in turn form them into a socially-based group rather than a purely economic one (Blackburn, 2006). This argument is supported by the work of Pierre Bourdieu, who argues that individuals develop certain cultural dispositions as a result of their social class. As a result, people's behaviours, beliefs, norms and values are directly related to their class, and the likelihood of those individuals being

able to move between classes is constrained not simply by economics but also by social factors. Thus, individuals' social lives are directly influenced by their class position (Wacquant, 2008). In addition to this, Andrew Sayer argues that there is a moral dimension to class, suggesting that an individual's class position is bound up with certain moral judgements about that individual. He argues that judgements regarding the moral worth of individuals are made on the basis of class, and that these judgements are often made on the basis of the possession of wealth and goods, which is a result of social class. Sayer suggests that the social esteem (that is, respect), that is commanded by an individual is often a consequence of their class position (2005). If we are to concede that capitalism divides society into social classes, and that these classes have profound effects on individuals' social lives, it can be argued that capitalism has a significant role in shaping social interaction. Therefore, capitalism can be considered to be a social system, as it can be difficult to separate the economic class structure that capitalism produces from the social effects that the class structure has on society. However, some social theorists such as Pakulski and Waters would argue that we no longer live in a class society, and that the importance of class has been replaced by more cultural factors such as 'status' (1996). If this is the case, the suggestion that capitalism produces a class-based society and in turn influences social relations would be irrelevant.

Even if we were to accept that capitalism is merely an economic system, it is important to note that capitalism does not exist in one universally identical form, and that some forms may be considered more 'social' than others. One such form of capitalism is known as 'welfare capitalism', which refers to a form of capitalism in which large firms provide services to their employees such as life insurance, child care, recreational facilities and paid holidays. The aim of these services is to make the corporation - rather than the state - the primary source of protection from the uncertainties of the market (Giddens, 2006). This form of capitalism appears to provide certain services to members of society beyond the mere economic functioning of the companies involved. In seeking to help to improve the lives of individuals through the functioning of large companies, this form of capitalism can be seen as having a profoundly social element. However, it could be argued that the services provided to employees under this system are not provided for purely altruistic reasons, but rather with the aim of preventing the workers and the state from taking away the power of the corporations, by attempting to remove the need for the workers to form trade unions (Giddens, 2006).

To conclude, while capitalism is not, at its core, by definition a 'social' system, the effects that it has on the social lives of individuals are so profound that it would be impossible to view capitalism as entirely separate from society and social life. Put simply, capitalism is defined as an economic system based on the production and exchange of goods in order to generate profit, rather than for the immediate need of the producer (Scott, 2014). While this definition of capitalism contains no specifically social element, it is clear that there are a series of underlying social effects of capitalism. In broad terms, the relationship between the material relations of society and the realm of culture and ideas (as identified by Marx and Gramsci), demonstrates that the very structure of capitalism leads it to be closely associated with the social world (Marx, 1977 [1859]) (Gramsci, 2005 [1926]). Furthermore, Durkheim's theory of the way in which relationships between social actors are closely related to changes in the division of labour concurs, to some extent, with the Marxist belief that changes in economic structure are associated with changes in the social relations of society (Scott, 2014). At a slightly more micro-level, the social classes which capitalism divides society into (and indeed, relies on) produce various social effects which can, in turn, be seen as a consequence of capitalism. These effects range from the ways in

which social classes develop their own collective sets of cultural behaviours and social norms (Blackburn, 2006), to the moral judgements (either positive or negative) that are made about certain individuals based on their class position (Sayer, 2005). Therefore, while it might be possible to regard capitalism as a purely economic system when viewed in isolation and on the basis of its definition alone, it is clear that when considered in the context of its effects on social life, capitalism is profoundly a social system.

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Research Report:

'How does working for a Domestic Violence Charity affect the Employees?'

Gabrielle Johnson

Introduction

The topic I chose to centre my research around was based on domestic violence and the effects of working in a stressful environment. I believe it is important to research issues surrounding domestic violence as in 2014 '1.4 million women and 700,000 men suffered from domestic abuse' (Travis, 2015). However, these statistics don't include unreported domestic violence which will further add to the scale of it. The prevalence of domestic violence highlights the importance of researching issues surrounding it.

This leads on to the part of my research that looked at the effects of working in a stressful environment and what can be done to support those employees. Workplace stress is becoming increasingly dominant in today's society. It was found that 'one in three absences at work are due to anxiety and stress" (Hope, 2013) and 'a quarter of people say they have quit a job due to unsupportive managers, while 17 per cent have left because of excessive workloads' (Lakhani, 2010). These articles confirm the need for workplace stress to be reduced and support improved. Domestic violence issues are still under-researched and I found that there was no research on the effect of working for a domestic violence charity, apart from research looking at counsellor's experiences (this was *Iliffe and Steed's 2000 study on* 'Exploring the Counsellor's Experience of Working with Perpetrators and Survivors of Domestic Violence' [*Iliffe and Steed, 2000]). *Therefore, the research I'm conducting is imperative. If employees of charities like these aren't supported and feel stressed, this could translate onto the support provided for the victims and consequently their wellbeing.

In my research I concentrated my questions on the effects of working for a domestic violence charity, focusing particularly on emotional or mental wellbeing issues that may have arisen. I then asked about support they receive and support they would like to receive. This was to formulate ideas on more comprehensive and suitable support schemes to care for their needs. The need for employee support is demonstrated in Riggle, Edmondson and Hansen's meta-analysis of the relationship between perceived organizational support and job outcomes. This meta-analysis reveals that 'firms perceived to be higher in organizational support are more apt to have employees who are more satisfied with their job, and more committed to the organization' (2009: 1029). Therefore, this study highlights the need for employee support as without it employees may become dissatisfied with their job and thus lack enthusiasm and motivation. In the case of a domestic violence charity this could result in the victims suffering and the charity suffering. Therefore, the overall purpose of this research is to understand the work stressors for Domestic Violence Charity employees and support them accordingly. To investigate this I have conducted two semi-structured interviews with two employees of a local domestic violence charity. I chose an interview to conduct my research due to the method's relative transparency: I could not use covert research because of the sensitive and confidential

nature of the charity and the use of an interview allowed for participants to know the full aims of the research and did not jeopardise confidentiality.

Literature Review

Domestic Violence is a distressing and upsetting topic for anyone to have to discuss. Dorahy found that there was 'an association between domestic violence and psychological distress' (Dorahy, 2007). I found that the people that support domestic abuse victims are exposed to detailed accounts of these people's traumas and it could consequently be suggested that the distress experienced by the victims could be translated onto the employees. Working for a domestic violence charity not only involves exposure to upsetting traumas but also pressures regarding funding to maintain support for victims and their children.

The workplace is known to be a key factor in augmenting stress. Lazarus's Transactional Model of Stress demonstrates this by defining 'stress as arising from the appraisal that particular environmental demands are about to tax individual resources, thus threatening well-being" (Holroyd and Lazarus, 1982: 21-35). Lazarus's model indicates that stress is caused by our environment. Therefore, if a workplace such as that maintained by a domestic violence charity is unorganised, exposed to upsetting content and lacking support, thus being a poor environment, then the employees will become stressed and potentially fail to perform adequately. Lazarus' primary appraisal is important to consider when looking at workplace stress. He notes that primary appraisal is where 'the person acknowledges that there is something at stake' (Gatchel and Schultz, 2012: 26). This can be related to the stress experienced by the employees at the charity I conducted research at. Participant A pronounced that funding is a stressor for the staff at work because if funding is 'at stake' then the 'service users' suffer as there is not enough money to continue with their support.

Findings: Understanding, Awareness and Cognitive Schemas

From the research conducted the most obvious effect of working for a domestic violence charity was the better understanding and awareness of domestic violence. Participant A noted that since working for the charity and running courses such as the 'Freedom Programme' they have become aware of 'just how women are portrayed in the media and in advertising and things like that, it really makes me think' (Participant 140416A, Interview Transcript). The participant stated that they are more conscious of subliminal messages in songs and advertising and how 'we sing songs that are about abuse or about controlling people' (Participant 140416A, Interview Transcript). It can be concluded that working for such an organisation makes you notice things the average person would not. This would appear to be a positive outcome as you are more self-aware and thus safer. However, from the research the participants suggested that there are also negative outcomes of being more aware of issues surrounding domestic violence, such as anxiety around new people.

From Participant B's answers it was clear that their cognitive schemas had been altered since working for the charity. They stated that they have to remember that 'not everybody is bad and evil and controlling, you have to make sure of that' (Participant 150416B, Interview Transcript). Their ideas about the world have been altered due to the traumas they are exposed to: if they were not exposed to cases of controlling and abusive behaviour so frequently would they be less anxious or cautious of others?

The idea that cognitive schemas can be altered by working with victims is supported by a study conducted by Salston and Figley called 'Secondary Traumatic Stress Effects of Working with Survivors of Criminal Victimization'. This study found that 'professionals reported changes in their own cognitive schemas related to beliefs about the world' (Salston and Figley, 2003: 167). This study supports my research findings that working with victims of trauma or being exposed to their trauma, as occurs in a domestic violence charity, can alter your cognitive schemas, thus resulting in anxiety about the world.

Findings: Victim Admiration

One finding from the study was also mirrored in other studies that were researched beforehand. Participant A emphasised their admiration for the victims that they work with: they said that 'the resilience of the people we support is incredible, the way they gather themselves and how they've managed to keep themselves as safe as they can' (Participant 140416A, Interview Transcript).

This was also found in research conducted on those that work with survivors of criminal victimization. Salston and Figley discovered that 'over 45% reported enjoyable aspects of working with this population, the most frequently cited positive aspects included witnessing client resilience and personal growth' (Salston and Figley, 2003: 168). Therefore, from this research and the research on domestic violence charity workers, it can be suggested that a common factor of working with victims is admiration and respect for them. This admiration of the victims is a positive effect of working for a domestic violence charity as the employees are spurred on to work harder to see even more progress in the victims. This could suggest that working for such an organisation is not as stressful as once perceived, as long as the victims are progressing.

Findings: Positive Outcomes

In addition to this it was found that working for a domestic violence charity provided positive outcomes and feelings for the employees. It was found that although what the participants cover is distressing, there is very often a positive outcome from it, even if that is just pointing someone in the right direction. This suggests that the stress of working for a domestic violence doesn't stem from the upsetting experiences they know the victims suffer from but rather from situations where they are not able to do anything to help them. If the employees are able to help the victims then they do not feel stressed. Through having a sense of achievement at work (by helping victims), it could be suggested they feel valued which in turn makes them less stressed at work and consequently perform better.

This links on to how Participant A stressed that funding is their biggest stressor at work. Due to their position as the Deputy Chief Executive of the organisation they are responsible for sourcing and maintaining funding, they felt that when funding was cut they were most stressed as they knew services and jobs would also be cut. This relates to the earlier finding that employees do not feel stressed if they know they have helped victims, this is because without funding they become unable to help victims and henceforth become stressed. This was a surprising finding as, from an outsider's perspective, you would perceive the experience of the victim's abuse to be the most stressful factor to deal with.

Findings: Support from colleagues

Participant A emphasised how proud they were of how far their organisation had come and the work that they do. They stressed that their 'team is so positive and everybody is so dedicated and passionate about what they do that it makes it a pleasure (to work there)' (Participant 140416A, Interview Transcript). This links to the support side of the research: it was found that the most useful kind of support was 'offloading' to other colleagues. The participant's colleagues understand what one another are experiencing and can sympathise with their concerns and stresses. Whilst the employees of the organisation are provided with access to clinical therapists and telephone therapy, there was the impression that colleague support was more helpful and effective. Therefore, to support the employees further there may be a need for more team building exercises and further interaction of employees from various sectors of the organisation. Through bringing the employees together they can build on and create new friendships which they can use to support themselves when they feel stressed.

Findings: Physical, Mental and Emotional effects

From the research neither of the participants seemed to be significantly affected by the job on a mental or physical level. Participant A seemed more affected on an emotional level: they discussed how they had feelings of helplessness regarding friends and children. The idea that they felt they could not stop their friends from entering potentially controlling relationships worried them. They also stated that they had anxieties for their daughters with future partners and the general treatment of women on a societal level. There seemed to be a sense of helplessness growing as, no matter how much knowledge they had and passed onto their children, ultimately their children would make their own decisions. This seemed to be one of the most prominent effects of working for the charity, as they are more aware and thus more wary for their loved ones.

An interesting point that was raised in the interview with Participant B was the idea that the longer you work with domestic violence cases the less it affects you. Whilst they have only worked for the organisation for 4 years, prior to the domestic violence charity they worked in housing and were exposed to domestic abuse cases daily. They stated that the less experienced employees may benefit from more support.

This idea correlates with research conducted on the effects of trauma work on trauma therapists. The study found that 'those newest to the work were experiencing the most psychological difficulties' (Pearlman and MacIan, 1995: 1-3). Therefore this puts forward the idea that the stress of working with victims such as those at the Charity, diminishes over time as the employees develop their own coping strategies and become almost 'immune' to the trauma they see. This suggests that employees need to be supported through giving them information on coping strategies so that they can learn to cope alone.

Methodological issues and successes

One issue that occurred during the interview was a technical failure. The interview was recorded to enable transcription after and so that as the interviewer I was able to pay more attention to the participant. However, during the interview one of the recordings failed and would only record 7 minutes. This was dealt with by discreetly turning it off to avoid it beeping. Luckily, prior to the interview I had decided on using two devices to record it (one

online audio recorder and a dictaphone app) therefore the issue of having no recordings was avoided due to previous planning.

I believe that the use of an interview was still the right method for this topic. This is because I was able to build rapport (something needed when dealing with sensitive topic such as domestic violence) with Participant A. During the interview I noticed that Participant A began to open up more and showed body language that suggested they were more comfortable, such as keeping eye contact and leaning in closer. I also noticed the build-up of rapport when the participant was unsure whether to divulge a personal detail. At one point they paused and I said 'only say if you feel comfortable'. They then proceeded to tell me personal details about a work conflict they had experienced.

It was also clear that Participant A felt relaxed as they gave information about their children and their ongoing divorce, something that you would not discuss if you feel you cannot trust someone. On the other hand, I felt that Participant B was more guarded and there was less rapport built up, this could have been due to a lack of ease given off from the interviewer or that the participant is generally more closed off when it comes to personal issues. This could also have been due to Participant B overall being less affected by the job and as a result having less to say about it. During the interview Participant A sometimes gave one word answers, perhaps due to a lack of rapport, nevertheless this was dealt with through probing by prompting the participant to explain further.

Another positive of using an interview for this research was the ability to clarify questions to the participants. During the interview one question was misunderstood due to it not being worded clearly and the participant answered accordingly. Because of this I did not receive the data I needed as the question was misinterpreted. To solve this, I listened to what the participant had to say but then reworded the question to be more understandable and clear and asked it again, this was so I did not come across as rude by cutting the participant off but also I was able to obtain the information needed.

In light of this, I believe an interview was the most suitable method to discover the effects of working for a domestic violence charity, as rapport was built up, questions could be clarified and deception was avoided. In the future it would be interesting to look further into employees who work on the 'frontline' and interact with victims more intimately, rather than those whose focus is on administration. It would also be of significance to research deeper into the long term and short term effects of working with trauma victims to see if there was a notable difference in more experienced workers and less experienced workers wellbeing.

Conclusion

To conclude, the research conducted has brought to light the usefulness of colleague relationships in ensuring employees feel supported. It is colleagues that provide the most support and not clinical therapists, therefore emphasising the need for team building days. The research has demonstrated that the core effects of working for a Domestic Violence Charity are positive as the employees feel they are achieving something when supporting victims. However, there are still negative outcomes in relation to emotional health, with one employee's cognitive schemas being altered and another's anxieties levels rising regarding their loved ones. Nonetheless the overall effects of working for a domestic violence charity are largely positive and not detrimental to employee's physical or mental health.

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Critical book review

Elliott Connor Jones

This essay will be reviewing two works of ethnographic enquiry. The first book by American sociologist Alice Goffman, daughter of the influential sociologist Erving Goffman, '*On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City'*, has been credited for its outstanding approach to a controversial subject. Goffman began the project during her second year at the University of Pennsylvania, where she conducted an urban ethnography lasting six years on an African-American neighbourhood in Philadelphia. This book will be compared and contrasted to Daniel Briggs' '*Deviance and Risk on Holiday: An Ethnography of British Tourists in Ibiza',* which focusses on the behaviours of working-class British tourists in the popular holiday resort of San Antonio*.* Briggs is an experienced researcher who has focused on social problems; this can be seen through his previous work on issues such as football hooliganism and gangs. The two books were chosen for review due to their comparable methodological approaches and interesting topics. It will become evident throughout this review that the books have various similarities and differences. This review will conduct a thorough critical analysis on the two books by identifying different proponents of each and comparing these with one another.

Goffman makes her aims clear from the beginning of the book. She offers an impressive contextual review of penal policies over the past fifty years relating to the 'War on Crime and Drug', which has left a 'disproportionate number' of black men in prison (Goffman, 2014: 3). Upon investigation, it becomes evident that the author wishes to address the impact that mass incarceration and tough-on-crime policies have had on poor black communities. It must be noted that these factors are a recent phenomenon, and Goffman wishes to cover them because of their centrality to the 'War on Drugs' era. To summarise, the author aims to uncover the impact of these wider political forces on the 'basic institutions of work, friendship, and family' (Ibid: 196-7). On the other hand, Briggs has made the mistake of addressing his aims during the last section of his book. The author has delivered a micro-subjective study which sets out to achieve an 'alternative understanding' of the meanings working-class Brits attach to deviant and risk behaviours whilst on holiday. Briggs wishes to accomplish this by considering factors such as, 'popular culture, habitus, larger political economic forces and subjectivity' (Briggs, 2013: 207-8). Two objectives of his enquiry were to discredit false representations of British tourists by the media, and provide the first study on this topic that incorporates a wide-range of explanations. Briggs has set out to invalidate media representations which have portrayed his samples as deviant and risk behaviours on holiday as part of a 'pathology or defunct psychological attribute' (Ibid: 208). Therefore, both authors have provided a micro sociological study with the aim of relating their findings to the wider social context.

One major criticism of Goffman's work is the lack of theory which is clear and appropriate to the subject she wishes to address. The author's brief discussion of David Garland's (2001) notion of 'mass imprisonment' is relevant to her topic, but the lack of explanation leaves the reader confused. One may question Goffman's ignorance of the extensive theory that exists on the over-representation of Hispanic populations within US prisons (Stacy, 2002). The author briefly mentions Loic Wacquant (2010) and Michelle Alexander's (2010) contributions to the theory of 'hyper incarceration', but once again, these are not clarified appropriately. It's clear that Goffman's reasons for her study have been based solely on

what she has witnessed, and this is likely because of the opportunistic element of her research. On the other hand, Briggs has explicitly shown the basis for his research topic in chapter three. It was interesting how he linked the theory of 'ontological insecurity' (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992) to show how industries have drawn on the 'crisis' of self-identity among British youth's, to identify the process by which 'consumer capitalism' markets the holiday as a time to 'retain ontological security' (Ibid, 29-30). It was impressive how the author included Thorstein Veblen's (1994) theory of 'conspicuous consumption' to show how the night time economy in the UK has become the centre for working-classes to illuminate their incessant battle to uphold trends of the elite. Briggs has successfully discussed particular principals of Chris Rojek's (2005) 'leisure theory', to show how 'ideology' has been used to disguise 'economic, cultural and political' inequalities of the working-class, in order to persuade them to 'consume' (Ibid: 36-7). Upon review, one major difference between these two scholarly works is the presence of a theoretical framework. However, one reasonable excuse for Goffman's lack of theory would be the opportunism of her research.

One will notice the central theme that formal institutions play in Goffman's book. We are continually reminded of the presence of formal organisations on sixth street. From the prisons themselves to parole sentences and court fines, these men and their families are never far away from the influence of the penal system. One illuminating section of the book is certainly 'The Social Life of Criminalized Young People'. This chapter has shown how formalities have intervened in every aspect of these young men's social life, from their romantic relations to their construction of masculinity. We are constantly reminded of the sixth street boy's inability to receive basic medical care or attend memorable events such as the birth of their child due to fear of arrest. On the other hand, *Deviance and Risk on Holiday* embraces a core concept surrounding the social system, Capitalism. We are constantly reminded of the impact of political and economic forces on San Antonio and the visiting youth. This ideological force 'pied-pipers these tourists to "seize the moment", "live the dream" and engage in excess, deviance and risk' (Brigg, 2013: 160). Throughout various sections of the book we are clearly shown the effects of 'consumerism', a key feature of neo-capitalist venture, and how this ideological force has marketed the holiday as a time for excessiveness, deviance and risk. Therefore, we are constantly reminded of the impact wider forces have on the cohorts in the books under review.

Goffman has used the experiences she witnessed during her six years in Philadelphia with the sixth street boys to argue that:

> The sheer scope of policing and imprisonment in poor Black neighborhoods is transforming community life in ways that are deep and enduring, not only for the young men who are their targets but for their family members, partners, and neighbors (Goffman, 2014: 5).

In comparison, Briggs has firstly attempted to discredit scholars who believe that the deviant and risk behaviours young, working-class Brits exhibit on holiday are due to their 'pathology or defunct psychological attribute' (Briggs, 2013: 208). Briggs has clearly defined his four principal arguments in the first section of the book. His argument states that 'attitudes to excessive consumption' have been marketed by consumer capitalism and these deviant and risk behaviours are 'exaggerated' on holiday, were they can construct 'identity' through conduct which is 'expected of them' and 'endorsed' (Ibid: 2). Briggs argues that British youth engage in deviant and risk behaviours on holiday as a way of escaping mundane home life and constructing identity. These behaviours are expected of

them, and the resort of San Antonio provides a 'landscape' which is suitable for it. These arguments are continuously linked to the wider social context.

One of the greatest similarities between these books is the authors' use of qualitative research methods. The most evident are the two authors' adoption of the same methodological approach, participant observation. In order for Goffman to understand the effects of wider political forces on the lives of African-American citizens in poor neighbourhoods, she immersed herself in six years of field work. By indulging in a longitudinal observational study, Goffman managed to 'live and work alongside Mike and his friends and neighbors', which enabled her to 'understand their everyday worries and small triumphs from the inside' (Goffman, 2014: 204). Briggs has clearly defined his methodology in the opening section of his book, dissimilar to Goffman, whose methods are hidden within the appendix. Briggs has used an amalgamation of methods, ranging from open-ended interviews and focus groups to observations. Despite Briggs' justification of the ethical issues within his research, we must consider the participants' consumption of alcohol, which raises concerns governing the accuracy of his field notes and interviews. Briggs rightly acknowledges that 'their accounts may not have been entirely accurate', due to their intoxication of alcohol or drugs (Briggs, 2013: 21). In addition, we must recognise the effect the researchers may have had on their participants' responses. Goffman has suggested that her own 'body, speech, clothing, and general personality marked' her 'as somewhat strange and unappealing' (Goffman, 2014: 240). Did the sixth street boys, and their acquaintants, treat Goffman differently due to the interviewer effect (Bryman, 2016)? These are questions we must consider if we wish to understand the significance of these two books to criminology. Despite this, both authors' methodology was appropriate and gave them a first-hand view of their participants' experiences. Therefore, both books were constructed through the harnessing of qualitative research methods, most notably participant observations, and this enabled them to witness the 'real' experiences of their participants.

Both authors have provided evidence through the use of dialogue and field notes. Briggs' thorough analysis of each piece of dialogue makes for a strong argument and ensures the volume stays on course. Due to the seasonal nature of Briggs' work, he also uses evidence collected from exchanges between himself and his participants from social media. We must note that Goffman's evidence can often leave unanswered questions, which may explain why many reviewers have been lively in providing criticisms of the author for factual inaccuracies. One interesting piece of evidence used by Goffman was seen in chapter one, were Chuck would teach his younger brother how to run from the police (Ibid: 9). However, Goffman's lack of explanation means the clarity of her evidence can often become confusing, and the reader is left wondering about its relevance to her overall argument. Despite this, we must note that both authors have been thorough in their field notes.

Alice Goffman's approach to the study of race and crime has also been visited by American historian, Thomas Sugrue (2005) in his book, '*The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit'.* The author has shown how institutional racism and economic inequality in Detroit during the twentieth century restricted the opportunities of African-Americans. Sugrue has impressively traced the roots of informal racial segregation within inner-city neighbourhoods, which is one theme we notice throughout Goffman's study. Other literature which exists on this topic is Les Back's (1996) ethnographic study in South London. The author has documented an array of experiences in which black Londoners have experienced racism in different forms. These books suggest that the racism experienced by Reggie and his companions on sixth street is wide-spread, and the

exhaustive literature that exists on this topic means Goffman's research fits perfectly. Briggs' ethnography is likely an adaption of Stephen Armstrong's (2005) book *The White Island,* which successfully sets the Mediterranean island in its historical context. The author has shown how Ibiza has a long history of pleasure-seeking, hedonistic tourists arriving at its shores. The author has conducted an original study, and laid excellent groundwork for other scholars to comment on the topic of interest.

Both authors must be commended for their contributions to criminology through their study of these controversial topics. Goffman has superbly portrayed the impact of an unjust legal system on poor black neighbourhoods in the US. Her study has contributed to criminology through its re-evaluation of the criminal justice system and its racially oppressive administration which has arguably risen alongside neo-liberal discourse. The book has forced us to rethink the damage caused by tough-on-crime policies and mass incarceration, which has led to racial exclusion and informal segregation. One may question Goffman's contributions to criminology due to her subjects' deliberate participation in criminality. However, we must recognise the absence of attention for the social context in this critical discourse. On the other hand, Briggs has supplied us with the first scholarly explanation into the behaviours of British youth whilst on holiday. The author has critically reviewed the media discourse of 'pathological' British youth, and contributed to criminology through his thorough analysis of deviant and risk behaviours abroad. Briggs has incorporated a wide range of possible motives for these behaviours. By overruling the assumption that 'hedonism' solely dictates deviant and risky conducts on holiday, the author has reasserted the influence of hierarchal organisations on youth behaviours. However, one disappointment of Briggs' work was his lack of consideration for gendered aspects of the holiday experience. This endeavour would have broadened his content and made contributions to gender criminology. Despite this, the two books represent core criminological texts which have been crucial in widening our knowledge on important topics within our discipline.

Goffman adopts a style which can only be described as story-telling. Goffman's attention to detail is what distinguishes this book from others. The way she describes every event, location and person she met or came into contact with during her research not only compliments her exquisite ability to take detailed notes, but also show-cases her aptitude for field work. The narrative style inspired by Goffman is likely the reason for her books success outside of academia, as it was listed by The New York Times as one of their '100 notable books of 2014'. However, two difficulties, which Goffman recognises herself in the Appendix, are the use of colloquialisms and the large number of participants she comes into contact with. It would be useful if a list of the cohort and translations were situated at the start of the book. This would act as a remedy for the confusion which is often experienced during the book. In comparison, Briggs' descriptive style and strict structure can become rather tedious at times. Unlike Goffman's universal approach which is entertaining for a variety of individuals, *Deviance and Risk on Holiday* is exclusively suitable for academia. The author's superb and systematic analytic expression means the piece has become vital in furthering the field of sociological enquiry.

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To what extent are urban spaces becoming configured to control the poor?

Jessica Nunn

Urban spaces, and more specifically but not limited to, the 'architecture of public urban space' (Leontiadis, 2011: 1) has been the focus of large amounts of criminological debate over recent years. It is estimated that '54 per cent of the world's population live in urban areas' (United Nations, 2014) and so with over half of the population living in them, this makes urban areas an important topic to study. More specifically, there have been large amounts of debate with regards to how these urban spaces may be configured to control the poor. It is argued that this can be done in many ways, including regulation of behaviour and exclusion, through both the physical architecture and through wider political changes in society.

The study of how urban spaces can be used to control people originated with the Chicago School and their ideas surrounding 'the relationship between the urban environment, actions and values' (Carrabine et al, 2014: 135). These ideas were then further developed, and are still developing today, by focusing more specifically on exclusion of the poor and how the urban areas can 'warn off the underclass other' (Davis, 1992: 159). There is still a strong focus on the relationship between the urban environment and actions today, and these actions are considered by some to control the poor.

As previously mentioned, these ideas have been the focus of large amounts of criminological and sociological study, and as a result many different arguments have emerged. Christopherson, for example, argues that 'at every design scale, from buildings to business improvement districts, there is an emphasis on the control and regulation of human behaviour' (Christopherson, 1994: 412), and others write that in order to control the poor, it is not just physical aesthetics, but also ideas embedded in wider society too. Starting with aesthetics and architecture, it can be argued that these are the most obvious ways of controlling the poor because they can be physically seen in everyday life. In all urban areas, buildings are deigned in a specific way, for specific reasons. Crawford identifies four different areas of design to help illustrate this: 'territoriality, surveillance, image and environment' (Newburn, 2013: 297), and it is indicated that within all of these, there are measures of control present that are aimed towards the poor. Changing the physical urban environment is one of the biggest ways that control of the poor is exerted, and there are two main types found: subtle changes within the urban environment, and larger more visible changes.

With regards to larger architectural changes, the example of Haussmann's redesigning of Paris in the 1850s can be examined. Here, a whole city was reconstructed in order to control the poor; large boulevards were carved into the landscape to displace the poor elsewhere and allow easier access for police forces to deploy if needs be. This is not only an example of an architectural change that recreates a new landscape, but it is also an example of situational crime prevention; this 'advocated changes in the physical environment' (Carrabine et al, 2014: 142) in order to reduce crime in specific places and consequently control the poor – this concept will be discussed in more detail later in the paper. Continuing with the idea of larger architectural changes, the construction of gated communities can be examined. It is important to note here that all examples range in size

and type, but this paper focuses on the general overview within all examples given. With regards to gated communities then, these are areas that are inaccessible to non-residents. In general, these communities are expensive and so automatically exclude the poor due to their lower financial standing. The addition of security adds an element of control to the areas and encourages ideas of safety within the walls, but not outside them. 'Wealthier neighbourhoods in the canyons and hillsides cower behind walls guarded by gun-toting private police and state of the art electronic surveillance systems' (Davis, 1992: 154). This quote indicates that these communities are going to extreme lengths to keep themselves separate, and a feeling of fearfulness of the poor is touched upon, which will be examined later in this paper. It is argued that these gated communities mirror ideas of a 'fortress city' (Davis, 1992: 155), whereby physical boundaries are created between the rich and poor. These fortress aesthetics 'divide cells of affluence and places of terror' (Davis, 1992: 155), which in turn create not just physical separation between rich and poor urban areas, but also social separation too. When designing and building urban spaces, the 'urban development strategies are based on worst case scenario' (Coaffee, 2004: 276), and these can often look harsh and overdone – some even compare them to prison-like aesthetics. They physically control the poor by making specific areas inaccessible to them, and richer individuals insulate themselves from other groups; something Davis terms 'a city of quartz'. As well as these large and visible changes to environments that control the poor, there are also more subtle ones present within urban spaces too. These are ways to design out poverty and design in social order; control the urban poor through the configuration of the environment. A way this is done is by discouraging people in certain places, for example putting anti-homeless spikes on the floor to prevent people sleeping on the streets. Although these prevent rough sleeping in specific areas, many put forward the oppositional argument of the displacement theory; the root of the problem is not being tackled and so people, and the problem, are simply being redistributed to different areas.

'Bumproof benches' (Davis, 1992: 161) are also a popular example of subtle ways to control the poor within urban areas. These seats are often found in bus shelters and parks and are designed with a tilted fashion so that people cannot sleep on them, or even sit on them for long periods of time; this therefore discourages people from 'loitering' around in different areas and making the landscape look 'rough'. Another subtle element of control, usually within parks, are sprinklers. To the normal eye these may just seem necessary to keep the grass looking fresh, however they are also used to prevent people using this public space during the night; mainly discouraging homeless people to sleep there. An example is illustrated with the 'outdoor sprinklers in Skid Row Park where overhead sprinklers were programmed to drench unsuspecting sleepers at random times during the night' (Davis, 1992: 161). This not only physically keeps the areas looking nice and discourages the poor to spend time here, but also controls the public space with regards to times it can be used and who it can be used by.

A recent documentary presented by Stephen Manderson (more commonly known as Professor Green) on homelessness in Manchester, illustrated that homeless people are considered 'the poorest of the poor' in UK society. Instead of helping them, he found that society was rejecting them not only culturally, but also physically. The public spaces they found themselves sleeping in were being increasingly 'designed out' of the city, leaving them less and less space to stay and therefore forcing them out. It was public opinion that the homeless people made the city look 'bad' and this links back to ideas of aesthetics; not only the look of the physical architecture, but also the views the public have of the poor (Professor Green, 2016). Public perceptions encourage urban environments to be controlling of the poor; to prevent them being visible and keeping their streets 'clean.'

This change in the physical architecture of the urban environment can be linked to ideas of crime too. It is a statistical fact that the poor commit more (recorded) crimes than the rich; for example 'lower-class youth commit four times more violent crimes than middle-class youth' (Holzer et al, 2008: 49). US architect Newman argues that the creation of 'defensible space means it is possible to modify the built environment to reduce the opportunity for crime' (Carrabine et al, 2014: 142). This indicates that not only is the change in physical environment for aesthetic reasons, but is also used as a way to reduce crime - especially crime committed by the poor. An example of this is making car park walls transparent; this has physical and practical advantages with regards to light, however, it also makes them visible from the outside. This is argued to deter potential criminals as they feel more exposed and there is a higher chance for them to be caught.

Continuing with the idea of the urban space as controlling crimes by the poor, the police's role in configuring this can be examined; the formal controls used to manipulate the poor. First is the idea of surveillance; it has been found that 'towards the end of the millennium, British citizens had become the most surveyed population in the world' (Fussey, 2008: 123), and the use of surveillance cameras in urban spaces is still huge today. Police, and other private security parties, are able to use cameras and subsequent images to control streets and assert their power and presence. People feel that they are being watched all the time and the idea of 'panopticon' comes into play here- this term was coined by Bentham and illustrated that people were always unsure as to whether they were being watched or not, and so they regulated their own behaviour; 'Constant visibility would bring about a sense of vulnerability and would, in turn, lead to self-control' (Newburn, 2013: 333). Because it is the rich who have the power to be able to control this surveillance, it can be argued that this is another way in which they control the poor, with specific reference to crimes committed by them.

As well as CCTV, the police have also adopted other measures to control the poor in urban areas; namely the use of Zero Tolerance Policing in New York. This is defined as a strategy whereby the police 'pursue even the most minor offences' (McLaughlin, 2013: 496) within urban areas in order to discourage further, larger crimes. Although it has been argued that this was a successful method, it is also argued that it is negatively biased towards the poor and crimes they commit within urban spaces.

Moving away from the idea of physical architecture, aesthetics, and surveillance within urban spaces, it is important to recognise the role of space ownership with regards to controlling the poor too. It is shown that there has been an increased privatisation of space, including that which used to be public. Private interests take over urban areas and 'dominate the planning and development process' (Christopherson, 1994: 412). It can be argued that this means that not only are 'the urban poor confronted with reductions in public services' (Graham, 2010: 4), but they are also subsequently controlled within urban spaces. They find themselves with limited access to certain areas, such as the gated communities and parks previously mentioned, and the urban environment is developed to benefit the rich rather than the poor; there has been a 'destruction of any truly democratic urban space' (Davis, 1992: 155) as it is unequal with regards to ownership and consequently configuration.

This increased privatisation is argued to have stemmed from wider political and economic changes in society. It can be seen that there is a new 'dependence on consumption as the primary urban function' (Christopherson, 1994: 410), and because of this, the poor are

subsequently controlled through exclusion due to their lower financial standing. Urban areas are now areas of profit, and so those who cannot (financially) contribute to that are screened out. The commodification of society has increased the emphasis placed on money, and as a result, those who have less are disenfranchised from public space –there has been a 'widespread imposition of market relationships and this provides todays prominent, class ridden, economic order' (Graham, 2010: 4). This public space is now used to sell things, and this in turn invites the middle class and forces out the poor. There is also a noted difference in the configuration of shopping spaces for the rich and poor- Sheppard describes urban spaces configured for the rich as 'cathedrals of consumption' (Sheppard, 1989: 116) which indicates lavish, large spaces, and shopping areas for the poor are defined as 'panopticon malls' where they are controlled and watched in a completely different environment to that which the rich experience.

The final point to be explored when discussing whether urban spaces are becoming configured to control the poor is that of segregation. It is argued that there is a fearful representation of the poor, mainly created through mass media, and so the rich want to separate themselves from them. This can be illustrated by the fact that urban poverty is not visible in many places of affluent consumption; there are configurations to make sure they are excluded, and as a result, controlled. With specific reference to women, an example can be used here to show this socially constructed 'fear' within certain urban spaces; 'Feminist geographers and criminologists have investigated the many ways in which women routinely adapt their use of urban space- taking certain routes and avoiding certain places' (Carrabine et al, 2014: 145). This indicates that not only is it physical configurations that control the poor within urban spaces, but it can also be psychological and sociological configurations too; stereotypes and moral panics surrounding the poor have fuelled beliefs that they should be feared.

Although all of the arguments above are important when considering the configuration of urban spaces with regards to control of the poor, it is also important to recognise counter arguments. The first point to be examined links to the last point in the previous paragraph - that in fact urban spaces are not being configured to control the poor, but other social groups instead. It is indicated that it is not just class (if at all), but instead other social groups such as different races, ages or genders that are being controlled through the urban environment instead. With regards to race, Wacquant for example, argues that 'urban modernisation is a racialized programme' (Wacquant, 2001), and writes that some urban spaces, such as prisons, are racist in their configuration. It is also argued that most of the above viewpoints can be applied to other social groups, not just class; they are not just specific to the poor but other disadvantaged groups within society too, for example, sprinklers turning on in parks at night discourage groups of youths from meeting in these public urban spaces at particular times too.

It is also argued that in fact, rather than being configured to control the poor, urban spaces are actually areas whereby people can be free to do what they want and use the public space as and when they wish. It is shown that in fact, urban space is 'playful space – a realm of spontaneity where the restrictions of locale and time have been lifted' (Graham, 2010: 409). This indicates that they are in fact still 'public' and are not configured to control the poor. Rather, in opposition to this, Olmsted argues that 'public landscapes and parks are social safety valves, mixing classes' (Davis, 1992: 156), and this can be linked to when he created Central Park – he designed it so that it could be used as a space for all, not just the rich.

Society is full of different people, from different backgrounds, with different opinions. It is important to remember this because it can influence peoples' opinions on things - what one person may see as an urban landscape design as a configuration to control the poor, may look completely different to someone else. With regards to gated communities for example, 'what looks like an inauthentic 'Disneyland-like' environment to one person, may look like fun to another' (Christopherson, 1994: 412), and what may seem as the rich shutting out the poor to one person, may simply be that they like that type of community to another. In this sense, it can be argued that in fact urban spaces are not configured to control the poor, but instead may be configured in favour of the rich or simply for different aesthetic reasons.

Finally, it is written that, although the urban spaces are designed to control the poor, this in fact does not work. This is because 'it fails to address the root causes' (Carrabine, 2014: 143), and instead just moves the poor along to other areas. To be able to really 'change' and control the poor, the root problem needs to be fixed first and more needs to be done than just configure the urban spaces – not only does the inclusion of the poor into wider society with regards to their 'label' need to be more positively inclined, but also their physical inclusion needs to be increased too.

Even within the urban spaces that have been configured and manipulated with regards to controlling the poor, it can be argued that these are not successful anyway; crime rates within urban areas are still high, and the majority of these are committed by the poor. On the one hand this indicates that perhaps the fearful perception of the poor that wider society holds, is not socially constructed, but is in fact statistically proven to be a legitimate fear. However, on the other hand it can be argued that the poor are being unfairly targeted as the weaker class, with regards to power and money especially, and so are just being used as scapegoats, and their crime rates amplified to make them undesirable citizens to have in certain urban areas.

In conclusion, there are arguments both for and against the proposal that urban spaces are becoming configured to control the poor. Arguments 'for' cover ideas that not only the physical landscape and architecture are changing, but also illustrate the importance of public views and societal norms. The wider changing political and economic factors were also taken into consideration, with specific focus on the commodification and development of consumer society; money over lives. However, arguments against have also been shown. It is argued that although urban areas may be configured in a certain way, this may not be as an agent of control for the poor, but rather for other reasons such as aesthetics. Also, if they are configured as an agent of control, it is argued that these aren't that successful; there are still visibly high crime rates within the poor urban communities. It is finally argued that public spaces are still in fact public and provide a space for everyone to share. There are a wide range of arguments both for and against the idea that the urban space is being configured to control the poor, however it is important to remember that debates surrounding this issue aren't limited to class; race, gender and age are also social groups that could be considered to be controlled through the configuration of urban spaces.

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What are the causes and consequences of mass incarceration in the USA?

Lauren Patterson

Mass imprisonment in the USA is a growing issue, and according to Martin Horn, the US "are on a prison binge" and are "addicted to incarceration" (Kilgore, 2015: 11). This 'addiction' to incarceration can be supported by the imprisonment rates, whereby in 2001 incarceration rates exceeded 2 million for the first time (Garland, 2001). The US prison population rose from 500,000 in 1980 to over 2 million in 2013, and although the USA accounts for only five percent of the world's population, it holds 25% of the world's prisoners (Kilgore, 2015), emphasising the mass imprisonment issue in the US. Additionally, in 2012 black individuals made up forty percent of the prison population in the US, highlighting the mass imprisonment of black individuals in comparison to other groups within the population. In addition to this, prisoners in the US represent the poorest working class individuals, often being unemployed with a very low income (Kilgore, 2015), again showing how certain groups are over-represented in US prisons.

The term 'mass imprisonment' refers to both the number of prisoners exceeding the historical norms, and also "when it ceases to be the incarceration of individual offenders and becomes the systematic imprisonment of whole groups of the population" (Garland, 2001: 2). This essay will look at firstly the causes of mass imprisonment in the USA, including the introduction of harsh determinate sentencing, and the abolition of rehabilitative programmes, in addition to the argument of globalisation being a cause for mass imprisonment. The essay will also look at discrimination of certain groups as a cause of racial disparity in US imprisonment. It will then go on to examine the potential consequences that mass imprisonment can bring to the United States, such as prison riots – looking specifically at the Attica prison riot in New York – and the impact that imprisonment through the harsh US punishment system has on families, in particular the children of prisoners. It will also highlight the consequence of an increase in crime that results from imprisonment in the US. Taking into consideration these causes and consequences, this essay will conclude by giving alternatives to imprisonment as a means of punishment, particularly for minor crimes, in order to reduce levels of imprisonment in the US that could subsequently result in the abolition of mass imprisonment.

One major cause of mass imprisonment in the USA could be argued to be the introduction of the determinate sentencing in the 1970's (Mauer, 2001). This change in criminal justice meant that criminals are sentenced for a specified amount of time and are not given the possibility of parole (Jacobson, 2005). This structured sentencing system lacks consideration for individual criminal cases and looks more generally at the crimes committed, thus sentencing individuals according to the general crime as opposed to the individual case (Mauer, 2001). With the introduction of determinate sentences also came harsh sentences for minor crimes. For instance, in response to the growing drug use in the US, the Rockefeller Drug Laws imposed determinate sentences of 5 years for possession of minute amounts of cocaine (Mauer, 2001), and mandatory minimum sentences of fifteen years for selling two ounces or more of heroin, cocaine or cannabis (Kilgore, 2015). This introduction of harsher punishment, particularly through the use of mandatory minimum sentences could be argued to be a causal factor of the mass imprisonment problem in the US. This is because, the introduction of these mandatory minimums limited the power of

judges to consider mitigating circumstances that could reduce sentences or avoid imprisonment (Kilgore, 2015). Additionally, the 'truth in sentencing' laws that were implemented are a further cause of mass imprisonment. This law indicates that an individual must serve 85 percent of their sentence before they can be released, whereas before this law was implemented, individuals only had to serve 30 percent (Kilgore, 2015). In addition, truth in sentencing does not allow for good behaviour to reduce a sentence, as was the case before this law (Kilgore, 2015). Therefore, the introduction of this law results in longer sentences for crimes, consequently resulting in an increase in the prison population, as more prisoners are incarcerated for longer periods of time. Furthermore, the 'three strikes' policy was incorporated into US law for over half of the states in America. This policy outlines that an individual is sentenced to life in prison if they commit three crimes, and in many states this is the case no matter the severity of the third crime (Jacobson, 2005). This change in policy to a more punitive way of punishing crime could be argued to be greatly responsible for mass imprisonment. This is because it takes a harsher approach to dealing with crime, thus a greater proportion of the population are imprisoned for longer periods of time. Support for this comes from the fact that in five states of America, 1 in 6 prisoners were serving life sentences, showing how such as high proportion of US prisoners are imprisoned for long periods of time. These harsh punishment measures are also employed for minor crimes that could be punished through alternative means as opposed to imprisonment, in order to reduce the high levels of mass imprisonment.
As a result of the harsher system of punishment in the US, rehabilitation has been abandoned which has played a key role in the mass recidivism that has resulted from mass imprisonment (Kilgore, 2015). This abolition of rehabilitation both during sentencing and post-release could be the cause of the increase in crime, that will be discussed further in this essay, and thus could be a further cause of mass imprisonment. This is because the lack of rehabilitation resulting from harsher punishment has led to an increase in crime that subsequently results in increasing amounts of prisoners, that has resulted in mass imprisonment.

A further cause of mass imprisonment according to Ruth Wilson Gilmore, is globalisation and the economy (Kilgore, 2015). The 1970's in the US was a period of economic crisis, resulting in falling profit for many companies, forcing companies to move their production overseas in an attempt to increase corporate profits, causing high levels of unemployment as a result. This economic crisis also led to the US government cutting back on spending through the abandoning of social welfare (Kilgore, 2015), and the combination of unemployment and a lack of welfare left criminal activity the only option to gain an income (Kilgore, 2015). This could be argued to have led to the increase in imprisonment and subsequently mass imprisonment occurred (Kilgore, 2015). The economic cause of mass imprisonment could also explain the disproportionality of black individuals in prison in the US, as research has found that black individuals have fewer economic opportunities in society, and these limited opportunities lead them to criminality as a consequence (Pettit and Western, 2004).

Although the mass imprisonment of black individuals can be explained by economic factors, it could also be argued that this disproportionate imprisonment of this group as well as other minority groups is a result of discriminative and punitive policing and sentencing of these individuals in the US as opposed to other groups (Pettit and Western, 2004), suggesting that racial discrimination is a cause of mass imprisonment of certain groups. Support for this comes from a study conducted by Kansal who reviewed many studies on racial disparity between 1980 and 2000. It was found that young black and Latino males were subject to harsher sentences compared to other offending groups, and

Black and Latino males were also more likely to receive longer sentences than white offenders when they gave a 'not guilty' plea (Kilgore, 2015). Further research has also found that throughout the states in America, African American prisoners make up 65 percent of all of the prisoners serving life sentences with no opportunity for parole for non-violent crimes (Kilgore, 2015). This highlights the mass imprisonment crisis of certain groups, particularly black individuals in the US, showing that these individuals are systematically mass imprisoned. This mass imprisonment of specific groups is likely to be caused by racial discrimination of members of the criminal justice system, as Kansal's research emphasises, therefore posing a further cause of the US mass imprisonment crisis. However, a critique of this argument comes from Langan who studied victimisation surveys of victims who report the race of the offender. It was found that the disproportionate involvement of black individuals in criminal offences can provide an explanation for the racial disparity in mass imprisonment in the US, thus providing an argument that racial discrimination is not in fact a cause of mass imprisonment of certain races (Langan, 1985, as cited in Pettit and Western, 2004).

Punitive sentences in the US aim to reduce levels of crime, however the mass imprisonment that has resulted, in fact increases crime rates, posing an additional consequence to mass imprisonment in the US (Clear, 2007). The punitive treatment of convicted individuals, particularly young black men from disadvantaged backgrounds in the US causes isolation that drives the individuals back into crime (Clear, 2007). It could be argued that this is a result of what Becker refers to as labelling, whereby criminal individuals get labelled as 'criminal' and 'deviant', resulting in isolation from society and it's norms and consequently leading to a return to criminality (Walklate, 2007). This is particularly the case for young black males in America, whereby they are often stigmatised as being 'trouble' by a vast majority of society, and therefore find it difficult to gain things such as income through legal means, being forced into criminality as a result (Clear, 2007). This is linked to the 'prisoner re-entry' problem, whereby those who have been previously incarcerated are subjected to barriers that restrict them to employment, welfare, mental health and drug programmes, and also often return to society with nowhere to live (Jacobson, 2005). These barriers for prisoners attempting to re-enter into society therefore lead to recidivism due to a lack of opportunities that would allow them to reintegrate into society without committing crime. It could also be argued that a reduction in informal social controls occurs as a result of the high rates of incarceration of individuals from disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Clear, 2007). This is the case as it is difficult to embed non-criminal characteristics into a child from a disadvantaged background when they are surrounded by criminality. Therefore this lack of informal social control gives rise to further criminality in these poverty-stricken communities, as informal controls have a greater impact on crime than formal controls (Clear et al, 2003, as cited in Clear, 2007).

It could be argued that prison riots are one consequence of mass imprisonment and the Attica prison riot in New York in 1971 is support of this argument. An increasing amount of black and Puerto Rican prisoners changed the predominantly 'all-white' prison population of Attica prison, leading to racist behaviour from the white prison guards towards these prisoners (Purpura, 1997). In addition to the racist behaviour of the prison guards that was evident within this prison, the conditions for all prisoners were poor, whereby they were given limited amounts of exercise, unappetising food and poor medical attention (Purpura, 1997). This led to rioting and as a result, thirty-two prisoners and eleven prison guards who had been held hostage were killed, in addition to hundreds of individuals injured (Purpura, 1997). A reduced prison population could have avoided this riot, as the poor conditions may not have been present if there were fewer prisoners, thus suggesting that

riots are a consequence of mass imprisonment (Mauer, 2001). According to the deprivation theory, it is these poor conditions, in conjunction with overcrowding and racism within prisons that cause prison riots (Boin and Rattray, 2004).

Mass imprisonment particularly affects young families of lower class, minority backgrounds, as it is these social groups that are most likely to be imprisoned in the US (Western, Lopoo and McLanahan, 2004). This imprisonment of individuals within this group can begin to explain the growing number of single-parent families in lower class, disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Western et al, 2004). Thus, a further consequence of mass imprisonment in the US is the impact on the children of these prisoners, whereby according to Mumola the majority of prisoners in the US are parents (2000, in Foster and Hagan, 2009). Braithwaite's theory of stigmatisation can be used to support this argument, by which he states that imprisonment results in social exclusion, and this stigma can turn prisoners into 'outlaws'. However, he also claims that this stigma can also have the same negative effect on the children of these prisoners (Foster and Hagan, 2009). It is this stigmatisation of the children of prisoners that is the core concern, as this stigma results in sequences of intergenerational criminalisation, consequently resulting in the children growing up at a disadvantage in the criminal justice system (Foster and Hagan, 2009). Further, according to Agnew's general strain theory:

> ....the absence of an incarcerated parent may involve not only the loss of income and education-related opportunities that the imprisoned parent may have provided, but also the reduction in the input this parent makes to family life more generally. (Braman, 2002; as cited in Foster and Hagan, 2009).

This suggests that the mass imprisonment in the US – in which individuals are being incarcerated through a harsh criminal justice system – is resulting in a subsequent reduction in opportunities for the children of incarcerated individuals, caused by the social stigmatisation and social exclusion of these children (Foster and Hagan, 2009). Additionally, this mass imprisonment also impacts the familial bonds between the parent and child and also the parent and their relationship with other family members, particularly their spouse (Western et al, 2004). Support comes from research conducted by Edin et al, who studied family relationships of men with records of imprisonment in Philadelphia and Charleston. It was found that incarceration harms parental relationships if the father has strong familial ties, and almost all of the relationships between the father and mother of the child diminished throughout the father's prison sentence (Western et al, 2004).

Further research supports the argument that mass imprisonment effects father-child relationships, whereby it was found that the majority of mothers separated from the father once they had been incarcerated. It is argued that it is the relationship between the mother and father that makes father-child communications easy, so this destroyed relationship poses problems for the father when attempting to communicate with his child (Edin, Nelson and Paranal, 2004). Some of these fathers also claimed that the mothers used his incarceration as an excuse to refuse access to the child, some of which stated that upon release, the mother and his child had disappeared (Edin et al, 2004). However, even when the father-child communication still remains, the incarceration in itself results in parental bonds being broken, due to the mere absence of the father at key stages in the child's lifetime (Edin et al, 2004). Taking into consideration all of the research on family bonds, it strongly suggests that mass imprisonment in the US has a negative effect on family relationships, both with the child and with the spouse of the incarcerated individual, and

highlights how alternative or less severe punishments should be considered for individuals, particularly those with parental responsibilities.

To conclude, there are many causes of mass imprisonment such as the implementation of harsher punishments, globalisation and the unfair treatment of specific racial groups, particularly black individuals. However the argument for mass imprisonment of black individuals has been critiqued by Langan, suggesting that in fact, it may not be that black individuals make up 65 percent of the US prison population as a result of discrimination, but instead it may be that these individuals do commit a greater amount of crime than other racial groups (Langan, 1985, as cited in Pettit and Western, 2004). The mass imprisonment in the US has resulted in many negative consequences, and very few positive consequences, thus it could be argued that imprisonment is not the best way to deal with many crimes, and other means of punishment should be used, in an attempt to stop the mass imprisonment in the US. Furthermore, the punitive treatment and sentencing that is apparent in the US, particularly for such minor crimes, such as the possession of small amounts of drugs, should be revised, as imprisoning individuals for such minor crimes increases levels of imprisonment that are already extremely high in the US. It has been argued that instead of focussing on imprisoning individuals, there should be a larger focus on prevention in order to reduce the high incarceration rates and increase social justice (Jacobson, 2005). In addition, a larger focus on rehabilitation - which has been abandoned in the US prison system as a result of harsher laws (Kilgore, 2015) – could potentially result in reduced levels of recidivism among offenders upon release, subsequently resulting in a possible decline in crime rates in the US. In the long-term this decline in crime will reduce prison populations and could abolish the mass imprisonment crisis that affects the US so drastically.

Return to CONTENTS

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Religion, Migration and Integration

Joanna Robinson

It is only through emotional processes that people, especially migrants, are able to exist and relate to the world around them, feel and position themselves according to others and discover their identities. Therefore, the experience of migration- the loneliness, the heartache and the alienation- creates a psychological need for consolation, often found by migrants in their religion. Although religion provides a comfort to newly migrant individuals in their host society, many individuals found that religion was a barrier to integration within their host society. This essay will evaluate different studies of migrant Christian and non-Christian groups in Western societies and the findings that support this conclusion.

Firstly, individuals from different Christian denominations have often found it difficult to integrate in Western countries. Hammerli looked at the factors that impacted on the transition of Eastern Europeans from Orthodox churches into Swiss society. Based on semi-directed interviews and intense observations, he found that although Orthodox Serbian Christians could apply elements of their Orthodox traditions to aid their integration into the Swiss culture, their community was still invisible to the host society (Hammerli, 2014: 115-130). Furthermore, a study done by Gampiot of an African Christian denomination, Kimbanguism, found that individual integration was highly ambiguous. These Africans faced many ethnic and racial barriers, along with social and economic barriers. Positive integration depends significantly on the help offered by Protestant or Roman Catholic churches. This is because they are more familiar with Kimbanguism and offer a warm welcome and free access to worship in their churches. Overall, the religious indifference between Kimbanguism and the host societies provides a unique balance between religious morality and the balance of their social environment (Gampiot, 2008: 308-312).

Another study found that Polish migrants were perceived in local communities as "unwanted Catholics". Savesk found that Poles fared better in Catholic neighbourhoods in Northern Ireland as they shared the same faith and were seen as increasing the number of Catholics in the neighbourhood. However, in deprived Catholic majority areas, the Poles were accused of taking jobs. Regardless, religion has the potential to create good relationships between migrants and the people of host countries as it provides them with the means of meeting Irish people in an environment that promotes compassion and peaceful interaction (Savesk, 2009: 129-149). Similarly, Hoekema saw that Roman Catholic migrants attempting to integrate in the Netherlands found it nearly impossible due to the cultural, social and linguistic differences. As a result, many Catholic African migrants had joined a Pentecostal or African Independent church whilst others had become alienated from church altogether (Hoekema, 2012: 314-318).

Secondly, several studies of migrants from non-Christian backgrounds in Indian and Muslim countries will be considered. When looking at Hinduism in Belgium, it was found through participant observation that Hindu migrant communities bonded together to create a niche for their religious and cultural heritage. A trend was seen among newly arrived Hindu migrants to withdraw into their own faith groups and forge social relationships. However, they slowly built connections at the local level through open festivals and gatherings. Although the Belgium Constitution of 1831 grants freedom of

religion, worship and public practice, many capitalist-migrants from India restrict their faith to the private domestic sphere. This occurs because many migrants think that the term "religion" is linked to 'social division, conversion and violence and inciting feelings of discomfort and resistance' (Roos, 2014, 77-92). Likewise, Switzerland has an extremely large number of Tamil migrants from Sri Lanka. These Tamil communities have attempted, on numerous occasions, to represent their religion in the Swiss public sphere, but tensions rose when this occurred. This was due to previous conflict between Christian religions and non-Christian religions, and their visibility in the Swiss public sphere. Despite this, Tamil temples and cultural performances are increasingly involved with the growing religious plurality in Switzerland (Eulberg, 2014:111-130). Finally, Madsen and Heilsen discovered that simplified forms of Hinduvta could provide Hindu migrants with an identity in their new host society, along with calming any worries about the impact of a western culture on their children. Hinduvta communities grew in Denmark because they were isolated from Danish authorities and society; however, since 9/11 many religious migrants have been forced to display their loyalty to their host country and have experienced discrimination. (Heilsen, 2014: 155-168).

Consequently, individuals who migrate find it hard to follow religious traditions in a new country, and often discover that spirituality takes second place to mundane tasks. Voas found that there was a decrease in religious participation among migrants moving to Western societies. Specifically in Europe, Islam was seen as a barrier to integration. He found a clear adjustment to cultural norms and a change in the degree of religiosity as well as a change in expression (Voas, 2012: 25-45). Moreover, Guveli recognised that Muslim Turks were less religious than their counterparts as they adapted to the lifestyle of their host country. Guveli also found that fluency in the language of the host country was negatively associated with religiosity. Thus, Turks who become fluent in the host country's language are less religious than those who cannot understand the national language. Overall, Islam continues to be important to migrant Turks; yet, when comparing the religiosity of their original society, Guveli concluded that individual religiosity decreases significantly in the European secular setting (Guveli, 2014). Additionally, Leonard observed that there was little significant interaction between African American Muslims and Muslim migrants. He found that African American Muslims, liked to stress their status as "American citizens", along with the universal principles of Islamic law. After the incident of 9/11, African American citizens formed coalitions, attempting to defend Islam in America and define the Muslim community in certain ways. This attempt has widened the split between migrants and indigenous Muslims, thus confirming the barrier that Islam creates against integrating with white Americans and African-American Muslims (Leonard, 2007: 50-59). After the events of 9/11 many people assumed that Muslims were a threat to Christian-heritage societies. Adida, Valfort and Laitin conducted a survey and discovered that Muslims were widely perceived as a menace in host populations. 43% of respondents from France claim that the Muslim community was a "menace to the identity of France". During an interview, a respondent stated:

> When you hear about terrorism, more often than not it is Muslims that have carried it out. I just feel they're all out to do that, they're all the same (Adida, Valfort and Laitin, 2016: 5).

Adida, Valfort and Laitin also found that Muslim migrants are treated less favourably than natives, especially in regard to the job market. Thus, despite having similar résumés in regards to covering education, work experience and availability, native applicants were

more likely than Muslims to get an interview with corporate companies (Adida, Valfort and Laitin , 2016).

Two separate studies conducted in Germany also showed that Islam has a negative impact on the integration of migrants in host societies. However, when looking at Germany, it is important to remember that Germany experienced long periods of religious conflict, eventually ending in the institutionalisation of Catholicism and Lutheranism. As a result, the Christian religions are institutionalised and constituted through the customs and habits of German culture. Alba found that Muslims could not help but be aware of their "secondary status". Furthermore, the established religions receive financial support through the tax system, and these religions are already incorporated into the educational curriculum. A survey was done in 1996 that showed that 60% of West Germans, and 88% of East Germans, were against incorporating Islam into the educational curriculum (Alba,2005: 20-49). Bommes subsequently found that Muslim migrants felt confronted by German welfare infrastructures, which were deeply rooted in Christian traditions. Despite their best efforts, they still struggle to gain the same rights as other religious migrant communities. Likewise, Bomme found that parents of non-migrant children were sending their children to private Christian schools in order to avoid the religious migrant children. Based on these findings, it would appear that non-migrant individuals avoided interaction with migrants whenever possible.

On the other hand, Islam has proved to be a positive influence in Finland. Tater Muslims first arrived in Finland in the 1870's, and since then have built communities that define themselves as a minority, where Islam is an essential aspect of this identity. The high religiosity of these people is supported by stable religious institutions. Nevertheless, when the non-Tatar population of Muslims increased, the Tatar Muslims became concerned about their children's socialisation. Thus, although they allowed other Muslims to participate in their religious activity, they were exclusive in regard to membership of their community. However, the number of Muslims rose with increasing migration that led to inter-religious marriage (Markikainen, 2013). Therefore, it can be assumed that the integration of religious migrants in Finland was positive.

Finally, Alba and Foner concluded that in America, religion among newcomers is seen as a positive characteristic. They believe that religion promotes incorporation of newcomers into society and thus provides the bridge to participation in mainstream society. Alba and Foner conceived the idea of the 3 R's: refuge, respectability and resources. Firstly, refuge refers to the sense of belonging and participation in the face of loss and the strain of adjustment. Secondly, religion provides a sense of respectability for newcomers, and finally it provides resources for the migrants on information regarding jobs, housing, and other social opportunities. Thus, joining churches provides the migrants with a non-judgemental chance to adapt to the new culture before building connections with the wider American community (Alba and Foner, 2008: 360-392).

Overall, based on these studies, religiosity has been shown to hinder the integration of migrants in Western societies. Many find that their spirituality becomes secondary as the hardships of everyday life takes centre stage. Although there were a few exceptions to this hypothesis, as shown by studies of some migrants in America and Finland, it can be concluded that if migrants are religious, then they are less likely to integrate with the host society.

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Assessing Issues in Social Psychology: Self and Interaction

Tasmin Robinson

What is the role of authorities in facilitating (or preventing) evil doing? Discuss using research on social influence.

Social influence, specifically, research done into obedience, shows that authorities play an important role in facilitating evil doing. Milgram's study displayed the extent to which people would obey an authority. When an authority was asking the participants to commit an evil act, namely, to shock a fellow participant at high voltages, some potentially fatal voltages, participants followed orders (Milgram S. , 1963 : 373). For the study, the participant would be the teacher and a confederate, believed to be a fellow participant, was the learner (Milgram S. , 1963 : 373) In later versions of the study, Milgram found that the need to obey the authority was so potent that shocks where still delivered to the confederate even when they were in the same room as the participants (Martin, 2013, p. 627), . Just under forty percent of the participants kept following orders and delivered the high voltage shocks with the view of the other person in pain (Martin, 2013, : 627) . Furthermore, some participants even held down the learners hand to make sure the shock was delivered at the order of the authority, the experimenter (Martin, 2013 : 627) . Milgram argued that this showed how far the role of authorities facilitate evil doing, as the participants in this study were everyday civilians and would shock a man potentially to death because of the need to follow orders (Milgram, 1963 : 378).

This study can be argued to be high in ecological validity because it can explain real life events such as Nazi Germany (Milgram S. , 1963, : 371). For example, Nazi officers and members of the Nazi community were relatively normal, everyday civilians. But because of the power of authority they allowed and carried out horrific acts in the very name of authority. A further example that can add strength to the explanatory power of Milgram's research is the mass suicide/murder of the people of Jonestown (Moore, 2015). Leader of Jonestown, Jim Jones convinced all members to commit mass suicide, although now some regard it as murder, for the sake of revolution (Moore, 2015). This demonstrates the extremes that individuals will go to when under authority, as over nine hundred individuals took their own lives on the command of their authority. Thus, Milgram's study can be argued to be high in ecological validity because it can explain the power of authority in mass homicides such as Nazi Germany and Jonestown.

However, one could argue that what led to the facilitation of evil crimes was not the role of authorities, but the importance of context. For example, with Milgram's study, the study was conducted in a prestigious university where participants would have felt safe and protected from any criminal consequences (Milgram S. , 1963 : 372). Thus, they may have acted how they did because of freedom from responsibility due to their situation. The same reasoning can be applied to Nazi Germany and Jonestown. What led to members committing and allowing evil acts may have been down to their beliefs, for example the anti-Semitism at the time and religious convictions (Museum, 2016). Thus, the role of context in facilitating evil may be just as important as the role of authorities, causing doubt to Milgram's conclusions.

People were assumed to be (perfectly) rational thinkers. How did the work of Kahneman and Tversky on heuristics change this perception? (Explain using examples).

Kahneman and Tversky defined three key heuristics: availability, representativeness and adjustment from an anchor (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974 : 1124, 1127, 1128). For the purposes of this essay, I will be explaining and evaluating the first two heuristics. Briefly, heuristics are mental shortcuts which are based off biases, stereotypes and quick information available to the individual at that time (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974 :1124). The representativeness heuristic usually occurs when an individual is asked to judge whether one thing belongs to a category or another (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974 : 1124-25). This heuristic was measured with methods such as this: Gabby is a feminist who enjoys going to art shows, fighting for equal rights and debating welfare (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974 :1124). Researchers then asked questions such as 'do you think Gabby is a politician or a bus driver?', the majority of participants would tend to answer that Gabby is a politician because of her roots in debating, more high class culture hobbies and being outspoken. However, the more rational choice would be that Gabby is a bus driver because bus drivers are more common than politicians. Kahneman and Tversky showed that people were not always rational thinkers in relation to the representativeness heuristic because they based their opinions and judgements of people on stereotypes and biases, such as what kind of person is a politician or bus driver, not on more rational, statistical reasons. Following with the availability heuristic, Kahneman and Tversky showed that people are not always rational thinkers because they judge the probability of events happening based on the information available to only them (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974 : 1131). For example, if one has just read an article on lung cancer and then later on that day the same individual develops a cough, the individual is more likely to assume that the cough is related to lung cancer rather than any rational factors such as infection, a cold or a consequence of the cold weather (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974 :1127). Thus, the individuals judgement is bias due to recent available information learned (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974: 1127).

However, heuristics are often criticised because they go against the rationality of agents. This is because some social psychologists such as Ortmann and Hertwig question how human beings would be able to progress if their choices were irrational and bias (Gilovich, et al 2002: 8). The advancements in science, psychology and mathematics would not be possible if Kahneman's and Tversky's theory of heuristics is correct, as otherwise decision makers would be nothing more than "systematically flawed bubblers" (Gilovich, et al 2002: 8). Thus, it can be argued that Kahneman and Tversky have not shown that humans are not always rational thinkers because if this was the case then one's judgements would be based off science not irrational biases.

What happens to human judgment and behaviour in the presence of crowds?

In the presence of crowds, human behaviour and judgements change, the role of effort in behaviour can decrease or increase and the loss of the individual mind can occur. Firstly, in this essay I will address the mental processes that change a person's judgement when they are in a crowd, namely the loss of individualization (Le Bon, 2003: 41). This process is known as the 'group mind' and signifies a loss of self-awareness and restraint that an individual would not experience normally. When in a crowd, the groups needs take priority over the individual's needs, even the need for the self-preservation ((Le Bon, 2003: 41). This theory can explain events such as the London riots in 2011 (Joyce & Wallis, 2012).

Members of the riot were extremely violent towards police and the streets of London, and in some cases could have seriously damaged them, however they carried on looting and alike with the rest of the group (Joyce & Wallis, 2012). Thus, strengthening the theory. Secondly, the presence of crowds has been found to lead to a decrease in performance ability. This is defined as 'social loafing'. Research into this phenomenon was conducted by Ringlemann using the game, 'tug of war' (Shepperd, 1993). Ringlemann found that when alone the participant pulled substantially harder than when they were in a group with two other people (Shepperd, 1993 : 67). This conclusion was then supported by Ingham's reconstruction of this experiment. Here it was found that when blindfolded the participants pulled less when they believed they were not alone, thus supporting the theory (Ingham, 1974 : 371, 380). Kerr and Brunn re-examined this study found that the bigger the group the more likely the participant will try to be anonymous is supported. However, they found that Ringlemann can be doubted in cases where social loafing occurs because the individual performs in different groups of different sizes (Kerr & Brunn, 1981 : 224). However, it is doubtable whether this theory can explain all cases of human behaviour in the presence of crowds. For example, this theory cannot explain behaviour in sports, as in relay races, members of the team do not put less effort in due to the presence of others. Thus, the theory lacks explanatory power in cases such as sports.

The other way that crowds affect the judgement and behaviour of the individual is by enhancing performance, this is has been coined as social facilitation. Research has supported this theory as Triplett found that cyclists' performance was enhanced when they were racing against other cyclists (Triplett, 1897). Thus, this theory has ecological validity because it can behaviour in sports such as why individuals always try to get their personal best even when they are working in a team.

In a study using cockroaches, supporting both of these theories, it was found that in difficult tasks in the presence of a crowd, social loafing was more likely to occur due to the pressure felt by the on-lookers (Zajonc, 1965 : 271). Furthermore, in cases of simpler and more familiar tasks, social facilitation among the female cockroaches was more likely to occur (Zajonc, 1965 : 271). Thus, this research supports the two and is of extreme importance because it can help explain different scenarios of why social loafing or facilitation occurs.

Many people believe that after decades of racism we now live in a post-racial world, where racism is no longer a problem. Comment on this proposition using psychological research.

For the purposes of this essay it is important to distinguish between implicit and explicit racism. Explicit racism is racist beliefs that one is consciously aware of holding whereas implicit racism is discriminative thoughts and beliefs that one holds at a subconscious level (Ram, 2016).

In a longitudinal study, it was argued that explicit racism has been declining in recent years. For example, the stereotype that black people were superstitious was popular in 1933 as 84% of those asked in the study actively endorsed this stereotype, however, in 2000, only 2% of those asked believed the stereotype that black people were superstitious (Dovidio, 2007). It was found that this was a trend in his research as similarly, the stereotype that black people are lazy declined from 75% to 2% from 1933 to 2000 (Dovidio, 2007). This seems to indicate that explicit racism is not that much of a problem anymore. However, research by Ditonto et al seems to contradict this conclusion. This

study measured how the impact of having a black president had influenced explicit and implicit racism (Ditonto, 2013 : 487). They found that explicit racism was still a real problem as the prejudices it enabled effected how white, black and Hispanic Americans felt about racial policies and how they voted (Ditonto, 2013 : 487). Thus, contradicting the previous found conclusion.

Numerous studies, however, have found that implicit racism is more common than explicit racism. For example, a study by Correll found that participants had the underlying stereotype that black people were violent and more likely to indulge in criminal behaviour than white people, even when the participants had little signs of explicit racism on a questionnaire (Correll, 2007 : 1114). A study by Clark and Clark, where black children were asked whether the white or black doll was prettier and which one they wanted to be more, supported this conclusion (CNN, 2010). The majority of the children said that they wanted to be the white doll. Thus displaying that implicit racism is so embedded in culture that even those subjects of discriminative concepts believe these concepts themselves.
Thus, one can conclude that research has shown that both explicit and implicit racism have been found to exist in society.

What are the barriers that women face when they try to ascent up the organizational ladder?

Women are more likely to experience sexism when trying to ascend up the organizational ladder. For example, a study by Moss-Racusin found that when they sent PHD applications to universities where the only difference between the applications was gender, the universities offered more PHD placements to males rather than their female counterparts (Moss-Racusin, 2012 : 16474). Thus, women face the barrier of less chance of receiving an education than males as males were viewed as more 'competent' than females by both male and female professors. This is supported by the theory "the Male Gaze" by Laura Mulvey (Mulvey, 1999). This theory proposes that the media projects the perspective of a dominant male and this is how we view the world of the media which de-sensitises us to the stereotype of women: submissive, less competent, a sexual object and docile (Mulvey, 1999 : 808-809). Furthermore, portrayal of women who subvert this stereotype is negative, especially those women who chose to pursue careers and are high up in the organisational ladder. For example in the TV Show Ugly Betty, the female boss is hated and despised by her colleagues and seen as out of control and hormonal (Gaitán, 2006-2010). Women face this barrier as the media just enhances the stereotype and this is what men expect women to be. Thus it becomes difficult for them to ascend up the organizational ladder because of the prominence of this stereotype due to the media and the 'gaze'.
In the UK, it has been found that 44% of women believe that their gender has hindered their career and thirty thousand women have lost their jobs due to being pregnant and maternity issues (Bates, 2014). Thus, one of the barriers women face is that their home life and their job are mutually exclusive, as they are not viewed as being competent in both areas by their bosses. Therefore, a barrier that women face is their biology. This conclusion is strengthened by the conclusions Heilman comes to in her essay, as she attributes that the reason why women find it difficult to ascend the organizational ladder to two concepts of stereotypes, descriptive and prescriptive (Heilman, 2001: 670). The descriptive stereotype articulates the contrast between the traditional female stereotype, docile and incompetent at complex tasks, and the male managerial stereotype, a masculine role requiring concentration and high intelligence ((Heilman, 2001: 660) . However, because these two stereotypes conflict, women cannot ascend the organizational ladder because they will not 'fit' a managerial role. With the prescription stereotype, this hinders female advancement

in the workplace because even if a woman fits the male stereotype of a managerial role, this causes conflict because this is not what a women is meant to be like, she cannot by virtue of her stereotype, have male attributes (Heilman, 2001: 661) . Thus, a wide range of research has strongly indicated that the reasons why women find it difficult to advance on the organizational ladder is because of female stereotypes, coined by males.

What is a stereotype threat? How does it affect the performance of stereotyped group members?

Steele defined stereotype threat as a psychological phenomenon that causes underachievement in individuals because of the fear of conforming or proving that stereotype correct (Steele, 1997 : 621). For example, stereotype threat is common in African American pupils. Steele and Aronson found that such pupils performed weakly in their exams out of fear of conforming to the stereotype that black people are stupid (Steele & Aronson, 1995 : 800). Thus, the way it affects the performance of stereotyped group members is paradoxical.

Further evidence that the stereotype threat is a real problem for discriminated groups under pressure comes from a study conducted by Spencer, Steele and Quinn et al. They found that when women were taking a math test, in a condition where there was no mention of the stereotype of their gender, the women performed well on the test (Spencer et al, 1998 : 10, 13). However, when researchers told the participants that the maths test was measuring gender differences, the women performed worse out of fear of confirming the stereotype that women are not analytically and mathematically minded (Spencer et al, 1998: 10, 13). However, a recent study found that studies on stereotype threat by Steele can be criticised because of publication bias. In a study measuring the mathematic and scientific ability of adolescent girls, in four conditions: the presence of boys, different variations of test difficulty, girls of different cultures of equal ability and groups similar to Steele's original study (Flore & Wicherts, 2015 : 25). All four conditions aimed to bring out the stereotype threat in the girls. However, it was found that none of these four conditions dramatically effected the girl's scores on the tests (Flore & Wicherts, 2015 : 25). This suggests that the findings published by Steele et al on females relation to stereotype threat was biased to conform to his conclusions. Subsequent research has not shown consistent findings, thus causing doubt to Steele's conclusions on stereotype threats entirely.

Dan and Sally work in a company, where Sally is Dan's boss. How do you expect their different power position to affect their attitudes, feelings and behaviour?

Fiske's research would suggest that Dan would be more interested in Sally's life and decisions because he is dependent on her, financially for example. One might argue this because Fiske's research argues that the powerless are always more interested in the powerful and as a consequence Dan, the powerless, would feel that he needs to carefully and precisely process information about his superior, Sally (Fiske & Berdahl, 2007 : 685 - 686). Furthermore, if Sally subverts the stereotype then Dan is more likely to take an interest in her (Fiske & Berdahl, 2007 : 685 - 686). Bem's 'Stereotype Content Model' can also explain Dan's attitudes, feelings and behaviour concerning Sally. In this model, housewives are viewed with sympathy and pity while feminists, those with high status, and rich individuals are viewed with envy and jealousy (Fiske S. T., 2002 : 881). If one applies this model to the case of Sally and Dan, one can suggest that Dan views Sally with contempt and is envious of her high status in relation to his low status.

However, these conclusions about the relationship between Dan and Sally can be doubted because the research collected by Fiske et al and research fuelling the Stereotype Content Model is reliant on self-report methods. The implication of this is that the results are likely to be bias to the individual they come from, for example a participant might have guessed the aim of Fiske's study and conformed their behaviour to Fiske's thesis or altered their beliefs to be more desirable. Therefore, the results are potentially unreliable as the information collected may not be consistent with the reality of the participant's condition. One therefore cannot make general, universal claims using Fiske' and post research to make specific claims about Dan and Sally, thus demonstrating a weakness of the account above.

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Assessing Issues in Social Psychology: Self and Interaction

Molly Scott

1. **What is the role of authorities in facilitating (or preventing) evil doing? Discuss using research on social influence.**

The term authority can apply to a number of different people or organisations in a variety of different social contexts, it is the person or organisation that have the power and control over others. An evil doing is the act of transgressing, therefore can simply be the violation to a moral principle or the violation of a law. Authorities influence human behaviour through conformity, compliance and obedience; they push their opinions and attitudes onto others (Martin and Hewstone, 2003). Authorities play a role in facilitating or preventing evil doing by exposing the subordinates to powerful social influences, such as informational and normative social influence.

Informational social influence is the power the authorities have, their influences causes others to conform and obey because humans see each other as sources of information, as well as it being within human nature to want to be right. Humans will change their attitudes and behaviour to keep mental stress and discomfort to a minimum, also known as cognitive dissonance (Martin, Carlson and Buskist, 2013). The social pressure by authority makes one feel they are wrong and need to change their perceptions and attitudes, thus conforming society to authorities ways of thinking, whether they facilitating evil doing or preventing evil doing.

Normative Social influence is authorities creating explicit and implicit rules and norms to maintain order and control (Atkinson and Hilgard, 2003), which others conform to be liked and approved of. Authority can prevent evil doing in this sense by condemning evil doing behaviour as deviance, attaching a negative label to one, which is recognisable to society. One key experiment to show an authority figure facilitating evil doing is Milgram (1977). Milgram demonstrated a person's obedience to authority as sixty two per cent of participants delivered the maximum shock, knowing it was lethal. The participants were in the physical presence of authority therefore subjected to immense social pressure to comply (Martin et al, 2013). The participants did not want to deviate from the behaviour they were being asked to do.

Authorities also have the ability to facilitate evil doing through minority influence, shown by the holocaust. An authoritative minority group influenced the behaviour of the majority, not just the victims of the holocaust but also the guards, through powerful social pressure to conform and obey to their own beliefs and attitudes (Aronson, Wilson & Akert, 1994). The inappropriate behaviour by the guards was an example of the power authority had over facilitating and provoking evil doing. Over time behaviour was mimicked throughout the guards, and even though they may not have agreed, in order to stay safe themselves the information provided by authority figures influenced their behaviour.

2. People were assumed to be (perfectly) rational thinkers. How did the work of Kahneman and Tversky on heuristics change this perception? (Explain using examples).

Initially attitudes of people were assumed to be rational. The term rational is defined as thinking or behaving reasonably or logically (Colman, 2009), and can be most common within economics where the maximisation of profit is key. However heuristics, which are mental shortcuts, learnt in order to cut the time it takes to make a cognitive decision (Tversky and Kaneman, 1973), has changed the perception that people are simply rational thinkers. An individual needs to be able to think rationally and initially without the use of their emotion as it can affect ones attitudes, and everyone has attitudes, which shape behaviour as well as act as a reflection of our behaviour.

Heuristics are used within everyday life by everyone and can happen beneath ones awareness. According to Fiske and Taylor (1984) people are 'cognitive misers'. People are always relying on and using time efficient strategies to evaluate information quickly, and this is where heuristics are used. Tversky and Kahneman (1973) changed the perception of rational thinking by suggesting our judgement and decision-making is affected by heuristics leading to irrational thinking and a satisfactory answer, which is not always the correct answer (Comer, Gould and Furnham, 2013). In order to quickly and cognitively reach conclusions 'cognitive misers' tend to stick to their beliefs instead of trying to process new information, impacting ones thinking leading to potential stereotypes and biases. Cognitive misers increase the chance for inconsistency between our behaviour and attitudes, also shown within heuristics.

Kahneman and Tversky explore many heuristics, one called the availability heuristic (Kahneman and Tversky, 1973). This can also be known as a judgmental heuristic, they devised an experiment asking questions with two answers and asking which answer is more likely. The person will then evaluate the information, by availability, quickly; the use of shortcuts often leads to biases or stereotypes in the answer (Rothbart et al, 1978). For example, when asked if there are more words with the letter R (Aronson, Wilson and Akert, 1994) at the start or as the third letter, many will say at the start as they can think, or have available, more at the time. Another heuristic is the representativeness heuristic. This again relates to stereotypes and also existing schemas to cognitively process the information as quickly as possible, the schemas are part of the shortcut. For example one man will fit the schema of a librarian but the probability of him being a librarian is slim compared to a taxi driver however this heuristic depicts the individual to place the target observation into a particular category based on judgements ignoring the more likely probability of the answer (Smith and Kida, 1991). Another is the Relative Portion heuristic, individuals are likely to judge on the relative size and not on mathematical savings (Kahneman and Frederick, 2002), and different to rational which is key within economics and maximising profits.

All heuristics have proven judgement and decision-making is affected by these short cuts to process complex information quickly, and all have shown heuristics do not always provide the logical answer compared to the notion of rational thinking.

3. What happens to human judgments and behaviour in the presence of crowds?

Human judgments and behaviour when in the presence of crowds change, most behaviour changes for the negative, however crowd presence can lead to positive effects. When an individual is alone they perform very different than when they have an audience or in the

presence of a crowd. The presence of the crowd is known to have two effects on an individual's behaviour when performing a task. The presence of a crowd can improve performance, known as social facilitation (Seager, 2014), or the presence of a crowd can damage the individual's performance, known as social loafing (Seager, 2014).

The social facilitation theory, first studied by Triplett's experiment (cited in Gross, 1992), where competing children's performances were better when in the presence of other children. This has led to the social facilitation theory of the increase of arousal leading to more motivation from an individual when in the presence of a crowd, such as a professional cyclist-performing better within a crowd because they are familiar and find the task easy. A crowd can simply increase performance. However, new findings suggest increased arousal can also have a negative impact on an individuals behaviour, judgements and performance, for example, if the cyclist were a non-professional then the task would be hard (Zajonc, 1965), the presence of a crowed would become pressure and not motivation. The social loafing theory is where the presence of a crowd has a negative effect on an individual and can decrease effort. An individual feels a sense of relaxation, equalling less motivation. This was apparent in Ringlemann's tug of war experiment and then again in Ingham et al's experiment (Martin et al 2013), the total force of group pulling did not equal the total of all individuals maximum pulling. There becomes a diffusion of responsibility once an individual becomes part of a group or in front or part of a crowd.

Human behaviour in front of crowds changes within cultures, as Western cultures do not have the same collective-orientated way of thinking and behaving (Martin et al, 2013). Social loafing relies much more on the individuals motivation and expectations, when in the presence of a crowd these factors influence an individuals judgments and behaviour.

When an individual is within the presence of a crowd they can experience de-individuation, generating a different behaviour, whether it be anti social or pro social based on situational factors (Spivey and Prentice-Dunn, 1986). Within the presence of a crowd there is low accountability for an individuals actions and judgements, they lose a sense of personal values and social norms, and merge anonymously with the group or crowd (Atkinson et al, 1993). Human judgments also alter when in the presence of a crowd, as there becomes less personal responsibility promoting a diffusion of responsibility, this is the crowd effect on bystander intervention. An individual by-standing alone is more likely to offer help compared to when in a group or crowd (Latane and Darley, 1968), the presence of others in a crowd influences individuals judgements.

4. **Many people believe that after decades of racism we now live in a post-racial world, where racism is no longer a problem. Comment on this proposition using psychological research.**

Psychological research places emphasis on social cognition and attitudes when referring to racism as a phenomenon still present in the modern world just in a different way. Automatic processing and the environment play a role through our cognitive unconscious (Greenwald and Banaji, 1995) and our biology influences the social world. The history of racism is far more explicit than in modern society. Explicit racism includes explicit attitudes and stereotypes that are conscious and deliberate. Over time these explicit attitudes have become implicit, which means they turn to unconscious and spontaneous.

According to psychological research social behaviour is implicit and unconscious. Implicit cognition is that the past can influence present judgments (Selmi, 2010). Automatic processing is the making of schemas of a certain group, these schemas are then associated and stereotypes form, known as 'automaticity of stereotypes', an individual will automatically favour a different group less than their own (Martin et al, 2013). Physical appearances are powerful within a human mind to create cues and assign to categories. There are still severe racial disparities within education, wealth and employment. This is seen across cultures, especially within incarceration rates (Hudson, 1989). Recent reports suggest the US incarcerates black Americans at an average rate of 5.1 times that of white Americans, and in some states the rate can be 10 times or more (Puglise, 2016). The proposition is very broad, to live in a post-racial world will be difficult.

Psychological research uses the implicit association test to test for covert prejudice and discrimination (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz, 1998). Within modern day society there are still apparent implicit biases, suggesting there is an internalization of racism (Speight, 2007). This is another strand of psychological research as society has experienced racism and that image creates an internalised stereotypical assumption in the mind. When shown an image of a white vs. black person the mind unconsciously associates the black person with negativity (Greenwald et al, 1998). Social learning is important as racial and ethnicity is taught and learnt. Past experiences of racism within the world is taught, therefore imprinted into the mind, and unconscious. Cognitive processing will develop a racial attitude from the information (Lerner and Buehrig, 1975). Young children are influenced (Clark and Clark, 1950) and it has been found in psychological research even black children view themselves more negatively than white children. White is always viewed as superior, therefore black are given a different social identity (Martin et al, 2013) based on colour rather than fitting into a collective social identity.

Although society is not fully there it has moved along, as for many racism and discrimination no longer dictates lives as it once did (Selmi, 2010). Implicit behaviour is still present due to explicit experiences society has, internalised stereotypes may not be as present within actions as they once were in history, such as the holocaust. Never the less racism is still a problem, suggesting we are moving towards a post-racial world but the world is not there yet.

5. What are the barriers that women face when they try to ascent up the organisational ladder?

Organisational barriers vary from organisation to organisation although are always there. There are particular gender inequalities for women, which are psychological and sociocultural meanings, such as barriers attached to their biological sex (Martin et al, 2013). When trying to ascent up the organisational ladder, barriers often become worse the further up the hierarchy a women tries to go (Cotter et al, 2001). The glass ceiling effect is that there are no other reasons why women should not be able to ascent up the organisational ladder other than the pure fact of her gender inequality or racial inequality.

Sandra Bem (1981) devised the theory of a gendered schema, we create schemas based upon sex-linked associations with gender stereotypes, therefore when society sees a women they automatically process the information into a gendered schema. The inequality of pay is another barrier women face when trying to ascent up the organisational barrier. Men are seen as more competent and are even offered a higher starting salary compared to

women (Moss-Racusin et al, 2012). The level of discrimination is clear across all occupations (Brown, 1977), not just within higher paid jobs, therefore women in all occupations are doing the same jobs as a male co-worker but for less money. Thus why should women want to ascent up the organisational barrier, when the treatment is discriminative? This explicit barrier throws argument towards the automatic processing of information (Bem, 1981) as it is clearly processed knowingly and inequality pay policies are put in place.

From automatic processing this creates stereotypes and discrimination barriers for women when trying to ascent up the organisational ladder. It has long been discussed that women are the motherly, emotional figure and men are the hard headed ones to be working. However, it shows even with the same qualification and same applications organisations still favour men over women (Moss-Racusin, et al 2012). Men are seen as more competent and these discrimination views and stereotypes influence an organisation decision; women are viewed as incompetent, although if women deviated from this typical gender role it can also prove costly. Women are then at risk of exhibiting negative outcomes when in a role that does not fit their stereotype, known as 'stereotype fit' (Heilman, 1983). As well as a clash forming between workers of different genders, thus provoking gender prejudice (Simpson, 1998). Men may not feel comfortable with taking orders from a women as leadership roles are equated with masculinity and a woman does not fit the masculinity stereotype.

When working in an organisation there are long hours, which can act as a barrier for women if they want to have children or have children. An organisation wants someone reliable; the traditional male role is pay and status (Simpson, 1998), while the women stays home. Within modernity, although traditions are changing, these implicit attitudes are unconsciously within human mind (Martin et al 2013) automatically labelling women and consciously creating barriers for women.

6. What is a stereotype threat? How does it affect the performance of stereotyped group members?

A stereotype threat is the risk of conforming, as self-characteristic, to a negative stereotype about ones group and is mostly recognised within education. A stereotype threat can cause an individuals performance to decline severely (Smith et al, 2003) simply by the thought of being identified to a negative stereotype, and it can be a consequence of racism.

Stereotype threat was first used by Steele and Aronson (1995) who devised several experiments with African American and white students, in which they found black students perform better than white students, however, once their race was emphasised they performed more poorly. Psychological explanation for this consequence of a stereotype is the anxiety introduced into an individual's cognitive ability takes away cognitive ability available to perform the task (Spencer, Steele and Quinn, 1999).

Within society there are recognised stereotypes towards cultures, races and sexes. All stereotypes are known to affect individuals differently, much the same as the stereotype threat. There are different stereotypes, thus different stereotype threats. Steele and Aronson's example of African American students was related to the entirety of education, whereas Spencer, Steele and Quinn (1999) devised an experiment of women's math performance compared to men's. Math is a condensed subject and the anxiety felt when conforming to a negative serotype, of being bad at math, is not as large as the anxiety felt

when conforming to a negative stereotype of being bad at the whole of education (Spencer et al, 1999). The more a stereotype is threatened upon a certain group, such as women, the more society absorbs the stereotype, thus increasing the pressure on an individual not to conform and increasing the cognitive focus on the stereotype damaging performance. Individuals are also likely to 'disidentify' themselves with certain performances altogether (Osborne, 2001), for example young African American boys disidentify themselves with academics over time to protect their self-esteem.

Those groups or individuals who have been stereotyped whether it is from race, culture, class or gender face stereotype threat. Social cognition and attitudes are influenced by each other, leading to the consequence of racism and negative stereotypes (Selmi, 2010). The stereotype threat damages the performance of those at risk of being included; an individual's behaviour changes once they are at recognition of being viewed as part of a negative stereotype.

7. **Dan and Sally work in a company, where Sally is Dan's boss. How do you expect their different power position to affect their attitudes, feelings and behaviour?**

As Sally is Dan's boss she holds the power and status. Sally's attitudes, feelings and behaviour will be affected by her position through the psychology of power. The psychology of power focuses on the attribute of having power rather than power being a definitive phenomenon, as power changes depending on the psychical, economical and social effect on individuals (Fiske and Berdahl, 2007).

The behaviour response of Sally will be to take action and control over Dan as she holds the power, this will be the power as influence (Fiske and Berdahl, 2007). I expect Dan's behaviour and attitudes to be an effect of Sally's position as boss and holding the power.

Power is different within each social context; within the company power will be of the concept of the work environment (Fiske and Berdahl, 2007). Sally's behaviour can also cause and influence Dan's behaviour, known as 'power as influence' (Fiske and Berdahl, 2007). The power Sally holds is socially situated within the work environment; this would be 'power as relative' according to Fiske and Berdahl (2007), as Sally has relative control within the work environment over Dan's valued outcomes.

Sally being in the powerful position brings into question the topic of gender. Power is often associated with male gender (Simpson, 1998), as women hold the stereotype of incompetency. Dan's attitudes, feelings and behaviour towards Sally can potentially be hostile if he holds this stereotype. However, research of power and stereotyping suggests Dan is considered the powerless and dependent upon his superior (Fiske and Berdahl, 2007) therefore has a need to learn and engage in individuating information processing about Sally. This has been proven by an experiment, which proved the higher power position one holds the more of an effect it has on ones perspective taking (Galinsky, Gruenfeld and Magee, 2003). As Sally is the powerful and has fewer risks in knowing little about Dan, therefore she is not motivated to process information about him, leading her to more stereotypical information processing. Whereas it is in Dan's interest to know a lot about Sally and process information more carefully, so his automatic processes do not cause stereotypes or discriminative comments, which could be detrimental to his position at, work.

Overall Sally and Dan's attitudes, feelings and behaviour should be within the typical roles of boss and employee. Sally should hold the control as she has the ability to influence and hold relative control over Dan. Dan's different power position means his cognitive information processing will be much higher than Sally's as the incentive to learn is there through fear of losing his job if he does not.

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In what ways can same-sex sex among men reinforce masculinity?

Kaitlin Trenerry

Although there is a general belief in the West that same sex sex undermines masculinity, there are many examples around the world where the opposite is the case. This Western belief that same sex sex is effeminate stems from basic sexism. To be feminine is to be passive and of a lower social status to man. Shepard argued that, any society that makes gender an irreducible distinction, and where women are subordinated to men, is likely to be uneasy about homosexuality (1987: 264). Men in same sex relationships are commonly believed to be adopting the passive feminine role of the receiver, regardless of what they are actually doing during sex. Therefore to be 'homosexual' and engage in same sex sex is effeminate, and places men who have sex with men in a lower, less masculine social status, similar to the lower status of women. Arguably, to be masculine in the West means to be the dominant partner in sex with women, and anything that breaks that norm undermines the individual's masculinity. However, it is ethnocentric to assume that this pattern of thinking is universal and can be applied cross culturally, for 'the meaning of our desires and acts, the way they are organized, and which sexual expressions are socially approved and which are stigmatized are products of social factors' (Seidman, 2003: 43) which are not static across time nor place. Many parts of the Western world are essentially homophobic and view the world through a restrictive binary system that is not accepting of alternative patterns of sexuality. Anthropological studies have shown that patterns of sexual preference and configurations of desire vary enormously from one culture to the next. Homosexuality takes different forms in different contexts, changing character according to it's cultural environment (Halperin, 1990), and so it is essential not to view the sexual behaviour of other cultures through a Western lens.

This essay will demonstrate the various ways in which same sex sex among men serves to reinforce masculinity, using cross-cultural examples. In cases such as the Machistas of Nicaragua and the Basha of Mombasa, Kenya, sexual dominance reinforces masculine identity, and it is irrelevant whether the passive partner is female, or a subordinate male, as it is the act of being dominant that is significant to ones masculinity - to be masculine is to give sex. In cases such as these, as well as the Xanith of Oman, it is not significant whom you are having sex with, but what kind of sex you are having, that impacts on one's masculine gender identity. Sex can be very hierarchical. Masculinity can also be asserted by demonstrating what it is not, by inverting it, by recreating heterosexual roles through same sex sex. Gender segregated societies, such as the Witwatersand gold mines in South Africa, often have institutionalised homosexuality that does not negatively impact on ones masculinity, and rather serves to reinstate it in wider society, outside of the gender segregated one. Sex can be transformative. It is not always important what sex is, the kind of sex people are having, but what sex does; it is the social functions and implications for one's identity that is significant. Same sex sex can elevate men to a higher masculine status. Some partially gender segregated societies also have ritualised homosexuality, such as the Sambia of New Guinea, where it is believed that same sex sex between men is a crucial part of becoming a man and obtaining ones masculine status. Masculinity is not naturally acquired and must be created through initiation that stimulates maleness and masculinity, 'the male body is believed incapable of manufacturing semen, it must be externally acquired' (Herdt, 1987: 102). Same sex sex is something in which all boys have to

participate as a rite of passage to acquire the masculine status of a man. In contrast, however, there are cases where same sex sex among men might not reinforce masculinity, however it does not undermine it either. 'Sexuality is not a basis of identity in all societies' (Seidman, 2003: 43). Sex may be irrelevant to masculinity or gender identity, such as in the complex case of the Berdache in Native North America, which demonstrates that sex does not always have social implications to the status of individuals, 'in some societies, sex is simply a behaviour' (Seidman, 2003: 43).

The ritualised homosexuality or 'ritualised masculinization' of the Sambia of New Guinea functions to 'make' men. It is believed that men, unlike women, do not reach maturity naturally. They have to go through a system of initiation, a rite of passage, which takes them from the life stage of 'boy' to man, 'the pre-initiated boy… is seen as a small person with a penis who is polluted, weak and not yet manly… they belong to the female world' (Herdt, 1987: 102-3). The Sambia believe that men hold an essence called *jerungdu,* which is contained in semen. This essence represents their masculinity. However, '*jerungdu* itself is not an intrinsic capacity of male functioning, but must be artificially created' (Herdt, 1987: 102). The *jerungdu* is central to the process of ritualised homosexuality in the Sambia, and as semen can be lost, so can *jerungdu* and the male essence that it contains. The place of ritualised homosexuality, or *ritualised masculinization,* as Herdt terms it, is to replace the *jerungdu* and sustain masculinity, 'no semen, no *jerungdu,* no masculinity' (Herdt, 1987: 102). 'Oral ingestion of semen- ritualised fellatio- is critical to the development of *jerungdu* in boys. Only after years of ritualised homosexuality and body treatment do the key sexual signs of strength take physical form. Initiation is thus a means of stimulating maleness and masculinity' (Herdt, 1987: 102-3). Jerungdu is a real force, and fellatio behaviour is a concrete means of attaining it. Men are absolutely convinced of their innate lack of semen and of the need for their rituals, and they transmit their convictions to boys in ritual teaching. Through initiation boys are radically re-socialised to change their cultural orientations. It is necessary for initiation to be dramatic and violent because physically the boys have to be ripped away from the world of women, and the nature of the rites symbolise the harsh, strong world of men compared to the weak soft world of women. The rites have to be violent because as Herdt said they are 'endurance' tests, 'men are desperate to remove female contaminants from the body and blood to reinforce warrior aggressiveness' (Herdt, 1987: 140) and therefore masculinity. Unlike women, boys do not naturally acquire their adult status, they have to demonstrate that they are strong warriors and ready to become men. 'Initiation is the true funnel into warrior-hood' (Herdt, 1987: 103), and warrior-hood is the epitome of masculinity:

> 'Initiation perpetuates a ranked set of ritual categories of male persons involving differential social statuses, roles, and their rights and duties in male-male relationships… Each of these ritual categories can be visibly recognised by distinctive gender signs in Sambia culture. A gender sign is an emblem or mark that denotes one's masculinity or femininity… they differentiate males into higher lower types of social status and biological development' (Herdt, 1987: 109).

Masculinity, therefore, is a status, which is worked towards by undergoing different levels of initiation, and sustained same sex sex. It is not an ascribed status but is something to be achieved and developed.

The Sambia believe that women are dangerous. Semen is going to waste if men have sex with women, for there is then less to pass on to other men. Many Sambia men have troubled marriages and fear women. 'Men fear their wives bodies and therefore believe

that the shorter the contact the less chance of pollution or depletion' (Herdt, 1987: 136). Once initiated, at ages 7-10, no heterosexual activity is permitted and initiates serve only as passive fellators who ingest semen. No other sexual activity is permitted. As adults, men are ambivalent about women. They find sexual relations with their wives difficult because they enjoy sex with men- it is the only sex that they have ever had or been surrounded with. As the young men have only ever been aroused by other men, and they have lived in seclusion away from women, why would they be attracted to women? This suggests that sexual desire is entirely socially constructed. Sex with men reproduces masculine society, but sex with women reminds men of their death because of the need for women to reproduce life. Women are dirty, polluted, and closer to nature. Distinctly separate from the world of culture and men. Herdt explained:

> 'The men continue sexual contacts with boys until their wives have a baby. Then the norm is for them to stop. Most men feel that homosexual activity after fatherhood is immature and unimportant... It is felt by the secret society that initiates are the sexual property of bachelors, not married men, who have wives as sexual outlets that the bachelors lack... Most men prefer women erotically after marriage...' (Herdt, 1987: 164).

Most men prefer women erotically after marriage? This is contradictory to the claim that men have no sexual desire towards women and are fearful of them, requiring deeper analysis.

Masculinity in the Sambia is acquired by the gradual dominance of men over a submissive, younger male partner, which can only be learnt by being the passive partner themselves. Perhaps the men's secret society in the Sambia actually prepares boys to live with, and have control over women, it toughens them up and makes them masculine. It prepares men for marriage with 'polluting' women. Perhaps the secret society functions to teach boys how to dominate over women (who are passive) by learning how to be submissive to older men. The main function of ritualised masculinization or same sex sex in the Sambia is to acquire jerungdu which masculinises boys and makes them men. However it could be argued that another function of this ritualised same sex sex is to teach boys how women should be treated, by being subjected to passivity. This idea of teaching men how to treat women by treating them as the 'female', submissive partner, is similar to the sexual and romantic relations that took place in the Witwatersand gold mines.

The practice of *bukhontxana* (mine marriages) emerged amongst Mozambican male workers on the Witwatersand gold mines in the early twentieth century. *Bukhontxana* taught boys the principles of masculine identity. The young men on the mines asserted their masculinity by showing what it is not, by inverting it. They recreated society and heterosexual gender relations in a single sexed world through the 'marriage' between two men:

> 'Sex roles were fluid and constructed, through cultural or symbolic behaviour, rather than being tied to biological difference. Gendered patterns of behaviour produced symbols and markers of differentiation through which men defined their image of self and created a familiar pattern of communal and individual security' (Harries, 1990: 324).

Bukhotxana affirms masculinity and heterosexuality because it is an unequal relationship that teaches boys how to have relationships with women once they have become men.

Bukhotxana was a political, rather than sexual or aesthetic statement. However sex was important, as miners recalled that semen emitted by mine husbands provided boys with the strength needed to attain adulthood. This is an interesting similarity with the ritualised masculinisation of the Sambia. Semen exchange formed a ritual element in the progression of a male from the status of a boy, bachelor and novice miner to that of married man and *gayisa.* Here is the idea, again, that the transmission of semen between men, from a 'full' man to a younger man, makes a full man out of the younger, insufficient or incomplete man.

> 'The *bukhontxana* relationship formed part of the transition to adult malehood… Through the establishment of close bonds with a successful adult male, the boy was gradually detached from his mother and incorporated into the community of men' (Harries, 1990: 328).

Semen exchange is a masculinising process. By accepting the subordinated female role the *bukhontxana* were actually asserting their masculine identity later.

As the Witwatersand mines were single sexed communities, they recreated broader society, and this involved recreating the rite of passage of *Gangisa* that is a crucial transition in the lives of Mozambican adolescence:

> 'In southern Mozambique, a major element of gender socialisation was through the practice of *Ganisa.* It allowed adolescent children to play 'like husband and wife.' This often led to external intercourse and could also lead to full sexual intercourse although this was discouraged as it could cause pregnancy. Through the practice of *ganisa,* young boys become full men' (Harries, 1990: 326).

Without partaking in this custom, the many adolescent boys who arrived on the mines in their early teens would not become full men, 'as young men started to enter the mines in their early teens, the most important phase in the process of learning masculine identity was shifted from the rural areas to the mines' (Harries, 1990: 328), and so the practice was mirrored and recreated in the single sexed environment to allow boys to develop their masculinity and transition from childhood to adulthood. Also, the men on the mines became increasingly divorced for extended periods of time from their womenfolk. However they were surrounded by large numbers of adolescent boys who were often only 13-14 years old. So it seems obvious that the men on the mines would create a same sex 'marriage' practice that mimicked life outside the mines, which allowed boys to become men and allowed men to be masculine and dominant over a passive partner:

> '*Gangisa* formed part of the primary sexual imagery of young men arriving at the mines. Coming from a society that placed great value on children and discouraged sexual practices such as masturbation and sodomy that did not lead to pregnancy, the only form of sexual release to which they could turn that was within their sexual code was the inter-crural sex practised during *gangisa'* (Harries, 1990: 326)*.*

The adolescent boys took on the role of the wife in the mine marriages with older men, however taking on this effeminate role actually reinforced their masculinity, as Harries explained:

> 'By dressing as women the *nkhontxana* expressed, in a symbolic form, their female role in the gender relationship. But at the same time, by an inversion of the normal, as

represented by transvestism, a border or threshold was created that had to be crossed for initiates to become 'husbands' and hence 'men'' (Harries, 1990: 331).

This is a very interesting and complex social system, and it is a system that is difficult to internalise in the western mind. To become a man, to be masculine, the boys must behave like women, involving engagement in same sex sex. It is interesting that in order to assert their masculinity the boys must first revoke it, and that the masculinity of the older men is not threatened but is enforced by engaging in these relationships:

> *'bukhontxana* taught boys the principles of masculine identity and, reproducing male-dominated gender relations, served to strengthen male identity at a time when men's extended absence from rural areas was making women increasingly powerful at home… *bukhontxana* was fundamentally tied to the exercise of power' (Harries, 1990: 328).

The gender distinctions fostered in the compounds provided men with a sense of hierarchy and social mobility and ensured, by reinforcing their solidarity as a group, the reproduction of male dominance over women in rural areas.

In Nicaragua, Central America, we can see a system of same sex sex between men that, like the Sambia and the Witwatersand miners, reinforces masculinity. To be masculine in Nicaragua is to give in sex, and it is irrelevant whether the receiving partner is female or another male. As in the above examples, it is significant who does what during sex. However, to be the receiving partner is to be feminine in Nicaragua, and so one's identity can be reinforced or undermined according to what role one plays during sexual intercourse:

> 'Cochones [passive homosexuals] are, therefore, feminine men, specifically, feminised men, not fully male men. They are men who are used by other men. Their stigma flows from this concept of use… Used by other men, the cochon is not a complete man. His passive acquiescence to the active drive of other men's sexual desires both defines and stigmatises his status' (Lancaster, 1988).

For Nicaraguan men, your status is not undermined at all by having sex with a man, so long as you are the dominant partner, the machista, your masculinity is reaffirmed and maintained:

> 'The line that this transaction draws is not between those who practice homosexual intercourse and those who do not (for this is not at all a meaningful distinction in Nicaragua's popular classes) but between two standardised roles in intercourse' (Lancaster, 1988).

It is not significant whom you have sex with but what kind of sex you are having.

The act of homosexual intercourse can elevate or lower a person within their status of masculinity:

> 'When one uses a cochon, one acquires masculinity; when one is used as a cochon, one expends it. The nature of homosexual transaction then, is that the act makes one man a machista, and the other a cochon' (Lancaster, 1988).

For one man, the dominant partner, same sex sex reinforces his masculinity, for the passive or receiving partner, his masculinity is undermined. In this case, same sex sex between men reinforces masculinity at the same time as it also undermines it. If two machista's, two dominant sexual partners, had sex, one would lose their masculine status. The language of power within a society is often that of homosexual intercourse. In the case of Nicaragua, as with the mine-marriages of the Witwatersand gold mines, same sex sex that reinforces masculinity also serves to teach men how to dominate over women and reinforcies heterosexual sex, within a patriarchal society. Maleness is dominance and femaleness is subordination.

> Similarly in Mombasa, Kenya, same sex sex between men is accepted, but each partner is assigned a label according to the role that they play during sexual intercourse. The 'basha' is the dominant partner; the 'shoga' is sexually inferior. This is a society which is highly gender-segregated and where there are few affective relationships between men and women. As with the Sambia men, who find love and sexual attraction with each other, it appears that Swahili men find love with men, and women find love with women. By being the dominant sexual partner in a relationship between two men, the social status of the basha is increased. Social and sexual hierarchy go hand in hand:'Homosexual relations in Mombasa are almost without exception between a younger, poorer partner and an older, richer one… The older partner may have been a shoga himself in youth, but is very likely to be successfully married to a woman as well as maintaining an interest in boys' (Shepard, 1987: 250).

Even though the categories of basha and shoga exist, and a basha is viewed as having more importance and more power, what is interesting about the Swahili is that it seems that being a shoga does not appear to negatively impact on ones social status as a man too heavily. In the case of homosexual prostitutes Shepard wrote:

> 'the paid partner usually takes the passive role during intercourse, but I think it is true to say that his inferiority derives from the fact that he is paid to provide what is asked for, rather than from the role he adopts' (1987: 250).

So perhaps it is fair to say that to be the inferior sexual partner does not result in a loss of status as a man, a loss in masculinity, but it rather labels one as economically inferior and dependent:

> 'In Mombasa, gender holds none of the punishing power it does for us, the rank rules are powerful ones which order behaviour. Where social inequality is accepted as a basic premise, a weak, foolish or indeed homosexual man need not be classified as one who has strayed into femaleness, but as a low ranking, unimportant man' (Shepard, 1987: 264).

In the West, same sex sex between men is viewed as resulting in a loss in masculine status, however same sex sex between men in Mombasa, though it may result in a loss of social, economic and political status, it does not make passive partners feminine. Social, political and economic status is much more important than sexual status:

> 'When we look at homosexual relationships it is striking that, though they break the implicit rule that sexual intercourse should take place between a heterosexual pair, they do not break any rank rules. A marriage between a poor husband and a rich wife

would be, I think, more shocking to the Swahili than a homosexual liaison where the dominant partner is better born and richer than the dependent one' (Shepard, 1987: 263).

Shepard claimed that in Mombasa men have more in common with those of their own social rank... than with those of the same sex in other ranks (1987: 265), and so it is not deviant to engage in same sex sex, but rather to have sex with somebody who is of the same social rank. Shoga's do not lose masculinity by being a passive sexual partner, as 'biological sex is much more important than their behaviour as a determinant of gender' (Shepard, 1987: 263).

As with the cross-cultural examples mentioned so far, sex in Oman is inherently hierarchical, it is not egalitarian. Unlike the Swahili men, but in similarity to the machistas and cochones of Nicaragua and the mine marriages of Witwatersand, 'it is the sexual act, not the sexual organs, which is fundamentally constitutive of gender' (Wikan, 1977: 309) in Oman. As we have seen, it is common in many societies for the passive male partner to be viewed by society as being less masculine, and more feminine. For the Xanith of Oman, this idea is taken one step further as:

> '...a man who acts as a woman sexually *is* a woman socially. And there is no confusion in this culture between the male and female role in intercourse... The man enters, the woman receives, the man is active, the woman is passive. Behaviour, and not anatomy, is the basis for the Omani conceptualisation of gender identity' (Wikan, 1977: 309).

In similarity to the sexual behaviours in Nicaragua, in Oman:

> '...when a man enters into a homosexual relationship in an active way he in no way endangers his male identity, whereas the passive receiving homosexual partner cannot possibly be conceptualised as a man' (Wikan, 1977: 309).

Sex between two people of the same anatomical gender reinforces masculinity in this culture, but only for the dominant partner. This is similar to the structure in place in Nicaragua, as explained by Lancaster. It is sexual dominance that reaffirms masculine identity. Like the cochones in Nicaragua, Omani men who are the passive receivers in sexual intercourse take on a different social status. In this case, they become Xanith. Xanith are anatomically male but take on the female sexual role. Socially, they appear to be somewhere in between with both masculine and feminine social roles. If a Xanith had sex with a woman, he would no longer be a Xanith, he would be a man as to be a man means to penetrate and dominate. In Oman, all prostitutes are Xanith and:

> '...no stigma attaches to the man who seeks the company of a transsexual for sexual purposes, though both men and women agree that the act itself is sinful. But the world is imperfect, and shameful acts an inherent part of life' (Wikan, 1977: 314).

Sex is transformative in the sense that it can elevate some men to a higher masculine status, reaffirming their identity as men, but it also is capable of lowering the social status of other men. It could be argued that masculine identity in Oman is not a fixed status, it is changeable. A man needs to continue to demonstrate his masculine identity by dominating another, male or female, sexually. 'Folk opinion clearly sees the Xanith, and not masturbation, as the alternative to a woman' (Wikan, 1977: 315). Wikan wrote, 'Oman

shows an extreme pattern of sexual segregation' (Wikan, 1977: 306) and there seems to be a particular familiarity with that statement. Same sex sex between men appears to be a regular occurrence in societies where there is a significant segregation between men and women.

So far, this essay has demonstrated using cross-cultural examples, different ways in which same sex sex among men can reinforce masculinity. However, it is problematic to try to compare the sexual behaviours of other cultures, as well as their social implications, as we cannot impose Western definitions of sex and gender. We cannot be clear about what sex and gender *is* in other cultures. 'Homosexual' is a western category that is heavily loaded with negative connotations. 'Homosexuality rests upon different cultural constructions of gender' (Whitehead, 1981: 83). The word homosexual suggests a deviance, but for some of the men, in each of the cultures highlighted so far, have not been deviants. The same logic must be applied to the term masculinity. When studying these cultures we can assume that same sex sex between men is reinforcing masculinity, however it is masculinity, as understood in the West. What it means to be masculine is culturally constructed and it is not universally applicable. Sexuality is often much more about sexual urges, than it is about a complex social system with significant meaning.

Sex may not be linked to gender identity at all. Sexual behaviour may not have any implications to a person's masculinity. The alternative to the statement 'same sex sex between men reinforces masculinity' is not as straightforward as 'same sex sex between men undermines masculinity'. Same sex sex between men can in some places, such as in native North America, be irrelevant to the status of one's masculine identity. Masculine identity is not necessarily always linked to the kind of sex that one has. The berdache, of native North America, are a complex case. 'By anatomy the berdache was a man, by occupational pursuit and garb, a woman' (Whitehead, 1981: 88). In Western terms the sexual behaviour of the berdache was homosexual, however, berdaches 'conformed for the most part to a social, rather than anatomic, heterosexuality' (Whitehead, 1981: 86). Whitehead shows that it was not unheard of for the berdache, while taking on female tasks, to retain certain of the male ones as well. 'Even in the case of the berdache… the sheer fact of anatomic masculinity was never culturally forgotten' (Whitehead, 1981: 86). This highlights that one's social behaviours are much more significant in defining one's masculinity, than sexual preference.

Anatomically homosexual behaviour within the context of the transsexual orientation is merely the expression of a psychological heterosexuality; it follows from rather than leads to the transsexual orientation. In the North American mind, the salient fact about the gender-crosser was his/her preference for the external social identity of the opposite sex. Women in native North America could be powerful in their own right, and so crossing gender categories or engaging in the passive 'feminine' role in sex did not undermine masculine identity. Same sex sex between men did not result in a loss of status because there are not negative connotations to being feminine. Shepard argued that, any society that makes gender an irreducible distinction, and where women are subordinated to men, is likely to be uneasy about homosexuality (1987: 264). However, in native North America women were not subordinate to men and they could have their own economic dependence and wealth, and so same sex sex is not a concern. The boundary between the sexual spheres was not strongly defined. Whitehead wrote, 'men might boast publically of their exploits with the berdache' (Whitehead, 1981: 94). A man who engaged in sexual relations with a person who was anatomically male, but socially female, homosexual sex by western

terms, did not have his masculinity undermined. Male to female berdache had sex with men because socially they were women.

Sex between two people of the same anatomical and biological sex does not always correspond with homosexuality, it is western construct and is not a universal category of identification. If two 'ordinary' (that is, non berdache, warroir men) had sex, nothing would happen to their masculine identity or gender status because people in native North America were defined by their occupation, not what they did sexually. Occupation was a signifier of masculinity or femininity.

> 'Sexuality… fell outside the realm of what was publicly and officially important about the roles of the two sexes. Sexual object choice was very much the trailing rather than leading edge of gender definition' (Whitehead, 1981: 96).

This essay has demonstrated that sex is complex, and the meanings applied to behaviours cannot easily be compared cross culturally. In many places around the world, same sex sex between men *does* indeed reinforce masculinity. Whether it reinforces the masculine identity of the dominant partner whilst undermining the passive, or whether like the Sambia of New Guinea, same sex sex is a *ritualised masculinisation* process for all parties involved. 'Masculinity' is often a desired, not ascribed, status which must be worked towards, demonstrated through expressing one's dominance over a passive partner, or simply just by engaging in same sex sex over a prolonged time period. Same sex sex between men often serves to reproduce heterosexuality across society as a whole. Homosexual relations often teach young men how to behave in heterosexual relationships, and how to treat women, when they themselves have become men, as is the case in the Witwatersand gold mines. These examples have demonstrated that the Western world is quite unusual in its thinking. As every individual who engages in same sex sex is often seen as effeminate, regardless of sexual role or social rank. Rank rules are sometimes more important than gender rules in masculine identity formation. To be un-masculine does not always mean to be feminine, but rather to be a lesser, low ranking, man. 'The meaning of our desires and acts, the way they are organized, and which sexual expressions are socially approved and which are stigmatized are products of social factors' (Seidman, 2003: 43) which are not static across time nor place.

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What is the purpose of Sex and Relationships Education in the United Kingdom?

Chloe Ward

Introduction

An Ofsted report published in 2013 found that Sex and Relationships Education (SRE) was inadequate in over a third of UK schools. Despite this subject being a requirement, the report found that in one underperforming school, only 2 hours of sex education had been taught between Years 1 and 6 (Ofsted, 2013: 12). Ofsted noted a lack of 'appropriate' education which left pupils susceptible to sexual exploitation and 'inappropriate sexual behaviours' (2013: 12).

A Government paper published in 2016 noted that UK Parliament raised concerns in 2010 over the 'content, status and quality' of SRE (Long, 2016: 3). This came 10 years after the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) published a new set of guidelines concerning the subject, requiring that it helped pupils 'live confident, healthy and independent lives' (DfEE, 2000: 3) through 'lifelong learning' about 'loving relationships', 'sex, sexuality and sexual health' (DfEE, 2000: 5).

This research project aims to look at the impact that SRE has had on the lives of young people in the UK today. How important has it been to them? Has it helped them in their 'physical, emotional and moral development' (DfEE, 2000: 3)? And importantly, has it been 'inclusive of all pupils' (DfEE, 2000: 13)? Does the policy need to be updated to meet the needs of children of a new decade?

Qualitative data has been gathered on this area through the form of two semi-structured interviews. What do the participants feel about SRE as individuals who went through it? Do they feel it met their needs? And what do they feel the real purpose of SRE is?

Literature review

The National Curriculum of 2015 states that Sex and Relationship Education (SRE) involves 'teaching children about reproduction, sexuality and sexual health'. It is a 'compulsory' subject for those aged 11 and older (UK Government, 2015). Therefore it is surprising that Ofsted found 'slightly fewer' than 75% of panellists had learned about sexually transmitted diseases and pregnancy (2013: 11). This left pupils 'ill-prepared' for puberty (2013: 12) and frustrated at the lack of 'meaningful discussion' on issues of feelings, relationships and values (Long, 2016: 5).

Alldred and David expressed concerns over SRE being considered 'politically lightweight and feminized' compared to 'more-masculine associated' academic subjects (2007: 53). They also felt the subject often resulted in embarrassment for both educator and student (2007: 51), something found in a number of other academic sources. Gordon and Gere referred to SRE lessons as 'swathed in so many layers of fear and loathing' (2016: 334) while Edwards commented on her respondents' memories of the 'embarrassing, awkward context of learning about sex with teachers' (2016: 268).

Research into SRE seems to share a common theme in that it expresses schools as giving preference to heterosexuality, with Kehily claiming that 'legitimate sexuality is confined to the heterosexual married couple' (2002: 59). Preston accuses schools of enabling peer regulation of 'non-normative' sexualities (2016:22) through a 'dismissal' of homophobic bullying (2016: 29), with 80% of educators in her study 'downplaying' the experiences of LGBTQ students (2016: 29). Meyer calls for a 'doing away' of 'docile, submissive' learning, stating that it would provide students with more educational possibility and 'socially just experiences' for our future citizens (2011: 243).

Edwards calls for SRE that is not 'pre-conceived, heteronormative or mandatory' (2016: 276), claiming that young women have a tendency to seek out 'alternative material' and create their own informal sex education (2012: 268) as a result of inadequate teaching materials. This supports findings by Weinstein, Walsh and Ward that young women were able to demonstrate more knowledge than young men in terms of STDs and contraception (2008: 212), as they appear to be more likely to take initiative and supplement their learnings with external information. Carlson and Roseboro provide further evidence to this in their claims that young people construct their 'sexual' selves in relation to popular culture (2011: xi), which coincides with Meyer's argument that media texts can be valuable in promoting 'critical thinking' in students (2011: 242).

Shields-Dobson and Ringrose express concerns over 'sexting', a 'notion that combines the words 'sex' and 'texting'' (2016: 8), as they note that the 'unique potential' (2016: 19) of the act in the 'exchange of sexually explicit content' (2016: 14) goes undiscussed in the classroom. This can be linked to the concerns of Long, who argues that the SRE curriculum needs to be updated in relation to the 'rise of the internet and social media since that time' (2016: 14).

It is clear from the wide variety of research on SRE that there are a number of issues facing the subject, and it is interesting to consider the findings of this project in relation to these.

Findings

The participants in this study, Participant 1 and Participant 2, both had fairly poor experiences of SRE. They were both 5 years old when the DfEE reform came into place and therefore one might believe that by the time they were old enough to start learning SRE that it might be a reasonably well conceived subject. However, Participant 2 noted that they could not 'really remember' their sex education (Appendix 2: p1) while Participant 1 answered that it 'wasn't really effective' for them personally (Appendix 1: p3). Participant 1 expressed that they felt SRE was repetitive:

> I get why they teach you certain things, I get the importance, but why not cover a broader range [rather] than just sticking to the same stuff and it's repeated repeated repeated...you zone out, and it's not really as effective any more. That's the problem with sex education really... (Appendix 1: p3)

The material that Participant 1 felt was being repeated too often was the content to do with reproduction and puberty, which echoes Ofsted findings concerning too much focus on the 'mechanics of reproduction' (2013: 12). Participant 2 called the education they received 'very clinical' (Appendix 2: p2).

Both participants expressed a desire for more education related to LGBT people, with Participant 1 identifying that they were gay (Appendix 1: p1) and Participant 2 identifying as bisexual (Appendix 2: p4). Participant 1 felt the lack of LGBT focused education was as a result of teachers being 'a bit worried about students attitudes' (Appendix 1: p1) as they felt homophobic attitudes had been 'bred in through' the conservative families of the area they lived in (Appendix 1: p2). It is gathered from this that the teachers felt the students were unwilling to learn about the topic, however, Harrison's study of UK schools found that homosexuality and lesbianism were topics that students 'would like' to be taught more about (2000: 89-90). The attitudes Participant 1 expressed are shared in Preston's study of SRE educators who felt that they were teaching in areas that not many people would be 'out' in (2016: 29) so they did not make any real effort to discuss LGBT issues in the classroom. As Edwards states, SRE teaching tends to be formulated by adults 'who formulate what is acceptable and… should be taught' despite the actual desires of the students (2016: 268). Participant 1 ended up going online to seek materials about homosexuality and to ultimately identify themselves as such (Appendix 1: p1, p7), much like the women in Edwards study who discovered their sexualities through online fiction (2016: 274).

Participant 2 was particularly interested in discussing their experiences with contraceptive pills:

> I just am very surprised that we literally learnt nothing other than the fact that they were for sex… things like IUDs, diaphragms, you can have contraceptive injections, I recently found out you can get a spermicidal sponge… (Appendix 2: p4)

The information that Participant 2 had eventually acquired on alternative methods of contraception seemed to come from internet sources, which Edwards writes can provide 'the safest, most educative' space for those seeking informal education (2016: 273). Attitudes of teachers were also a cause for concern to both participants. Participant 1 called their SRE educator 'not really a teacher' (Appendix 1: p2) while Participant 2 referred to an 'eccentric' teacher who was often 'a bit too personal' in terms of anecdotal evidence (Appendix 2: p1). Both participants requested newer forms of teaching other than 'an old, black and white photocopied for the millionth time worksheet' (Participant 2 Appendix 2: p7).

Participant 1 recalled their experiences working with a theatre company which brought productions concerning sex education into high schools, expressing dismay that the play was never brought to their own school (Appendix 1: p6). This style of teaching echoes Gordon and Gere's 'Sex Squad', an American based college project which attempts to encourage students to 'laugh about their fears' and 'develop the capacity to explore their concerns' (2016: 325) through 'monologues, scenes and musical parodies' (2016: 324). Participant 1 recalled workshop sessions with the company and suggested they had a compelling effect on the local community, helping to reduce teenage pregnancy rates (Appendix 1: p6). They commented on the style of information delivery:

> I guess…if you deliver stuff in an engaging way… people are going to take note and people are going to listen… it just depends on the way you deliver it, I guess. And for me in school it wasn't engaging (Appendix 1: p6-7).

They called for more interactive methods (Appendix 1: p7), as did Participant 2, asking for workshops and creative task setting (Appendix 2: p7). Participant 1 also suggested that

more could be done in terms of utilisation of the internet as a teaching tool (Appendix 1: p7). They expressed fondness for the internet in terms of it being a support network when they were asking questions in regards to their homosexuality (Appendix 1: p7) but went on to state that 'hardcore pornography is pretty much just rape' and that it becomes normal because of the accessibility of such material (Appendix 1: p8). The argument here echoes Andrea Dworkin's famous anti-pornography sentiment.

Participant 2 was also concerned about the internet and talked at some length about the impact they felt it was having on a young sibling. They discussed fears over the sibling putting themselves in a position of being sexualised (Appendix 2: p6, p8) but did not comment on the fact that it was inappropriate for a child to be sexualised by adults. This relates directly to Shields-Dobson and Ringrose's findings of a 'strong discourse of girl's responsibility for their own harassment' (2016: 17). Like the subjects of the study, Participant 2 seemed to be framing their fears over sexualisation as 'caused by the female subjects of the image' (2016: 17) rather than querying the fact that this was occurring, putting the blame on the child rather than wider societal forces.

Overall both the participants argued that LGBT issues were important for SRE, as was more information pertaining to the internet. It came across that they both felt the most successful way forward for SRE was a more interactive and well-rounded approach to a number of relevant topics.

Reflections

I feel that the method I used for my research was appropriate for the research question. Had I had a bigger sample and a bigger task, I could potentially have employed more methods, using a mixed methods approach for the sake of 'triangulation, complementarity and expansion' as discussed by Padgett (2013: 48), such as setting a short test to ascertain the level of SRE knowledge the participants had. This proved to be a useful technique in Edwards' study. Though Edwards' participants showed themselves as knowledgeable and well-informed as a result of their own learning, on average they scored 64.2% on a measure of sexual health knowledge (2016: 220). These students were the same age as my participants.

I feel the interviews were successful. I feel that a good rapport was present in both and that this shows through the participants' willingness to discuss issues which came across as being sensitive to them, as well as disclosing personal information.

I can see a reflection of Plummer's notion of 'storytellers' come through in the interviews. Participant 2 was very much a storyteller in the sense that they were prone to making a point through a lengthy anecdote (1995: 105). Their storytelling also allowed for the transmission of embedded messages which allowed for a more detailed picture of their life to become apparent. The discussions which they left out during their storytelling are key in revealing their values.

As Bryman notes, qualitative research often begins with a 'specific focus' which helps guide the remainder (2012: 496). Starting by asking the participants what they remember about SRE (Appendix 1: p1; Appendix 2: p1) allowed me to proceed with follow-up questions which resulted in the participant elaborating on a point which was perhaps not clear (Bryman, 2012: 476), or that I felt could elicit further discussion. I also made sure to use more silence in the second interview as I felt that perhaps I had been too quick to make

comments in the first interview, which could have prevented the first participant from saying exactly what they wanted to say. In future I need to be more considerate of Kvale's criteria for a successful interviewer, as discussed by Bryman, in that I ought to be more gentle and let participants finish, giving them time to think (2012: 475).

In hindsight I would have chosen a research question which is less specific, given that I primarily queried effectiveness and what should be included in SRE, instead of asking the actual purpose of it. While inferences could be made to answer the question directly, the content of the interviews does not fit too directly with the question itself, which is an unfortunate oversight.

I also feel that there are other questions I would like to address to Participant 1. Being that it was my first interview, I did not bring up some important issues, such as sexual health. Given the importance placed on it by Participant 2 (Appendix 2: p4, p5) it is clearly a point worth discussing.

Conclusion

The key findings of this research project support the evidence found by Ofsted; SRE is not seen by students as effective. Both participants looked to sources of informal education for the information they were not receiving in classes, and neither of them would consider that SRE has had a significant impact on their own experiences of sex and relationships. There was a call made by both participants for more education on all aspects of LGBT life; not only on the sexual health implications but also in terms of how to deal with homophobia and the associated emotions.

To answer the question I originally posed, 'what is the purpose of Sex and Relationships Education in the UK?' I would answer that the purpose is just as it is outlined in the National Curriculum; to teach children about 'reproduction, sexuality and sexual health'. However, SRE is simply not achieving this aim, leaving students feeling isolated and frustrated, and also in danger. Barter et al. claim that the levels of violence in the intimate relationships of young people ought to be treated as 'a significant child-welfare problem' (2009: 4). By the virtue of its name, SRE should be teaching children how to make sensible decisions and how to take care of themselves, yet it seems as though it is failing those it was designed to help.

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Appendix I: Transcript of Participant Interview (P1)

CW: Okay, so, thank you for agreeing to let me interview you today, [participant name], um, so, just going to start off by asking you a few questions about your experiences of sex education in the U.K...

P1: Cool.

CW:...as that's where you went to school [laughter]. So, have you got any, um, particular memories about your sex education classes, or anything that might be...

P1: Erm, I think like the traditional, showing you the dolls...
CW: Yeah.

P1: All the different parts of the body and stuff. Erm, and like when the teachers would talk to you in primary school, particularly in primary school, when they were talking to you like about what the certain parts were and that kind of stuff... um, what the correct words were and that kind of stuff... if that makes sense, so... yeah, and then secondary school, more... getting to grips with like sexualities and stuff like that.

C: Yeah.

P1: Erm, yeah.

C: Is there anything that you wished that you had been taught that you weren't?

P1: Erm...I think, I feel like, particularly in the area I was from it was a bit of like a, not necessarily a taboo but like, cause I was like, I was, I'm known for being, erm, one of the first people in my school to openly, erm, be gay. And so, it wasn't really talked about as much in sex education so I think I had to find, I sort of had to find my own way around that kind of stuff in school, which, erm, was a bit weird, a bit difficult, but it was alright. So I guess that kind of stuff wasn't really covered as much... so... yeah.

CW: Do you wish it had been? Or...

P1: Yes. I feel like it would have been easier for me... in the sense that I could have understood like... how I felt about certain things, a bit earlier than I did... I could have coped a lot better with, erm, the way people behaved around me, and that kind of stuff.

CW: Yeah.

P1: Erm, the way in which I... chose to present myself, because I guess because I sort of had to find my own way around things I sort of... I sort of just went with what I wanted to do. Whether it was the right or wrong thing... yeah. So I guess I could have, I would have, liked to have, like, learned a bit more... about like, erm, particularly homosexuality and sex education. Cause I don't think it's covered as much as it should be.

CW: No.

P1: Because… of, I think, I think as well maybe it's the case that teachers are a bit worried about students attitudes… because I come from a, erm, quite a poor area… and I guess, I think like those kind of attitudes, like conservative or, I guess it's sort of like, bred in through the families, cause I'm from, where I'm from a lot of people come from other countries, and live here, and it's from countries which are erm, a lot more… less open about things like homosexuality and stuff like that, so. Yeah.

CW: A risk of being stigmatized, and things like that?
P1: I guess them not being open to learning about things like that, so I guess it's sort of pulled back upon and focused on more on, on other stuff.

CW: So would you say that there was a good environment in the classrooms when you were…

P1: I think it was taken… I think sex education, when you're a certain age, it's taken as a bit of a joke, isn't it? Cause… not many people are… people don't really, when you're younger you don't really wanna talk about stuff like that to teachers and people in your class that you don't really wanna talk to like, it's more like the stuff for the playground or when you get your first girlfriend or your first boyfriend, and or, so, I guess… I think sex education, when *I* was back in secondary school was a bit of a joke, as such. Erm, I was lucky enough to surround myself with people who would take that stuff seriously but you know people in the class who would just joke about, and not really care… which is fine, like, I get the topic's are funny, in a certain respect, especially because it's all new to us, obviously we're all starting puberty at that point, and it's all new, and it's all weird isn't it, so it's fair, but I guess it's not taken as seriously as it should be considering that it's like, sex education leads into a big part of your life.

CW: Yeah. Do you think it's effective in teaching people things like reproduction and, relationships?

P1: I think, I think it's more important to teach it in sex education than it is to teach it in science as such. Erm, cause sex education in a way, I, well the way I look at it is it's sort of like a, not practical way, but like… it's like a… informal, cause when I did it, you'd do it in PSHE, and you'd have erm, like a teacher who was like a teacher but not really a teacher as such, was more someone you talked to about like, so we did stuff like drugs, erm, alcohol, that kind of stuff, so that particular teacher, obviously they were qualified, but that particular teacher was more like a mentor as such, and so you could talk to them and be open and that kind of stuff. But… yeah, it's just not really…

CW: So you thought that was a more effective way than…
P1: Yeah, a much more effective way than things like science where you're sitting there and you've got a teacher telling you like "this is this", and this is why this happens, like, that's nice but at the same time that's not, it's not as effective when you're thinking of… trying to learn about you can behave and learn about yourself and that kind of stuff.

CW: Okay, so do you think your school was effective, then? Or could it have been more effective?

P1: For me personally, it could have been more effective… just because like I said, erm, I sort of had to find my own way around things, and erm, take a load of abuse as such from people, because I wasn't afraid to be who I was very early on in my secondary life, in

school. But um, so no, not really, it wasn't really effective for me. I guess, I assume for certain people it would be, I guess they got to learn about themselves, in a sense, to a certain degree, but for me personally? Not really. Cause it didn't cover things like I would personally liked to have… learned more about.

CW: Okay, that's a good point.

P1: I guess, it's like I'm a bit of an imbalance as such. They cover like certain areas but I guess not enough thought was taken into… maybe in a sense because… certain points are seen as like, a minor, like a minor point to… maybe they believe… because not everyone's a homosexual, that it's not important?… I doubt it, but, yeah.

CW: I can see where you're coming from.
P1: Yeah, when, you're someone who is seen as a minority as such, certain things aren't covered as such cause they feel maybe… not as important? I don't know, maybe that's what it is.

CW: Okay, yeah. Cool. Erm, are there things that you think shouldn't have been taught? Things that were a waste of time, or just weren't helpful?

P1: Erm… I guess… the puberty thing went like on and on and on and on and on… like, they were saying the same things like "oh you grow hair here", "boys are gonna get bigger", blah-de-blah-de-blah, and you get it in primary school, you get it in secondary school and it's like that's nice, thanks for telling me about fifteen times, but at the same time, I could have been learning like, other stuff, like that was just as important, like relationships, or building relationships with certain people, whether it's an affectionate relationship or, erm… just a sexual relationship or whatever, but it was just the same old sort of stuff. I get why they teach you the certain things, I get the importance, but why not cover a broader range, than just sticking to the same stuff and it's repeated repeated repeated, and it's boring and you sort of just zone out, as such. So when they kept repeating stuff like that, you zone out, and it's not really as effective any more. That's the problem with sex education really, it's just, in this country, to me anyway, it's not as effective as it could be, just because the same stuffs repeated again and again and again and it gets to the point where you just know. And you're like, yeah, okay, next, and…

CW: It's just old news.

P1: Yeah, exactly, it's just old news. And you think, there's so many more things you could be talking about, that are so… like the lack of understanding around trans people at the moment, and the lack of understanding around homosexuality, the lack of understanding over so many different issues now, that just aren't really talked about. I don't even understand half the things [laughter], in the LGBT* sort of, area. And for someone who is part of that society… you'd think that I'd know but I've never had a chance to know. Which is really bad, as such. When I'm learning these things over and over again and thinking I know nothing about anything else.

CW: Like something you're actually part of.

P1: Yeah and then I find myself sometimes saying things and then thinking… damn, I didn't mean it like that. But because I don't understand… what I'm meant to be saying, it's coming

across like I'm horrible as such! And I know nothing about issues that really concern me, as such, but. Such is sex education in this country.

CW: So, would you say then that the social and emotional aspects of sex education are much more important than the physical aspects?

P1: I feel like they focus on the physical aspects in terms of what things are and what they do, and then, in terms of the emotional side, I don't feel the emotional side is covered that much actually, they don't say what you're going to experience in a relationship in life, I don't think they do, as such… which is really bad, now that I'm thinking about it, because that's such a big part of you learning about your… your sexual behaviours as you move through life, the stresses of things like relationships and stuff like that, you don't learn about things like that, you're sort of just left to fend for yourself, and cope. It's really bad! But at the same time, in a way, I guess that's hard to teach, as such, because they've got no idea the kind of things you're gonna get up to in your life or the kind of relationships you're gonna forge, the kind of people you're gonna meet, that affect your sexual life. So, I guess that's a complex thing, to teach, and so maybe, I don't know, it's a hard thing to, for them to gauge as to what they should do about it, but. They should be doing *something*. I couldn't tell you what it could be. It's too complex, as such.

CW: Yeah, no, it is a tricky area. But I suppose the whole… the fact is, it's called Sex *and* Relationship Education, which isn't something that I was aware of before going into this research, I just knew it as sex education. So the fact that I know they should also be teaching about relationships makes me think…

P1: And it isn't really as such, it's more just the physical side, and saying, "oh, this is sex, this is what's gonna happen"… in your life, and that's about it. You don't learn about those things that are important. I think, I think they just prioritize on the things they feel like you need to know… and sort of steer away from the stuff that… you should know? I don't know how to put that, if you know what I'm saying? They steer away from stuff that's more complex because they're worried that… it'll go into things they don't want to deal with, I don't know.

CW: Like open doors, to…

P1: Things they don't want to have to deal with. Maybe sex education is a bit lazy, in this country. Maybe that's what it is. I think the right word is lazy. They just smooth over certain points and I don't know if that's the ethos of the society we live in, I don't know. But you think, we live in quite a liberal society now, as such, and particularly in our age group, at university, like people aren't afraid to say and do things as they want, like you see people kissing in the club all the time, you'll see girls doing the walk of shame home in the morning [laughter] after a night out. It's really clear that people aren't afraid to engage with, erm… sexuality, and, but yet, things like that we didn't really learn about in school as such, which I find really odd, like is everyone just jumping in, and hoping for the best? Or, have they learned about these things, and just me in my particular environment never got to learn about these things, I don't know? I guess it just depends on the environment you're in as such and the standards that your school set, and… maybe to do with whether your parents talk to you and stuff, like my parents don't know about my sexuality, just because it's easier for me, so I couldn't talk to them, but I assume that certain people can speak to their parents about stuff like that, so it's sort of, lets them learn stuff outside of school as well as

sex education, from their parents as such. Or maybe their brothers or sisters, or older friends. I guess it depends on the environment you're from as such as well.

CW: So would you say that the environment your school was in had an impact on the lessons, and how you were taught things? Because you mentioned earlier about…

P1: Yeah, I think just because of the attitudes in the particular area I live in, because it's quite a, conservative way of attitude, as such, so… sex education, it wasn't leading into the stuff I was particularly interested in it leading into, just because of the attitudes and the stigmas surrounding that stuff, to them. Just wasn't the sort of stuff they wanted to talk about. And if it was raised they'd laugh or, or they'd just disengage and just act up, because they weren't interested. That's what happens, you know, if you're not interested you just misbehave, and people like me who want to learn about certain things never got that, as such, and had to fend their own way. Which, in a way for me, it wasn't the end of the world… cause, I guess, I sort of learned through myself, as such. Which in a way I guess is good, but at the same time it would have been nice to have some form of support, because it wasn't easy to speak to people when I was younger about things like that, because it was new to me myself, so I'm not going to go around, talking to loads of people about things like that, if I wasn't sure about it myself.

CW: So how did your school teach it? Was it things like class discussions, or…

P1: I see what you mean. Just stuff like presentations, just like the typical lesson, presentations and you'd open it up for a bit of discussion. Everyone would laugh a lot, just because it was stuff that… is funny, as such. You're learning about things that are private, as such. So, because you're speaking with it, to twenty-nine other students and a member of staff, someone who you wouldn't talk to about stuff like that beforehand… it was just presentations, discussions, and a bit of laughing and joking. It wasn't like, brutal, or stuff like that. But I guess it was also, like, private, as such, there was a certain degree we could go to. Class discussions were a bit… what's the word… a bit… loose, as such. Just because there was a certain degree to where people would go, you wouldn't get much… presentations bore me anyway, it's just the same old same old every single lesson, so for the teacher to stand there and go "yep, that's a penis", "yep, that's what happens to a man", yeah that's great, heard that a million times, and presentations just drag on and on and on, and I guess in terms of the delivery of it… pants, as such. But then, how would, how else would you go about it? That's all I ever knew for sex education, so how would it be any different, I don't know how… could they bring people in. I used to work for a theatre company called Chain Reaction in [participant's area], I used to do work experience for them quite a bit, and they'd do sex education shows and bring that into schools and stuff, and I used to tour schools doing that with them, but that never got brought into my school, or stuff like that, which was a shame, because I feel like that, stuff like that is really much more interesting, you get to watch people act, and then you talk to them afterwards, and you can do workshops. And for me, drama has been such an important part of my life, so for me that kind of stuff has been a lot more interesting. But it didn't really happen in my school as such, but I'd be, when I saw the show go around to other schools and I'd tour with them, I'd see, like, not necessarily the impact it was making as such, but I mean you could see that people were engaged and like the delivery of it was great, and it was a lot more interesting. We did a project as well called "Spread the Word" which was creating sexual health adverts. So we'd do a week long workshop session and we'd get together, make a script and make an advert, and we'd send it around the borough as well. So we did sexual health in terms of condoms, we did one about diseases so we had post it notes [motions

along arm] and they'd touch and it was a metaphor for having sex, and they'd get post it notes stuck all over them, like different STIs and stuff, and it was just sort of raising awareness of stuff like that. So I guess in terms of that, if you deliver stuff in an engaging way... in my borough in particular, we were, a few years ago, we had the third highest teenage pregnancy rate in Europe, and we got that down by seventy something percent, just through - it obviously wasn't just Chain Reaction, obviously there was other things going on as well, but we were one of the contributing factors, and I guess if you deliver things, if you deliver sexual health education in a more engaging way, people are going to take note and people are going to listen... it just depends on the way you deliver it, I guess. In a way that's engaging. And for me in school it wasn't engaging.

CW: So you think more interactive methods are more...

P1: Yeah, more interactive methods, because that's what people are into anyway. People are gaming, like, it's interactive, they're engaged. When you're sitting there watching a presentation, that's education 50 years ago. Like, the amount of technology we've got in this country, in the world right now, and we're still sitting in front of a screen listening to people talk, it's not the best way of delivering any form of education. There's so many options for what we can do now and we still sit in front of a screen. But, hey ho.

CW: That moves me to another point, I just wanted to ask you about how you think the internet and mass media have changed what needs to be taught and how it needs to be taught?

P1: I feel like... now... we... have a lot more say, even on things like Facebook, we can send videos about, we can... and we sort of... contribute to so many discussions now as a society, about what we feel is important, so... I guess we feel like certain celebrities are important, we need to watch their videos if they do something important or something wrong, we need to comment on them and that kind of stuff, but when you see people like, parading videos... cause I guess, in, in my particular society there's quite a lot of videos, where people are like sharing things like, relationship videos, like "I want this" and "I want that", and videos of sex and stuff like that on Facebook, and Twitter and Instagram and Snapchat, things like that, everything. Erm... it has a big part to play and it sort of tells the things that people want to learn and that they're not learning, but at the same time with all these people sending out this stuff it's making a point of the stuff we all wanna learn, and we're learning from each other because the internet is so powerful. Like I could connect with people on the other side of the world and talk to them about whatever the hell I want... and they're open to a discussion. The power of mass media now and the internet, and "Web 2.0" as it's know, and how we're so active now, and able to talk about what we want. It's almost as though education doesn't need to be in the classroom now I *guess*. If you've got things like this, where you can see videos, you can go on the internet and write whatever the hell you want into Google and find out whatever the hell you want. I guess that's what people are doing, as such, if the education isn't up to scratch. I mean, I had to type in things like, oh, "what is being gay?" when I was younger, and "should I be getting"... I'd literally be typing in things like "is it normal to get bullied if you're gay" and things like that, just because it wasn't taught as such, but the power of the internet and the power of being able to talk about these things with people you don't know is so helpful, and it helps you to learn, as such.

CW: Yeah, definitely. What about things like porn, and things like that? Mainly in relation to heterosexual relationships, where there's sort of violent imagery, or unrealistic portrayals?

P1: I guess you've got people watching things like that, and then they sort of assume that that's what sex is like, that's what things should be like, and then you get people with certain attitudes towards rape, they think that things like that are normal, because they see it in pornography, and even things like porn that's not rape... like hardcore porn, they think that's acceptable. To me, things like that - to me, hardcore pornography is pretty much just rape. But, to them, the people who watch that kind of stuff, it's just... they feel like it's normal because they can just watch it and it's accessible... I don't disagree that porn shouldn't be accessible as such, because it is a way of learning about certain things, but the way it's presented as such now, is so unlike sex actually is and the way you should forge relationships, it's like creating a culture where - cause I work in a nightclub as well - and you'll see it, you'll see boys go up to girls and grab girls and think it's okay to do it, and start kissing girls and the other way round, and you just think, "is this"... and you don't even blame them as such, because you think, you're seeing things like this on the internet anyway.

CW: And that's what you think is normal.

P1: Yeah, that's what you think is normal. And it sort of is becoming normal, because that's what everyone's learning, that's what everyone's learning is okay. I guess because pornography is such a big business now, and they get so much money from it, it sort of works on both sides when it really shouldn't, people are learnings things that they feel like are okay, because there's nothing else to see otherwise, and the other side's earning all the money, so they think it's alright as well. Yeah. I guess - you have to be aware. And if you're not aware, you get sucked in, and that's a problem with a lot of people, they just get sucked in... and they just, not even necessarily believe, they just go with what they see it, because it's alright.

CW: And then when people share it...

P1: Yeah, they go "oh everyone's sharing it, everyone likes it, I like it too!" It's like clothes - I like that top, everyone likes that top, everyone starts wearing that top. Like skinny jeans, everyone likes skinny jeans now. Everyone likes, erm, Nike Roches now. Everyone follows a trend. Like Twitter, Twitter is just trends, they'll start tweeting about a certain trend just because everyone else is. It's just the thing, everyone follows everyone and just believes whatever they see, as such, and that's the problem I guess. You just follow whatever just because everyone else is. Which is fine to a certain degree, but when it comes to things like pornography and sex, if you're looking at the wrong thing, you feel like it's okay, but things can practically end up ending your life. And that's not good. But yeah, society ey?!

CW: Do you think 11 is a good age to start learning about those things? Or do you think it needs to be sooner, or later? And I'm sort of talking about the more physical stuff than going onto the sexual things.

P1: I feel like that's a question that can't really be answered as such, because everyone's different, like I was aware of things like my sexuality when I was about 11, 12, so that was the right age for me to be learning about stuff like that, and about the physical side, I've known I had a penis since the age of what, 2 or 3 years old. I mean I probably didn't know

what it was for, as such, but you might know these things a bit earlier. It just depends on the person. Someone who's not so comfortable yet learning about things like sexuality, might not be ready until they're 16, 17, *18*. So I feel like that's a question that can't really be answered and I feel like that's the problem with sex education as such, it generalises that certain things should be learned at certain ages, and if someone's like, religious, like they could be taken out of sex education - I don't know if that's the case anymore?

CW: Yeah, they can still be taken out.

P1: When I was back they could still be taken out for things like religious reasons. If they didn't want to learn about these things that's perfectly fine with them, but at the same time, with things like parent's decisions and stuff, and so these kids wanted to learn about these things at certain ages but they couldn't. It's so hard to generalise an age at which anyone should start learning about anything, just because everyone's different, no one should be forced to… talk and learn about something that they're not ready for. Because, for me, I guess I was ready a lot earlier than certain people would have been, but at the same time… yeah generalisations just can't be made on things like when you should learn about sex education, because everyone's different, so…

CW: Okay, so, how big of an impact do you think your experiences of sex education have had on your experiences of sex and relationships and your body?

P1: I mean I guess practically I learnt about my body and what is does, yeah, that's fine, that was repeated to me many times, like I said earlier, so, that's fine. In terms of relationships and my sexuality and stuff… that was all me going out and doing my own thing and speaking to people who themselves are homosexual, or meeting boys cause I can, you know? I had to learn a lot myself. So, not really a big impact as such, in terms of the emotional side. In terms of sex education helping me to go out and be able to be myself - very minimal, like, close to zero, as such. I sort of did my own thing, so the impacts came from me going out and doing what the hell I wanted to, me going on Grindr cause I can, me going out to clubs and meeting boys cause I can, going out to gay nights cause I can. It was all me doing my own thing, having the support of my friends when I told them I was gay, and then yeah. Learning my own things.

CW: So you think it's important, then, to be included in the curriculum?

P1: Yeah, *definitely* it is. I mean I don't know how much I would have wanted to know when I was at that age, but I definitely would have wanted to know more than I ever knew. Cause I was definitely… I definitely felt alone as such, because I couldn't speak to my parents about stuff like that, because I definitely didn't want to at that point. Even my friends, cause I have great friends, they've always supported me and always will support me, but even at that time when you're younger, you don't want to talk about things like that. If you're not sure yourself how are you going to go up and talk to other people about it? And so, sex education gave me no… knowledge of being able to speak to people, and reached for someone for support, so. I had to make my own impact on my own sex and health education [laughter]. Which is not really okay when this education is here to be given - why are people having to go off and learn it in other ways because they feel they can't learn it in those environments? When that's specifically what it's there for.

CW: So you think it's an important part of the curriculum?

P1: Oh, 100%. 100%. Things like that, like, like the arts are seen as not being important and I think things such as sex education, the arts, etcetera… I suppose it's because of the taboo surrounding things, they're subjects which are a lot more open and you can be creative in our subjects and talk about things in a certain way, but for some unknown reason… like, people, up there, think things shouldn't be spoken about as such. Sex education, they feel like certain things can't be spoken about, for some unknown reason. And it wouldn't necessarily solve a lot of issues if they did, but they would definitely open things up for a lot more people, to learn a lot more about themselves and the world they live in as such but… what can you do?

[END OF INTERVIEW]

CW: Okay, so thank you [Participant] for coming to be interviewed today. We'll just start off this interview by asking about your relationship with sex and relationships education - was it a positive experience; when you look back what are the kinds of things you think about?

P2: Erm… to be honest with you I can't really remember my sex education… I think… I mean I think most of it happened… I mean I went to two different schools, erm… at my first school we did something called Citizenship, which sort of took the place of PSHE, but that wasn't really erm… that wasn't about sex, that was more about how you can contribute to the community and how you can be a good citizen, but then when I went to a different school, they didn't do PSHE there either. I don't know if they did it when they were in Year 7 and Year 8 but I joined in Year 9, and… there wasn't anything. I think maybe we took part in some kind of sex education during our biology lessons. I remember we had this really… kind of eccentric biology teacher who was really into Eastern Europe and history and things and no one was that keen on him because he was very prone to throwing out, and being a bit too personal, like talking to us about himself in too much detail. Like telling us about his wife's experiences of feminine condoms, and that's *fine*, but… he said it as con-domes as well, and that really… and I think people were more focused on the fact that he was saying it wrong than what he was actually saying about these things.

CW: So it was a very practical look at sex?

P2: Yeah, I mean we certainly didn't learn anything beyond the very physical stuff. Which I think is a shame because there's a lot to talk about. And when I say just the physical stuff I mean… we literally learnt about condoms and that was it. Maybe the pill… but, I mean, now I know there's so many different things available, and we didn't learn about any of them… so I guess the experience was not… I wouldn't say it wasn't great, because it wasn't really there. Erm… yeah, there wasn't really any relationship with sex education, as there should have been, I guess, there wasn't a relationship at all, I think, to the extent that I should have had it. Which I guess kind of… erm, makes it hard to reflect on how good it was. Well, first of all I can't remember it at all - I tend to think I have quite a good memory, and… yeah, I just don't remember it, I don't remember sex education. I remember like, in year 6, watching this video of these lines sort of coming together and they were having sex and that was our first experience of sex education, erm, but of course it didn't really tell you what happened. I mean, I knew about that sort of thing before, I think it was when I was 10, I got, my mum gave me this book, and it was called "Periods" and it was yellow and it had purple writing on it, and I had it, and it was just people's individual experiences and accounts of their first periods and what to expect and stuff. I read it cover to cover, because I hadn't started my period yet, and I was like "oh my god, I need to know", all this stuff is like "I need to know", and it turned out it didn't come for another two years, erm… but I knew everything about it and when my friends started it was like "oh, I know what's happening", erm… yeah. But then I remember, it was a series, and there was books like Periods, Sex, Drugs, Alcohol. And I just remember being really interested in the Sex one, and thinking, gosh, I wish I could get my mum to buy that for me, because I want to know more. Not in like an odd way, I guess, but I was just curious and I think that speaks volumes about the fact that I didn't have a very good sex education programme in any of my schools. I went to three different schools in total, a primary school, and two secondary schools, and we didn't really learn anything about it. I think I learned more in sixth form, because we

used to have people come in… but they mainly spoke to us about drugs and things. I remember they had these huge boxes of condoms, thousands of condoms all different flavours, and once a year these C-Card people would come in and you'd book an appointment with your friends, like, there would be this person, and they weren't usually the kind of people teenage girls usually feel that comfortable talking about their sex lives with. I guess that that was the extent to which we got a sex education.

CW: Do you mind elaborating a little more on what the C-Card programme actually entailed?

P2: Sure, it was a sort of local government programme I think, where you got given a card and you could use it to go to the pharmacies in the local area and you'd get some condoms and lubes and things you needed for safe sex. But you had to attend these first appointments to get one and at the appointments they showed us how to put a condom on this plastic penis, which wasn't really at all realistic, and they gave away glow in the dark sperm keyrings which everyone loved, and you could tell who'd been to the C-Card appointments, and they gave you a plastic bag with condoms and lube and information on using them properly, but again, they just spoke about condoms. I know their programme was specifically focused on promoting condom use, but they didn't even suggest anything else. I don't know, I don't really think condoms are really an effective way of… of contraception for a lot of people, because at the end of the day they're not the only form. Erm… and while they're one of the most effective ones, they're not to everyone's liking or taste, so I think the fact that's the only option you get given a lot of the time, is not really great.

CW: So you'd say that none of your schools were effective in how they taught Sex and Relationships Education?

P2: Yes, definitely, purely because I don't think we really had it. I mean there definitely wasn't any talk about relationships, if there was talk about sex it was very clinical, like it would be a picture of a vulva, and it would be like "here's all the different parts", and then… yeah. It just wasn't really very different, or revealing, telling, or anything… I mean like I said, I already had a very rough knowledge of the body and what it did, because of the book my mum bought me… but yeah, I wouldn't really say my school was effective. I mean, again, I don't know if my first school taught it later, and then my other school taught it earlier, and I just happened to miss it, but… either way… I'm pretty sure that they shouldn't just do it once. I mean, then again, I have younger brothers and I can't remember them ever saying they had sex education, and I know they're boys so they probably wouldn't want to talk about it with an older sister but the younger one is very much like… with something like sex education he'd be like "eww, we had to learn about *this* today", and so… yeah, I mean, I wouldn't say it was effective, because I think there's so many different ways to teach it, and I didn't see any of those ways, really. There weren't even days, I know that some schools have like days where people come in and talk to them, you know like about road safety and things like that. Yeah, because at my school, we always had people coming in showing us horrible videos and campaigns about texting and drinking and driving, which was odd as none of us were old enough to drive, and we just had those, and lots of things about fire engines for some reason, yeah. When I was at college we had another of those and we had a demonstration by some firefighters where we were shown them getting people out of a smashed up car and I mean, again, it was about drink driving, because I guess where I lived was quite bad for that, but that was the kind of PSHE lessons that I ever had. They weren't about sex or the health aspect, they were very much about keeping yourself safe on the

roads, but you know. You can easily still get a sexually transmitted disease or get pregnant, or, you know. And you've got issues of like consent and abuse, and things, and those definitely weren't covered. There's a campaign at the moment, I don't know who it's by but I presume one of the Government bodies, but it's like Disrespect Nobody, I think it's called, and it's about Consent, Sexting, and Abuse. I think it's quite interesting, I mean it's not personally to my taste, because it's like body parts which are talking, and I mean, I guess it's effective, and the things that they're saying are really good. But yeah, I guess what I'm saying is that people can learn a lot more from those kind of campaigns, than… like… than they're getting taught, if you know what I mean?

CW: Yeah, definitely. So, I guess you've covered how your school taught Sex and Relationships, so, what kind of things do you think should have been included? Or, rather, say in terms of future generations, what do you think they should be taught?
P2: Erm… well like I said, different forms of contraception… and as well, I think like, on the topic of that, but stuff like the pill and the implant, but I actually think that the implications on your periods are quite important, because I got put on the pill… well, I say put on, my mum wanted to me go on the pill when I was about thirteen, because of the fact that I was having really bad periods. And erm, so, I guess it would have been really helpful for me if they had even mentioned that that was even an option, because it took my mum saying it for me to realise that that was even an option.

CW: Sorry, to clarify, you wanted to have been made aware that you could take the pill for period regulation?

P2: Oh, yeah, that's it. And also, I guess, because you don't always know if it's for periods or not it's kind of seen as a bit of a slaggy thing to do, like, oh, [Participant 2]'s on the pill, she must be having sex with somebody. Or, at least intending to have sex with somebody, which is, you know. You don't want people think about you like that… and also, I had a really bad reaction when I was on the pill, I had to take these other pills as well because of the fact that, my friends always called them my "crazy bitch pills" because I would be *so* emotional, like, my mood swings all through the month would just be terrible, but then like, there's other methods of, like, hormonal things, like there's different ingredients, before I was on this one called Ovranette and now I'm on one called Femodene, and this Femodene one, it doesn't have the same effect on mood swings but it does have the same effect of helping to regulate and control periods, as well as being a contraceptive, but then again so does Ovranette. And I know they're so different, it's so personal to each person how they're gonna affect you, but… equally, erm…oh I've lost my point…

CW: So you're calling for more education on different form of female contraception?

P2: Well yeah, because they're just important, you know? I just am very surprised that we literally learnt nothing other than the fact that they were for sex, also, I didn't… things like IUDs, diaphragms, you can have contraceptive injections, I recently found out you can get a spermicidal sponge that you can put inside of you which kills the sperm and stops you from getting pregnant. Oh, and something else I think is really important is LGBT sexual health. I identify as bisexual and I have to say, I really don't think there was much talk about homosexuality at all, you know, lesbian or gay, but I can definitely say that it took me a very long time to realise that there was contraception for us, for women. There's dental dams, which makes a lot of sense, because you don't want, you know. You know, at the end of the day, it's a mouth on, on a you know, on a private part. So, of course there's a risk of getting an infection, and I didn't know that for a long time. And I think… you know, there's no age

limit to when you discover your sexuality. And although I'm not suggesting that they should be teaching kids about dental dams from the age of 11, or the different kinds of contraception, they need to be gradually introducing them to those kinds of things, because whether they like it or not, a majority of kids will start having sex at the age of 15. Erm… I had sex first when I was 16, and I was absolutely terrified that if I had sex before then that I would be going to jail. And it's probably not the case for everybody, but like… I don't know. Yeah, I don't know. But I guess my point there is that LGBT sex education is really important, and yeah… I definitely, I have a lecturer, who's at this uni, and we were all having a discussion about HIV and AIDS a few months ago, about what everybody knew, and nobody knew very much about it, and I thought that was absolutely terrible to be honest with you, because I know that is a considered a "gay disease" and I know that it's considered, I guess, an "illness of poverty", and you know, horrible things, but it is very real and it's something that happens. You know, I know at least 2 HIV positive people, and I just… I just wonder if there's any… you know, if it's stuff like sex education which lead to them getting that. Because… I don't think that it gets explained enough, and you know, when people do talk to you about it, it is very much like, *aarggh*, HIV, you're gonna die, very much you know… it stigmatises people with HIV and they get not only emotionally wounded but… they've got HIV and people think a certain way about it and they get treated differently… I don't know…

CW: If this is an emotional area for you, we don't have to continue.

P2: No, it's fine, it's just, I have a friend who was asking me about it the other day, because he doesn't know much about it, he's a gay man and he doesn't know that much about it. And, you know, I don't want… oh I feel horrible about saying this, but he does have a lot of sex with different men, which is his decision, and it's his life, so so what? Erm… but the fact is, he doesn't know very much about it, he didn't know, like… stuff like, you know, like how you get it. Like he knows you can get it from unprotected sex with somebody who has it but well he's like "can you get it through kissing?" or oral sex, he just doesn't know, and it puts him at risk because of the fact that he could be missing out on something really meaningful, because he's avoiding HIV positive people because he doesn't know about them and the chances are it wouldn't affect him, because if he's sensible and they're both sensible, it'll be fine. But… yeah, I don't know. But yeah, my main thing is more LGBT inclusive sex education, it's very important and that's the way the country needs to be heading now…I think… I mean don't get me wrong, there's such… the physical stuff still needs to be included in sex education, as well as issues like consent, abuse, and, especially sexting. Oh sexting is *very* important these days. I mean the amount of… the amount of boys, when you're growing up, who want to sext with you… that was at least 5 years ago, now, like, from then on, I've had so many people, and sometimes you do do it, because you think this is going to make me feel good, this will make me feel sexy and the person likes it and you feel good about yourself. I mean, looking back, I'm very fortunate that no one has ever posted a picture of me, or used it in a blackmail sense, because they could have, you know… I could have been in a really bad position. I'm lucky but some people aren't, they're put in a bad position because of things like that, so I think those things really need to be taught. My sister is 12, and she doesn't sext, no, but she takes a lot of selfies and those are probably a bit too provocative, for her age, I would say. I mean… she's got boobs, and she's got a figure, and you know… [noise of exasperation] I don't know. I just worry about her, and I think more education about sexting is very important, because I don't want her and people like her to be exploited, based on stuff like that, because that could ruin her entire life and she's only 12, like say someone somehow gets her number or her snapchat handle, contacting her and talking, telling her she's pretty, and that makes me feel absolutely sick to my

stomach, that someone could do that to her, she's my little sister and you know, my mum told me the other day that she was having to tell my sister the other day what it is that men do to pictures like that, masturbate over them and things, and my sister was in tears because she had no idea, she was just taking pictures that she thought she looked cute in, and probably wanted to look attractive to the boys her age, because you do, you want to look appealing. I mean I know when I was 12 if I would have taken pictures of myself I would have looked terrible but that's before the age of selfies. But... yeah, I don't know. Yeah so, sorry, I keep going off on one. Things I think should be included are fundamentals, contraception and protection, LGBT inclusive education as well as issues to do with consent and media and things like that, and I don't think that's a lot to ask for. I really don't think it's too much to ask for from sex education.

CW: Okay, so, what kind of things do you think could be implemented to help sex education be taught more effectively?

P2: Erm... just... more of it. I would say at least one lesson a term, at least, or even every half a term, like in the first week of each half term have one lesson so that over the year, they have one lesson about contraception, one about sex, one focusing on LGBT needs, one on sexting... and then just repeat it over their whole school careers, because then, just go into more detail, into more complex versions of contraception, more detail on sexually transmitted diseases, because that's quite important. Erm, and I guess, in terms of pedagogically speaking, you could like... group discussions could be good but you risk things being taken the wrong way, or things being admitted accidentally or at the wrong time, so they might suggest something to make everyone think they're a slag, and they probably won't really want that, they won't really need that. I remember, there was some girl, we were in year 10, so we must have been 14 or 15, and everyone had heard that this girl had had sex with her boyfriend. Oh my god, the reactions that people had, and everyone thought she was a massive slut, and like, when I think about it now, she was having sex with a boyfriend she'd been with for ages, it's not like she was going around having sex with everybody, she was having sex with someone she's in a committed relationship with and *everyone* was calling her a slag and I think that's terrible, why call a girl like that a slag, it's not slaggy behaviour. Yeah, she might have had sex too early, legally, but it's not slaggy or slutty, it's just... I don't know. It's very very odd, I think, how things get twisted when they get interpreted by high schoolers, how they react to news. So I suppose in retrospect group discussions really wouldn't be very good, so maybe interactive things, like... workshops, maybe make your own cartoons, something where you're creative, write a diary entry about a sexual experience, or a diary entry about things, like a poster, what have they learnt about these issues. You could still do it in a group way, work with a partner and just apply that knowledge. I just think sex education needs to be taken more seriously in the curriculum. I know that teenage pregnancy rates have gone down quite a lot in the last 10, 15 years, but that doesn't change the fact it still is happening to people who... I mean, I have an ex-best friend, erm, that obviously not the reason we stopped being friends, we fell out long before she got pregnant, but she had a child when she was 18, she must have been 18 when she got pregnant with her son and she's now pregnant with twins, so she's going to have three children before she turns 20. Erm, and then, another old best friend of mine, [laughs], I'm obviously a curse, who I was friends with at primary school, she had her first child when she was 15, erm. And there was very much a sense that this 15 year old one had had this child because she felt like that's what she needed to be complete, she needed this, to have a child, to have that kind of affection from somebody because it seemed like she wasn't getting it from her parents, which is obviously incredibly sad, that that's how she had to get that affection, by getting pregnant. I've always

wondered, is there a way that that could have not happened, because that's her life now. She is a mum. To a lovely little boy, he's lovely and he's doing really well, he's clever and bright, and I would never for a second dismiss that you know, it is a fulfilling job, but she had a lot of aspirations and things she wanted to do, she was a real party animal and a dancer and she had things to do and now she's a mum and she's… I don't know, I just, there's a lot of people in her life who wanted more for her. I think people don't realise the cost of babies and things as well, because she has only just moved out and her sons 5 now, and this is with help from the Government, she couldn't afford it just her and her son, she lives in London, and it was just too expensive. Erm… and I just don't think that people realise it, the cost of having a baby and a family and being an adult is much more than you can earn when you leave school. You're not gonna earn that much straight away. Okay, I completely went off on another tangent, you really should reign me in, but yeah, I guess more interactive things, workshops, let them be creative with it. Split it into 2 hours, first half an hour, teach it, let them go off, do their own research and then create something. I feel like that would be so much more fulfilling for the kids as well, much more fulfilling than an old, black and white photocopied for the millionth time worksheet.

CW: Okay, so, I think you've answered most of my questions, you're a chatty respondent which is great! Erm…so… you think it's important to the curriculum…

P2: Absolutely, yup, without a doubt.

CW: …Okay, so, how big of an impact would you say Sex and Relationship Education has had on your own experiences of sex and relationships?

P2: Not a huge amount, to be honest with you, not a huge amount. Erm… I mean, like I said, I was always scared that I was going to get arrested, because it was very much drummed in that you shouldn't have sex before you're 16… I mean, I've just thought of something, that I've recently just realised, which I was never ever taught, that there's only a certain window during your cycle where you can get pregnant, either side of that there's very little chance of you getting pregnant. And I always wondered, you know, when you see films, like you see women doing handstands and ovulation tests to try to get pregnant. To me, it's always seemed like something that's just happened, that if you had sperm inside of you you'd get pregnant, and I was always so scared of my friends getting pregnant because I never had unprotected sex, ever, I was always terrified of getting pregnant. I never knew that there were times of the month where it was impossible for me to get pregnant. And I'm not saying that would have made less cautious and not want to use contraception or protection, but it would definitely would have made me more calm about it, because I definitely got myself into a panic a lot of the time. I think that's an important thing, it's not something that should be taught in the sense girls think "oh I'll just have unprotected sex on days 8, 9 and 21 of my cycle" but just… I don't know, be careful at certain times and calm down on others. I think it took some of the fun out of it, because I was stressing too much, like, "oh my god, am I gonna get pregnant?". Yeah… I think, because of the very limited extent I've actually had sex education, I don't think it's had much of an impact on me, I think almost every bit of what I've learned has come from books, my own research, porn, not gonna lie, porn. Which is obviously not a very good source of information, I know that, as somebody who has had sex, but you do learn some things… yeah, anyway… I definitely think there's room for improvement on the curriculum, erm, and I definitely think there's opportunity for change. Because I just don't think it's up to scratch. Erm, and I kind of think if it was better, my 12 year old sister wouldn't be walking around in crop-tops and taking selfies with her

cleavage out. I think there's a lot of lessons that need to be taught. So, that's all I have to say, I guess.

[END OF INTERVIEW]

Why and how did the murder and ill-treatment of civilians by the state increase massively in the 20th Century?

Sam Allen

In this essay, I will be discussing why and how did the murder and ill-treatment of civilians by the state increase massively in the 20th Century. A few examples of state crimes that I will be analysing include torture, mass rape, genocide, war crimes and human rights abuses. State crimes, as well as the murder and ill treatment of civilians, increased over the course of the 20th century with the main scope of this issue being firmly placed by the genocide in Rwanda, the Holocaust. Therefore over the course of this essay, I aim to put forward the reasons why atrocities such this have been allowed to happen and how they happened, highlighting the most well-known cases of State crime as well as lesser known cases of ill-treatment.

Firstly, it is important to make note of what state crimes are when attempting to understand why and how the state murder and ill-treat civilians. According to Chambliss, state crimes are 'acts defined by law as criminal and committed by state officials in pursuit of their jobs as representatives of the state' (Chambliss, 1989: 159). In essence, state crimes are criminal acts instigated by leading figures in a country or state as a result of their position of power. These acts are ordered and carried out under the idea that they are representing their people in an attempt to legitimise their actions. Furthermore, criminologists suggest that issues concerning the crimes of the state include war crimes, crimes of aggression, genocide and crimes against humanity (Rothe & Freidrichs, 2006). There were many examples of the ill-treatment and civilians over the course of the 20th century all around the world including many of the crimes noted by Rothe and Freidrichs (2006) and these crimes will be explored further over the course of this essay. However, Criminologists such as Stanley Cohen (1993) suggest that establishing a definition for state crime is not as simple as Chambliss, Rothe and Freidrich's claim. He argues that 'concepts such as 'genocide', 'crimes against humanity' and 'war crimes' are notoriously difficult to define, even in good faith' (Cohen, 2001: 140). It is apparent that there may be some difficulty in defining state crimes that are conducted upon the civilian population. This suggests that there is no universal definition of state crime, meaning that it can be difficult to label an act by the state as either illegal or in fact a serious state crime.

To begin, I will focus on the Holocaust and other examples of genocide in an attempt to understand why and how the murder and ill-treatment of civilians by the state increased massively in the 20th Century. Criminologists such as Zygmunt Bauman (1989) have suggested that genocide can be compared to gardening. Bauman states that 'It is just one of many chores that people who treat society as a garden need to undertake. If garden design defines its weeds, there are weeds wherever there is a garden. And the weeds need to be exterminate' (Bauman, 1989: 162). The garden analogy suggests that the state defines individuals or groups of people as 'weeds' of society who need to be disposed of in order to maintain the perfect garden. In practice there are many similarities between the Holocaust and the killing of weeds. The Nazi's defined the Jewish population in Germany as undesirables who did not fit into their ideals of the Aryan Race and through the use of concentration camps, these 'weeds' were killed. This interpretation of why the German state murdered civilians is to some extent supported by Stanley Cohen. It is argued by Cohen that 'they were ordinary Germans, true believers motivated by a historically rooted,

widespread and violent anti-Semitism that logically encouraged an 'exterminationist' ideology that existed well before the opportunity to act on it' (Cohen, 2001: 189). Cohen believes that the murder and ill-treatment of Jewish civilians developed from underlying racial hatred held by many Germans who viewed the holocaust as a way to exterminate or at least decimate the Jewish population. Both Cohen and Bauman's arguments paint a clear picture that suggests the Holocaust, and the murdering of Jewish civilians by the German state, was an attempt to rid Germany of its 'weeds' and dispose of those who were deemed undesirable.

In the African continent, there was an increase in the murder and ill-treatment of civilians especially in the cases of Rwanda and Sierra Leone. According to Cohen (2001), the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 was allowed to happen. He believes that 'in the recent Rwanda case, the build-up was clearly recognized, the local radio broadcast incitements to kill lists of named Tutsi; the diplomatic community and aid workers were fully informed. Although legal application of the term genocide does not ensure intervention, a refusal to use the term makes it easier not to intervene' (Cohen, 2001: 146). Cohen argues that despite clear evidence suggesting that atrocities such as genocide were taking place, the international community did nothing and by delaying the application of the crime, did not see the need to intervene. In this case, it is likely that the murder and ill-treatment of civilians by states has increased over the course of the 20th century as organisations such as the UN refuse to get involved or help.

Cohen's arguments as to why and how crimes against civilians in Africa have increased massively is opposed by Becca Franssen (2014) on her analysis of the Civil War in Sierra Leone. Franssen states that 'Sierra Leone's Civil war is often acknowledged as one of the most violent of the 20th century; highlighted for the use of child soldiers (by rebel and government forces alike), mass murder and the prevalence of bush amputations' (Franssen, 2014). Franssen outlines the state crimes used on civilians in Sierra Leone including the use of child soldiers, maiming and murder. She also criticises Cohen's view that atrocities and state crime increased as a result of an unwillingness to intervene. It is suggested that 'while the civil war broke out for domestic reasons, it was deliberately propagated by internal and external forces to reap the economic benefits of war' (Franssen, 2014). Furthermore, 'international companies were supplying arms and men to government forces, while simultaneously supplying arms to the rebel groups… meanwhile foreign governments were deliberately manipulating import policy in order to circumvent international embargos on the import and export of blood diamonds' (Franssen, 2014). In her opinion, the murder and ill-treatment of civilians by the government and rebels in Sierra Leone was allowed to happen and occurred as both international businesses and foreign governments were making money out of the escalating violence and subsequent trade of munitions and diamonds. It could therefore be argued that the ill-treatment and murder of civilians increased massively in the 20th century due to globalisation, increased trade and selfish material gain.

One of the most interesting yet controversial arguments put forward as to why the ill-treatment and murder of civilians by the state has increased massively in the past century, is said to have been the fault of criminologists themselves. In 'Criminological Perspectives', McLaughlin and Muncie argue that 'criminologists have been remarkably silent on the genocide, ethnic cleansing, extra judicial killings and violations of Human rights that are occurring in many parts of the world' (McLaughlin & Muncie, 2013). It is argued by McLaughlin and Muncie that crimes against the civilian population have been allowed to occur as criminologists have not been engaged in sufficient debates on the subjects. This

belief is supported by Stanley Cohen who suggests that 'in criminology, this sentiment was expressed in the much cited paper by the Schwendingers entitled 'Defenders of Order and Guardians of Human Rights?' Looking back at this text, it appears a missed opportunity to deal with the core issues of state crime' (Cohen, 1993: 53). In support of McLaughlin and Muncie, Cohen suggests that criminologists have done little to tackle the issue of state crime. Cohen uses the Schwendingers as an example to suggest that criminologists should be guardians of human rights and help to prevent the ill-treatment of civilians; however he believes that criminologists have ignored the crimes of the state for too long. This controversial argument places the fault for state crime, the murder and ill-treatment of civilians, firmly on criminologist's shoulders. Therefore it could be argued that there has been a massive increase in the murder and ill-treatment of civilians over the course of the 20th century as criminologists have been reluctant to pay attention to the crimes of the state.

The murdering and ill-treatment of civilians by the State has increased over the course of the 20th as a result of declarations of a state of emergency. According to Giorgio Agamben, 'the voluntary creation of a permanent state of emergency has become one of the essential practices of contemporary states including democratic ones' (Agamben, 2005: 254). This argument provides us with a brief insight into how civilians are either murdered or ill-treated by governments. Agamben's view that national security and states of emergency have resulted in the ill-treatment of civilians is to some extent supported by Cohen and his opinions on torture. Cohen argues that 'torture was a prominent feature of the Latin American military dictatorships… but the justificatory language of divine violence, purge, salvation, cleansing and national security needed no fancy legal manoeuvres, certainly not at the time.' (Cohen, 2006: 303). It is argued that the murder and ill-treatment of civilians by the state was allowed to happen and not questioned in dictatorships in the Southern American continent. The idea that the crimes of the state were supposedly justified by the international community as it was supposedly important and necessary for national security. This same argument of the importance of national security has been used in regard to other state crimes involving mass rape and ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia. Criminologists such as Todd Salzman have suggested that 'in and through rape, and in particular rape for the purpose of impregnation, Serbs utilized the female gender violating her body and its reproductive capabilities as a weapon of war' (Salzman, 1998: 296). Salzman continues his analysis of the Serbs arguing that 'the female is reduced to her reproductive capabilities in order to fulfil the overall objective of Serbian nationalism by producing more civilians to populate the nation. This attitude has certainly had an impact… playing a part in the establishment of rape camps and usurpation of women's bodies to achieve ethnic cleansing' (Salzman, 1998: 297). The ill-treatment, ethnic cleansing and mass rape of women by the Serbian forces has been labelled a state crime by the UN. This particular crime by the state was initiated in order to repopulate the Serbian population with the establishment of rape camps thus sustaining Serbian Nationalism through forced impregnation whilst also ethnically cleansing Serbia of its undesirables. Therefore, it is clear that the ill-treatment and murder of civilians increased as a direct result of nationalism and national security.

Following on from the example of the atrocities committed by the Serbian state in Yugoslavia, the ill-treatment and murder of civilians has increased massively in the form of mass rape. The Serbs were not the only state to have used mass rape in an attempt to control civilians. In 1937, 'Japanese soldiers carried out a bloodbath of enormous proportions. A death toll of over 300,000, both civilian and military, including an untold number of women were first raped, estimated at between twenty thousand and eighty

thousand' (Chang, 1997: 124). Furthermore, 'world opinion condemned Japan so severely for the Rape of Nanking that the imperial government adopted an unusual strategy to protect its public image... it was after the orgy at Nanking that the Japanese high command organized the vast networks of comfort stations that eventually stretched across East Asia' (Chang, 1997: 127). It is clear from Iris Chang's work that the example of the Rape of Nanking paints a disturbing picture of the ill-treatment and murder of civilians by states especially in times of war. According to Chang, surviving Japanese Veterans claim that the army had officially outlawed the rape of enemy women. But rape remained so deeply embedded in Japanese Military culture and superstition that no one took the rule seriously (Chang, 1997). It is apparent that mass rape by the Japanese upon civilians in Nanking, was allowed to happen despite supposedly being outlawed. Moreover, when news first surfaced of the atrocities taking place, international pressure condemned the rape however the Japanese state found an alternative way around the situation by establishing brothels. It could therefore be argued that the ill-treatment of female civilians was allowed to happen because Japanese military custom and tradition acknowledged and perhaps supported the mass rape which took place in Nanking and created brothels to continue such practices as a result of international criticism.

There has been a substantial increase in the murder and ill-treatment of civilians by the state and this has been allowed to happen as a result of the Bystander effect. Criminologists such as Sheleff have argued that the bystander effect is likely to happen as a result of three conditions: the diffusion of responsibility; the inability to identify a victim and an inability to effectively intervene (Sheleff, 1978). Firstly, the diffusion of responsibilities suggests that there may be atrocities being committed but why should one individual report it as someone else may. Stanley Cohen suggests that in the case of state crime, 'governments turn a blind eye or refuse to intervene in distinct conflicts for which they often have indirect responsibility' (Cohen, 2001: 337). If this is to be the case, civilians are ill-treated and murdered by the state as other governments refuse to accept responsibility for dealing with the atrocities. The second issue; the inability to identify a victim suggests that we cannot sympathise with the victims of state crime so we are not prepared to deal with it. The third issue refers to the inability to effectively intervene. This idea suggests that crime of murder and the ill-treatment of civilians by the state are allowed to happen because individuals feel powerless or afraid. The bystander effect is argued by Cohen to be 'originally used to describe the seemingly difference of western leaders to the fate of the Jews during the Holocaust... clearly the allies knew earlier and more about the extermination policy than they conceded' (Cohen, 2001: 337). According to Cohen, the murder of the Jews by the Nazi state was widely known by Western governments, however, for various reasons they stood by and let it happen. It could be argued therefore, that the bystander effect has directly led to an increase in murder and ill-treatment of civilians by the state with many countries either ignoring state crimes or refusing to deal with the situation.

The final reason as to why the murder and ill-treatment of civilians by the state has increased as a result of the use of neutralization techniques. Sykes and Matza suggested that techniques of neutralization were 'accounts which actors give of their behaviour which must be acceptable to their audiences' (Sykes & Matza, 1957: 666). They give examples of neutralization techniques including denial of injury; denial of a victim; denial of responsibility; condemning the condemners and finally an appeal to higher loyalties (Sykes & Matza, 1957: 667). Similar to the ideas held by Sheleff, the denial of responsibility could be used to suggest an individual was just following orders. 'The iconic image of such obedience is Eichmann: a cog in the machine, obeying only the orders that covered him'

(Cohen, 2001: 420). It is well known that many Nazi officials justified their behaviour by arguing they were doing as they were told. Other forms of denial tackled in Sykes and Matza's work include the denial of injury. Stanley Cohen points to the US use of torture stating that that 'the pain inflicted by interrogation procedures had to pass a demanding threshold before it could count as torture' (Cohen, 2006: 272). With this denial technique we observe that acts which may be seen by outsiders as torture; was actually just an interrogation as the pain threshold had not been passed therefore a crime has not been committed enabling the state to deny injury to the victim. It is clear that neutralization techniques have been used by state officials in an attempt continue to murder and ill-treat civilians through a list of denials in order to justify their actions.

In conclusion, it is clear that there are many reasons as to why and how the murder and ill-treatment of civilians by the state has increased massively in the 20th century. Each example which has been used in this discussion provides a different reason as to why and how states murder and ill-treat civilians. In the case of the Holocaust, atrocities were allowed to happen due to an anti-Semitic belief that the Jews did not fit in German society. Other reasons as to why crimes against humanity were able to take place in the 20th century, has resulted from an unwillingness by governments to intervene in conflicts or in extreme cases, the decision by the businesses and governments to manipulate the economic and social situation in the country. In a majority of cases, nationalism has played a key role in the murder and ill-treatment of civilians such as the Serbians policy of mass rape in Yugoslavia, the Holocaust in Germany and the torture used by South American dictatorships. Moreover many crimes committed by the state are denied through techniques of neutralization and well as the bystander effect. There is a vast amount of evidence relating to the true extent of state crimes and the murder of civilians however many individuals and nations have their own methods or loopholes in order to avoid prosecution. Overall, it is clear that there was a massive increase in the murder and ill-treatment of civilians in the 20th century by states and there are a number of reasons as to why this may be the case.

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Return to CONTENTS

Why and how did the murder and ill-treatment of civilians by the state increase massively in the Twentieth Century?

Aurelia de Maleissye-Melun

'A being is not subject to the empire of language, but only to the empire of acts. Our Humanism neglected acts. Therefore it failed in its attempts' (Saint-Exupéry, 1939: 427). In these few lines, Saint-Exupéry captured the very essence of what the twentieth century was to become. Western societies shifted from the Dark Age to the new era of modernity and democracy. Inspired by the Enlightenment, modernity aspired to progress in human rights, quality of life and rationality through a civilizing process. Thereby, the state, a powerful political body, holds the monopoly of legitimate violence (Weber, 1946) and maintains the police and the army to protect the population. International laws instituted regulations inspired by humanist ideals, which ought to grant rights to all and protect individuals. The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights represents the first global expression of rights to which all human beings are inherently entitled. Moreover, the 1864 and 1906 Geneva Conventions established the standards of international law for the humanitarian treatment of war and defined the rights and protections afforded to non-combatants. Conventions also addressed and regulated warfare issues such as the use of weapons of war (e.g. First and Second Hague Conventions, 1899, 1907; the biochemical warfare Geneva Protocol, 1925).

However, modernity did not obliterate violence, but rather hid it away through a rational administration. Furthermore, Mbembe (2003:1) denounced what he called 'necro-states', states that hold 'the power and the capacity to dictate who may live and who must die'. The 20th century proved to be the era of violence and barbarianism. As Cohen (2001: 287) highlighted 'civilian fatalities have climbed from the 5 per cent of war-related deaths at the turn of the century to more than 90 per cent in the 1990s'.

This essay will discuss the reasons and causes that led to a massive increase of murder and ill-treatment of civilians by states in the Twentieth Century. Conventions, which were put in place to protect civilians, appeared to be violated by the same states that put them in place. Revolution in the morality of warfare led to massive human consequences, facilitated by new technologies and states' techniques of neutralisation. Furthermore, States' monopoly of legitimate violence appeared to justify, through political, eugenics, religious, etc. ideologies, some of the deadliest events in History. This essay also stresses the role that post-colonialism had in shaping the geopolitics and social organisation of some modern states, leading to long-lasting consequences on civilians, and the international bystander apathy that allowed deadly events to take place.

Modern European criminal justice systems developed notions of 'civilized warfare' and 'rules of war', which were agreed upon many nations by the beginning of the 20th century, to establish more human ways of engaging in conflict. However, the mere civilizing nature of modern states has been challenged by the 20th century itself. Hobsbwam (1994) argues that, with the onset of the First World War, the world paradoxically drowned into barbarism, which became normalized by the end of the century. The First World War spawned on-going, high levels of violence against civilian population, resulting in greater casualties than in any other wars in the past. Indeed, it appears that civilian casualties formed about over a third of the First World War victims and about two-thirds in the

Second World War (Kershaw, 2005). This unprecedented scale of violence was caused by a revolution in the morality of warfare. It appeared that war was changing character. Earlier wars, which were taking place in relatively confined spaces, had not tended to involve the civilian population who could relatively get on with their everyday lives. The brutalisation of warfare, which stated during the First World War and became a prominent feature of the Second World War, deliberately made civilian population the target of assault and destruction.

Horn and Kramer's (2001) research demonstrated that 6,427 Belgian and French civilians were deliberately killed, in an often highly brutal manner, by invading German troops during August 1914. Furthermore, the target of civilians became a common practice in the Second World War onward. The Oradour-sur-Glane massacre (10 June 1944) is the largest massacre of civilians committed in France by the German armies. The Nazi government officially ordered the massacre as reprisals against the civilian population. This indicates not only a new feature of war but also of political violence more widely. States, legitimizing extreme violence toward civilians through the exploitation of existing social and political culture, became part of modern warfare. Furthermore, modern governments used propaganda methods to orchestrate violence against civilians by creating a Manichean 'us/them' paradigm. By the end of the Second World War, the distinction between combatants and non-combatants was blurred, resulting in 'a popular war in the sense of the full involvement of the peoples of Europe in the fighting, and the suffering' (Kershaw, 2005: 110). Thereby, the population as a whole was labelled as 'the enemy' and became the legitimate target of the politics of violence, which led to exactions against the civilian such as massacres, rape and state terrorism, backed by weapons of mass destruction.

A fundamental approach to understanding the increase in murder and ill-treatment of civilians by states is through the development and use of new technologies of mass killing and destruction, such as aerial bombing, widely used during the First and Second World Wars (e.g. blitzkrieg). The Guernica bombing (1937) was considered as the first modern military aircraft raid in history to take place on a defenceless civilian population. It was the starting point of state terrorism, normalizing strategic terror bombing of civilians, which became the legitimate target of the politics of violence. These are prime examples of what Vaughan (1996, 2007) calls 'the social normalization of deviance'. According to Vaughan, the normalization of deviance occurs when actors in an organizational setting (e.g. a governmental agency) come to define their deviant acts as normal and acceptable because they conform to the cultural norms of the organisation within which they take place, even though their actions violate social standards established by people or institutions outside this organisation.

Pursuant to what Kramer (2010) saw as 'a revolution in morality of warfare', the Second World War changed the social definitions and cultural mandates in regards to terror bombing of the cities. The moral constraints on this warfare practice completely changed and became normalized during what Markusen and Kopf (1995) named the 'total war'. This form of state terrorism became approved and justified by the states as a means necessary during a state of exception. Englehardt (2008: 161) stressed that aerial terror bombing is the 'most barbaric style of warfare imaginable'. Consequently, it became so accepted that the strategy of killing non-combatants through airpower became a common warfare method from the Second World War through the Korean and Indochinese wars (Selden, 2009), and would be used by the American war during the rest of the century.

It also appears that, due to propaganda methods and nationalist ideologies, warfare techniques were used to avoid troop casualties, at the expense of the civilian population ('the others'). As Neier (2004: 360) highlighted in one of his lectures, Americans 'bombed exclusively from a high attitude, thereby avoiding any casualties to American troops but increasing civilian casualties on the ground due to mistakes' in Kosovo (1998-1999). Aerial terror bombing reached its climax when the United States launched the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki (6 and 9 August 1945) as a means to terrorize the population and to put a rapid end to the war against Japan. The use of the nuclear bomb also acted as a deterrent to prevent future conflicts by showing American technological super-power, which makes the bombing the inaugural act of the cold war. These events, resulting in the death of thousands of civilians, can very likely be attributed to an organizational deviance (Kramer and Michalowski, 1990; 2006). It occurred as a result of the decisions of individual actors occupying key positions within the structure of the organisation following pressures from organizational goal attainment, which intersects with attractive and available illegitimate organizational means, in the absence or neutralization of effective formal social controls (Kramer, 2010).

The large-scale atrocities committed against civilians by the Allies during the Second World War, and later by the Americans, went largely unacknowledged due to their winner status, which led to the normalization of the mass murder of civilians in US conflicts. North Korea lost close to 30% of its population as a result of US bombings in the 1950s, whereas Vietnam lost up to four million of civilians in the 1970s. As Cohen (1993) suggests, ignoring or denying state crimes allows them to flourish. Furthermore, the perpetrators' moral status remains officially intact, and their denial and neutralization are accepted, opening the way for more atrocities in total impunity.

The First World War and its legacy marked a caesura in the history of modernity. The warfare strategies implemented had the effect of facilitating, legitimizing and/or normalizing state crimes. Furthermore, a clear division between the camp of the winners and losers of the war arose, resulting in dramatic consequences and strong economic and punitive measures taken against the defeated camp, which would be crucial in shaping the history of the second half of the 20th century. The spiral of deprivations and a sense of national humiliation brought internal political crisis and triggered a blending of popular sovereignty with nationalist ideologies, which unleashed an explosion of political violence where Russia and Germany were at the epicentre.

By monopolizing violence, states hold the capacity to violently control their citizens and promote deleterious ideas of social order (Weber, 1946). This monopoly of the legitimate use of violence by the state appears to be the basis of the institutionalisation of terror laid, leading to genocides (e.g. Holocaust, Khmer Rouges revolution) and repressive state crimes (e.g. Soviet Union, Chinese cultural revolution). States, such as Germany or Russia, used the law to create a deep legal framework to facilitate state crimes and legitimized ideological delineation and ethno-cultural basis of nationality. Kirchheimer (1935: 144), about Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, highlighted that 'guarantees of justice are no longer located in the statute, but in the extent to which the individual decision accords with National Socialist thinking'. It appears that the Holocaust was the result of deliberate National Socialist strategy, which started from racial separation to exclusion and finally extermination ('the final solution') of the Jews and unwanted populations, facilitated within the framework of the law. However, laws were not only enacted to legitimize and frame exclusion, but the entire legal system was designed by and reflected the particular vision of these repressive states.

The mass killing of civilians and brutal persecutions on ideological grounds, whether ethnically driven (against Jews, Armenians, etc.) or class-driven (Stalinist or Khmer Rouge terror), forms a crucial component of what makes modern political violence modern. Indeed, the mass killing of civilians on ideological grounds is not new, but, for violence to take place as a full-scale genocide, it needed an ideologically driven modern state. Drawing on Mbembe's (2003) concept of 'necro-states', it appears that states of the 20th century determined the life or death of millions of civilians, and repressed and terrorised civilians who didn't conform to the state's ideal. As Kershaw (2005: 118) wrote, 'being a Jew under Hitler, a Kulak under Stalin, an intellectual under Pol Pot, was tantamount to death warrant. This was, therefore, a very modern feature of modern political violence'. Violence became hidden away behind closed doors, and rational administrations facilitated the murder and ill-treatment of civilians.

A vital component of the relationship between violence and modernity is the social organisation of modernity (Bauman, 1989). Mass killings appeared to be the result of a strong social organisation and centralized state, which implemented bureaucratic planning of murder on a high scale. Bureaucracy was first implemented as an instrumental and rational way to use an undesired or subjugated population in contributing to the war effort, reducing them to slaves (e.g. Jews in work camps, opponents of the Stalinist regime in Gulags). However, this form of utilitarianism rapidly derived from ill-treatment of civilians to an organized and rapid, high scale form of extermination. Moreover, bureaucracy and rationality were also used as a way of facilitating the perpetrators' denial of the victims, of their responsibility and of the injury they caused. Those techniques of neutralizations (Sykes and Matza, 1957) were eased by an efficient division of labour, which 'de-responsibilized' the perpetrators as they didn't see the outcome of their action and thus, would feel morally allowed to carry on. By becoming technical rather than moral, responsibility became routinized and consequently dehumanized the victims. Furthermore, the scope for reinterpretation and neutralization also grew within the political context. Some states used techniques of neutralization by labelling the adversary a 'political enemy'. As Neubacher (2006: 794) highlighted, 'the extraordinary dimensions of genocide and state crime necessitate extremely intense neutralization in order for the crimes to become feasible'. In the same line of thought, it is important to emphasize that powerful interpretations by the ruling elite legitimized politically motivated violence by associating it with the political order and its establishment. Hence, by declaring an internal enemy, the states purposefully dehumanize political enemies and facilitate their extermination. Techniques of neutralization and dehumanisation can be observed in diverse societies, genocides in Bosnia, Cambodia and Rwanda being the prime examples.

Bureaucracy, ideology and technology are bound to violence and modernity. The corrupting organisational structure of the Nazi regime used doctors to carry out medical experiment in the interest of scientific progress, scientists of the Degesch Company to produce the Zyklon-B that would be utilized for human extermination, and the engineers of Topf and Sons to design the Auschwitz gas chambers and crematoria. Without the ideology of racial mastery and the organizational structures of the Third Reich based on bureaucracy rational, those individuals would have practiced their profession in its most normal form. The scale of the Holocaust couldn't have been undertaken without a very high level of organisation involving a substantial proportion of the German population, the cooperation of regular soldiers and the police. Similarly, Arendt (1963: 53) pointed out that the commission of such atrocious crimes didn't required monsters, but it was rather understood as the 'banality of evil', a synonym for the thoughtlessness in with which

individuals in bureaucratic structures can participate in such despicable crimes, unable or unwilling to confront the logical consequences of their actions. Therefore, the commission of mass murders can be explained by the notion of conformity or, as Milgram's (1974) experiment demonstrated, obedience. Furthermore, obedience and bureaucracy allow the perpetrators to deny their responsibility and the injury that they caused to the victims. Pluralistic ignorance (Matza, 1964) also played a role in the mass murders that took place, as individual members of the group wrongly believe that the group holds norms and values they don't believe in, whereas neither did the rest of the group. The largely tacit and non-verbal norms of the repressive states frame and reinforce ambiguous moral norms and ignorance. This form of pluralistic ignorance is self-reinforcing in nature as, by acting out, the illusory norms are further reinforced to the rest of the group (Thiel, 2015), which lead to a form of routinisation and dehumanization of a targeted population.

Modern bureaucracy and science were used at the service of the states' ideologies in, what Bauman (1989: 91) interpreted as 'an element of social engineering, meant to bring about a social order conforming to the design of the perfect society'. Therefore, the modernity of political violence is strongly connected with modern utopias assuming that perfection can be achieved by secular and modern means, in a rational pursuit of the perfect society. This instrumental rationality legitimized mass killing as the greater good, and extermination appeared to be more cost-effective, therefore more rational, than displacing the unwanted civilian population. However, if this highly efficient rationality and form of extermination couldn't have happened without modernity, we can't explain modern violence against civilians exclusively as resulting from modernity in the sense of a rational pursuit of the perfect society. As Mann (1999) demonstrated, much of the violence and killing (including that by the Nazis) used nothing more than modern rifles. Furthermore, the phenomenal killing rate in the Rwanda genocide depended in majority on weapons no more sophisticated than machetes. It is important to emphasize that, if the modernity of the killing methods was related to the modernity of the state directing them, the ideologies underpinning the methods were crucially modern, and the actual cause of violence and mass murders against civilians. Therefore, the integral nationalism, which usually demanded ethnic exclusivity, appears to be one of the most important cause of murder and ill-treatment of civilians by states.

Integral nationalism resulting in the mass killing of civilians didn't only result from the aftermath of the First World War, but the legacy of colonialism also triggered lethal events. Repressive violence by colonial powers of the first half of the 20th century led to anti-colonial violence in the second half of the century, followed by increasingly major outbursts of internal violence, particularly in countries where ethnic divides coincide with serious contests for power. Civil conflicts and unresolvable territorial disputes in the post-colonialist era had been partially created by colonialist countries' structural violence, such as ethnic 'othering' and neo-imperialism. The ethnic rivalries that led to the Rwanda genocide (1994) wouldn't have occurred without Belgium's ethnic division of the population and the neo-colonial economy put in place. The political vacuum that followed Rwandan independence generated an escalation of violence in what Strauss (2006: 41) called 'the twentieth century fastest genocide'. The Rwandan state, which was a very strong bureaucratic modern state, instigated the Tutsi massacre by coercing young Hutus into joining in. Those who tried to stop the violence were eliminated, and violence became normalized as an everyday life activity where everyone was involved, pulled by social ties. The Hutu government neutralized and justified the killings, which unleashed extreme violence, and rape became a policy of war. As Rittner and Roth (2012: XIII) highlighted, 'rape as a policy – intentional and systemic use of rape as a weapon – has loomed larger

and larger' in the second half of the 20th century. By the end, the killing became routinized and normalized, and Tutsi victims were dehumanized to justify and facilitate the genocide.

Pluralistic ignorance was at the roots of the international scene's bystander apathy, which believed to be unable to conceive an effective intervention and used denial about what could be done, providing anomic spaces for massacres to occur and flourish. Violent modern states manipulated and created pluralistic and strategic ignorance, which had the effect of motivating perpetrators, but also pacified national and international bystanders while shielding the state from public and legal reactions. As Mann's (1999) showed, ethnic rivalry involved in contest for state power turned into one of the most important elements in large-scale political violence against civilians in the 20th century, as policies based on organic nationalism aimed at ethnically cleansed nation-states. Hence, violence towards civilian populations has been endemic and huge-scaled; between the 1960s and 1970s alone 'massive massacres mounting to genocide' took place in eleven countries (Kuper, 1981: 189).

Despite the global ratification of international laws prohibiting states' crimes at the beginning of the twentieth century and after the Second World War, ill-treatment, death and violent repression of civilians have dramatically increased. A revolution in the morality of warfare caused civilians to be the target of state terrorism and extreme violence, facilitated by new technologies brought about by modernity. Furthermore, the states' new warfare strategies normalised and neutralized the mass murder of civilians. States' monopoly of legitimate violence coupled with ideology-driven modern states created a deep legal framework for facilitation of state crimes and legitimized ideological delineation and ethno-cultural basis of nationality. States' legal reconstruction of their activities pushed their population to engage in mass violence and ill-treatment through a rational bureaucracy and techniques of neutralization, illustrating the 'banality of evil' (Arendt, 1963) and the criminogenic nature of modern organisation systems. Finally, the legacy of colonialism and their ex-colonies' structural adjustment were at the roots of some of the most extraordinary genocides of the twentieth century. The pluralistic ignorance and bystander apathy of the international scene opened the gates to mass violence and ill-treatment of civilians, which continue to this day.

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Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of a Human Rights approach to youth justice

Stephanie Gibson

The rights of children, and how these rights can be implemented into youth justice and the criminal justice system more broadly, has been a topic of discussion and interest for criminologists and policy makers for several years. Although a Human Rights based approach to criminal justice has been debated among criminologists since Schwendinger and Schwendinger advocated that criminologists should 'no longer be defenders of order but rather guardians of Human Rights' (1970: 149), their interest in the rights of children specifically became prominent following the development and ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) 1989. This convention is comprised of over 50 articles, with its primary aims being:

> To establish the right of children to adequate and appropriate care and protection, to provide services and facilities appropriate to their basic needs and to encourage institutional arrangements which enable effective participation in the society (Scraton and Haydon, 2002: 311).

Originally adopted by 191 countries, including the United Kingdom who ratified it in 1991, the convention came into force in 1990. Further protocols have since been added which address issues of child soldiers and child trafficking. As well as this, other agreements, standards and rules have been developed which specifically relate to youth justice. These include:

- United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (Beijing Rules) 1985
- United Nations Guidelines on the Prevention of Delinquency (Riyadh Guidelines) 1990
- United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty (Havana Rules) 1990

These rules, standards and guidelines addressed the rights of children concerning specialist youth justice systems (Beijing rules), the incarceration of young offenders as a last resort and also that necessary safeguards should be implemented for those children deprived of their liberty (Riyadh Guidelines and Havana Rules).

The development of this international legislation concerning the rights of children and the popularity it has received among member states through its ratification has been considered by some criminologists as a significant development. As Lansdown explains:

> The incorporation for the first time in an international treaty of the recognition of children's civil and political rights makes this convention particularly significant and the ratification within four years by 177 countries is further testimony to the importance now attached internationally to promoting children's rights (Lansdown, 1996 cited in James & James, 2004: 81).

However, as this paper will discuss, the ratification of the convention and actually implementing it and making it operational in domestic legislation are two very different things. Through a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of a Human Rights approach to youth justice, this paper will critically discuss and analyse the current arguments regarding the successful implementation of children's rights into the UK's youth justice system and associated policies and legislation, as well as the perceived problems and difficulties with the UNCRC legislation itself in trying to define a universal definition of childhood that fits all. Finally, this discussion will hope to conclude that while attempts have been made by the UK to implement a youth justice system based upon the acknowledgement of children's rights, this approach has not been completely successful due to cultural and political conceptions of children and childhood that both directly and indirectly marginalise children to the periphery of society, which ultimately demonises and criminalises them while also denying them the full extent of their rights.

As noted above, the UK ratified the UNCRC in 1991 thus committing to the expectation that it would 'initiate legal and policy reform and develop formal interventionist practices within the UNCRC's articles' (Scraton and Haydon, 2002: 311). In simplistic terms, the UNCRC had an expectation that the UK would implement policy and legislative reform that would specifically address and recognise the rights of children across the social and political forum as well as highlighting the role of the state in 'supporting families and carers in the development, socialisation and welfare of children' (Scraton and Haydon, 2002: 311). In relation to this it has been argued that the rights approach to youth justice is possible as the articles set out in the UNCRC 'provide a directional framework' (Haydon, 2012: 24) and an 'easily understood advocacy tool [...] that promotes children's welfare as an issue of justice rather than one of charity' (Veerman, 1992: 184).

With this in mind it is important to identify how the UK has utilised this framework in implementing the UNCRC into domestic legislation. Although the UK has received much criticism in relation to its implementation of children's rights (a point that will be discussed later), it would be unfair to suggest that the UNCRC or a rights approach in general has had no impact. For example, one way in which a rights approach and the UNCRC in particular has been important is in the establishment of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) specifically created to advocate children's rights. Thus the UNCRC was crucial in establishing these NGOs as it created a baseline for which they could identify and highlight the breaches of these rights in current governmental legislation and policies. As Kilkelly notes when discussing the benefits of international legislation and what they represent: 'they are a common reference tool against which progress can be measured' (Kilkelly, 2008: 191). This is also further supported by Haydon as she says: 'the NGO alliances raised serious common concerns regarding UNCRCs general principals, the "welfare" of the child rather than their "best interests" is prioritised in UK legislation' (Haydon, 2012: 25).

As well as NGOs, certain jurisdictions within the UK have also made efforts to invoke children's rights into youth justice policies at a local level. Northern Ireland is one such jurisdiction where efforts have been made and recognised by several academics. Due to its troubled history and legacy of civil conflict, Northern Ireland has been identified as an area of the UK that has attempted to apply a rights approach in the form of conflict resolution through mediation and negotiation. This has been argued as 'opening up a range of potentially progressive responses to youth crime' (Muncie, 2011: 46), in which voluntary agencies and community involvement play a pivotal role. Furthermore, these attempts at reformulating youth justice initiatives and responses seem to have been developed based

on the principals of the UNCRC which is acknowledge by the Office of the First and Deputy First Minister:

> We will recognise the complexity of children's lives by adopting a 'whole-child' approach in all areas of policy development and service delivery relevant to children and young people. [...] In accordance with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, we will be proactive in obtaining the views of children on matters of significance to them [...] We are committed to respecting and progressing the rights of children and young people in Northern Ireland and will be guided and informed by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. The strategy will be the key mechanism by which we will chart progress on this commitment (cited in Muncie, 2011: 46-47).

Further to this, Northern Ireland has also been noted for its attempts to incorporate Children's rights into its custodial institutions for juvenile offenders. In conducting empirical research into Northern Ireland's two custodial institutions for young offenders, Convery and Moore (2012) observe that while certain areas within both facilities fall short in regards to key principals set out by the UNCRC and other international legislation, specifically in areas such as children being incarcerated with adult offenders and use of restraints, they acknowledge that Woodlands, which accommodates both male and female offenders aged between 10 and 17, has been described as a 'centre of national and international excellence' by the Youth Justice Agency (cited in Convery and Moore, 2012: 121) and that it has a 'strong childcare ethos' (CJINI, 2008 cited in Convery and Moore, 2012: 121). This is in stark contrast to Hydebank, the second juvenile custodial institution, which not only accommodates male young offenders aged between 15-17 years but also female adult offenders and has been described as 'a wholly inappropriate facility for children' (Convery and Moore, 2012: 121).

As a final note on how a right based approach could be beneficial and effectively applied to youth justice in the UK, this essay will cite an argument proposed by Moore and Mitchell (2009). In this the authors suggest that a rights based approach can be effectively implemented to youth justice through restorative justice principals. Based on the approach developed in Canada, Moore and Mitchell postulate that the philosophies underpinning restorative justice approaches are similar to those emphasised by the UNCRC in relation to juvenile justice, that diversions and alternative responses to juvenile offending should be explored as 'custodial sentencing should only be considered as a last resort. Based on this proposition, the authors argue that a restorative justice approach as defined by the UN Office of Drugs and Crime (2006) could be beneficial as:

> Restorative justice is a way of responding to criminal behaviour by balancing the needs of the community, the victims and the offenders. It is an evolving concept that has given rise to different interpretations in different countries, one around which there is not always a perfect consensus (UN Office of Drugs and Crime, 2006: 6).

Restorative justice can facilitate children's rights in youth justice as it allows the young offender to participate in the proceedings, allows their voice to be heard and offers an alternative, community based approach to youth justice. Furthermore, the authors feel this is particularly important as they consider the argument of Abramson (2006) who suggests that while the UNCRC has encouraged the acknowledgment of children's rights in regards to their right to be protected, juvenile justice is considered as the 'unwanted child' and is evident in that 'while a dominant "ideology of childhood" expressed through the CRC is one

of 'innocence, vulnerability, helplessness, and victimization of the child…juvenile offenders are not innocent!' (24).

This is only one criticism which has been made against the UNCRC. However, other criticisms have also been offered not only in relation to the UNCRC legislation but also towards its implementation into UK domestic legislation. Some of these criticisms will be discussed below. In relation to the UNCRC, Brown (2005) has been critical in its attempts to universalise the concept of childhood and the ideal family. She denotes that while the UNCRC recognises cultural differences and emphasises that this needs to be accounted for, it is also 'loaded with cultural assumptions regarding an idealised state of childhood and the "family"' (202). Thus taking away from the recognition of 'divergent viewpoints and interests regarding what childhood is and what "rights" such a state carries' [Brown, 2005: 202]. Thus, Brown argues that this perception of the "ideal childhood" is a concept developed through Western modernity and cannot be applied universally as attempted by the UNCRC. Associated with this is the notion of the ideal family, which Brown argues is also unrealistic and cannot be universally defined. A feature believed to be characteristic of this ideal family is that it should be a space where children can feel safe, nurtured and protected by their loved ones. However, in response to this, Brown notes that this is 'simply belied by the extent of physical and sexual abuse of children within families' (202).

A second criticism offered by Brown (2005) is the UNCRC's universal definition of individualism. In developing this criticism, Brown invokes the arguments put forward by a number of theorists from an array of disciplines, who propose that the development of the "individual" is both 'fluid and culturally relevant' (Johns, 1995: 107). Thus, the notion of a universal definition of the individual is difficult to conceive, especially when taking into account Giddens (1991) who proposes that the 'very notion of an "individual" suggests at once coherence and difference' (54). Implying that while a coherent understanding of the world and their place in it is likely, a child is likely to also develop several different ways of seeing themselves and thus have conflicting notions of who they are.

As mentioned previously, criticism has not only been offered to the UNCRC in general but also towards its implementation, specifically towards youth justice. An interesting argument discussed by Hollingsworth (2013) proposes that the reason as to why a rights based approach has not been successful in addressing issues such as the low age of criminal responsibility in youth justice or the persistence of custodial detention for young offenders is likely due to 'a "theory gap" in the practice of children's rights in youth justice', (1048) rather than a deficiency in the legislation or an inability to enforce legislation, although these may also be mitigating factors. However, Hollingsworth implies this 'theory gap' is a result of the conceptual difficulty regarding a child's duel status as both a "child" and "suspected offender". This conceptual difficulty becomes apparent when:

> using rights […] to inform the minimum age of criminal responsibility […] is more challenging because these are examples of children's rights proper; dependent on recognising and prioritising the child's distinct status as child as the basis for differential treatment (Hollingsworth, 2013: 1048).

Developing her argument, Hollingsworth purposes that this "theory gap" is evident when considering the justifications to raise the age of criminal responsibility. These justifications are based upon an acknowledgement that children differ considerably from adults in that they lack the capabilities of understanding the moral implications of their actions. Related to this is the belief that preventative programs and alternatives to prison are beneficial to

children as their identities are not yet fixed, thus this type of response has less long term detrimental effects as oppose to indefinite custodial sentences. Although these justifications may to some extent carry weight, it is argued that it is this focus on capabilities that cause the conceptual difficulty in applying children's rights and general human rights regarding offenders to juvenile offenders. In response to this, Hollingsworth attempts to 'develop a theoretical account of children's rights in youth justice that is able to articulate and reconcile the child's dual status and rights as offender and as child,' (Hollingsworth, 2013: 1049) by applying the concept of autonomy and more precisely two essential elements associated with it, agency and full autonomy, it is suggested by Hollingsworth that full autonomy relates to the importance of childhood experiences in allowing children to live autonomously in their adult lives. It is during these childhood experiences that "assets" are required 'which are considered essential for all to enjoy equally a fully autonomous adulthood' (1049). Due to the perceived importance of these assets, Hollingsworth suggests they should be protected by "foundational rights" and that it is the recognition of these foundational rights that:

> ...allow for greater conceptual clarity in understanding the requirements of a rights-consistent youth justice system: it must not only be consistent with the child's current agency (as is the case for adults) but also her future capacity for full autonomy, as protected by her foundational rights. Accordingly, there should be an obligation placed on the state to ensure that the youth justice system is structured in such a way that children's foundational rights are not permanently or irreparably harmed (Hollingsworth, 2013: 1049).

In concluding her argument, Hollingsworth purposes that it is these foundational rights that can structure youth justice systems so that a rights based approach can be effectively implemented. In relation to Hollingsworth's discussion, the argument regarding the age of criminal responsibility has also been the topic of critique among criminologists when discussing the difficulties in implementing a rights based approach to youth justice in the UK. Upon the review reports issued by the United Nations commission on the implementation of children's rights in UK policy and legislation in the subsequent years following the ratification of the UNCRC, the low age of criminal responsibility has been a contested and controversial issue and the UK has been criticised for refusing to increase the age from its current age of 10. Several criminologists have remarked on this and suggest the low age is a result of a number of related factors. Firstly, the abduction and murder of James Bulger in 1993 by two ten-year-old boys raised concerns about the effectiveness of the UNCRC 'to identify, codify and protect children's rights' (Scraton and Haydon, 2002: 313) but it also called into question the effectiveness of the then youth justice system. As a result, the young killers felt the full rigour of the law and, although later overturned, were tried as adults and received a custodial sentence of 15 years minimum. Although not necessarily directly related, this high profile case marked the beginning of a return to a 'legislative clamp down on children and young people' (Scraton and Haydon, 2002: 313) which culminated in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. This act has a number of implications for youth justice but in regards to the age of criminal responsibility this act abolished the notion of doli incapax which had previously required the prosecution to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that children between the ages of 10 and 14 knew that they had done wrong and were aware of the implications associated with their actions. However, the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 nullified this and instead made the assumption that all children in this age group are aware of what is morally wrong and thus capable of making the distinction.

Although the introduction of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 incorporated both welfare approaches to youth justice as well as a punitive approach, it has been argued that its primary focus was to address the adult fear of crime and the 'crisis in childhood' (Scraton and Haydon, 2002), thus it effectively resulted in further criminalising and demonising children and young people. This was made evident according to Goldson and Muncie (2015) as they suggest the introduction of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs), made available through the Crime and Disorder act, effectively criminalise children and young people without them necessarily committing an offence. This is due to the wide definition of anti-social behaviour and the ability of community agents outside of the police to issue ASBOs without a criminal offence being committed. However, a breach of the ASBO does constitute a criminal offence thus pulling the young person into the youth justice system. This, it is suggested by Goldson and Muncie (2015), represents 'a general climate of intolerance and negative public attitudes towards children' (Goldson and Muncie, 2015: 246).

In discussing the current arguments and debates surrounding the possible advantages and disadvantages of a children's rights approach to youth justice, this paper has attempted to offer a critical argument as to whether a children's rights approach can be implemented into UK domestic legislation. With this in mind, it is only fair to conclude that while the principals of the UNCRC set out a basic frame work for implementing a right's based agenda, it may also only be of symbolical significance. That said, attempts have been made to recognise children's rights in some areas of youth justice as noted in Northern Ireland. However, it is believed that the criticisms discussed currently outweigh the potential benefits and until this can be addressed at both an international and national level, a children's rights approach will remain ineffective. Currently, legislation imposed on the children and young people in the UK not only denies them some of their rights as children but consequently further excludes, criminalises and alienates them.

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[Return to CONTENTS](#)

What factors underpin the stigmatisation of those with mental illness?

Nicole James

Stigma refers to the possession of an attribute that makes an individual different from his or her society. This attribute is often discrediting and thus, society's perceptions of the individual can be reduced (Goffman, 1963). In his book, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, Goffman (1963) adopts case studies to examine the experiences of stigmatised individuals using a range of concepts to explain stigma and to interpret the strategies that these individuals utilise. According to Goffman, there are three types of stigma and he denotes that mental illness is an example of the second type, 'blemishes of individual character' (1963:4). Therefore it is said that those with mental illnesses are 'challenged doubly' as not only do they struggle with the symptoms of their illness but also with the stereotypes and prejudices that exist within society (Corrigan and Watson, 2002:16). Over the last decade, there have been efforts to recognise and reduce stigma amongst mentally ill individuals accomplished through academic research, anti-stigma campaigns and charitable organisations (Mental Health Care, 2013). For this reason, it is important to understand what factors influence this stigmatisation in order to reduce it.

It is clear that mental illness is an extensive concept and the stigma attached to schizophrenia is said to be more prominent than other mental illnesses (Sartorius, 2008). Schizophrenia is a severe mental disorder indicated by disruptions in thinking, language, the sense of self and perception (WHO, 2016). There is a common misconception that equates its symptoms to the existence of a split personality and violence, which may explain why it is stigmatised more than other mental illnesses. However, schizophrenia is very wide ranging and can depend on the different types and levels of severity (Rethink Mental Illness, 2016). Therefore, this essay will examine the key factors that underpin the stigmatisation of those with mental illness by focusing on schizophrenia in Western societies such as the UK and the USA.

Historical and Societal Context

In order to understand the stigmatisation of those with mental illnesses, it is necessary to consider the historical context of mental illness, in particular, schizophrenia. The emergence of asylums can be considered as a key event that underpins stigmatisation. From the 1800s, the public asylum emerged as an institution responsible for the mentally ill. Goffman (1961) contended that an asylum is an example of a total institution, whereby similar individuals live and work in the same place, which is segregated from the wider society. While the initial aim of an asylum was to treat the mentally ill patients, it became a source of containment. Thus, comparisons can be made to prisons, another example of a total institution. Total institutions aim to rehabilitate deviants through order, discipline and behaviour modification (Rothman, 1975). It could be said that because both asylums and prisons are total institutions, they would be perceived as similar by the wider society, hence, the association of a mentally ill individual as dangerous and potentially criminal.

In addition, asylums tended to be located on the edges of towns and this was argued to be due to the therapeutic and healthful nature of a rural environment (Paulson, 2012). However, in contrast, it is also maintained that this location of asylums was reassuring to

the wider society, who were a safe distance away from the institutionalised mentally ill patients (Paulson, 2012). Therefore, the division between mentally ill patients and "normal" individuals within society was problematic because it led to the marginalisation of the mentally ill, whereby those deemed to be mentally ill were differentiated and excluded from society. In contemporary Western society, the belief that mentally ill individuals are a danger to others may have stemmed from this displacement to asylums on the outskirts of towns. Furthermore, some scholars contend that asylums can be compared to cemeteries, primarily because they are both situated in the outskirts of towns. Giddens argues that the removal of burial grounds from urbanised areas to rural areas was a 'symbolic expulsion of the dead from the community of the living' (1981:195). This 'socio-spatial ostracism' in death and with the mentally ill occurred as a result of their threat to ontological security in Western societies (Philo, 2012:92). Additionally, it is said that asylums became warehouses for "problem populations" such as social misfits, those who were perceived as an inconvenience to society rather than mentally ill (Shorter, 1997). This portrays the treatment of those who deviated from the norm as they were displaced to institutions originally established to treat mental illness but developed into a form of containment and separation. For these reasons, the public asylum can be perceived as a foundation for the stigmatisation that mentally ill individuals experience in contemporary Western societies due to its ability to both physically and symbolically isolate these individuals from society (Scull, 1979). Due to the locations of asylums, mental illness was hidden away from the wider society, which resulted in the lack of awareness and consequently, increased public fear. Despite the deinstitutionalisation, which ultimately closed asylums, the segregation between mentally ill and "normal" individuals was substantial enough to develop into stigmatisation.

Moreover, the everyday language used in Western societies portrays a discontent with mental illness. Terms such as "insane", "crazy", "mental" and "mad" are decidedly associated with mental illness but are used casually and frequently by the wider society (Hinshaw, 2005). For example, if one is feeling sad, others may label this as depression or if one's figure is slightly thinner than others, this may be labelled as anorexia, despite the lack of an actual clinical diagnosis by a mental health professional. Slight abnormal behaviours tend to be exaggerated into symptoms that resemble mental illnesses, which distinguishes those who are considered "normal" from those who are mentally ill and thus enhances the negative attitudes towards mental illness.

Halloween is celebrated annually on the 31st October and usually involves dressing up in costumes that resemble scary figures. Despite the fact that this is a somewhat traditional event, some may argue that it exploits mental illness and in turn contributes to the extant stigma (Corrigan et al, 2011). In 2013, the supermarkets, *Asda* and *Tesco* stocked a 'mental patient fancy dress costume' and a 'psycho ward outfit' for the Halloween period. These costumes included accessories such as fake blood, ripped clothing, a mask, a plastic jaw restraint and a machete (BBC News, 2013). These costumes depict mental illness in a negative manner by equating it with violence, weapons and danger, which can be very influential in intensifying negative stereotypes, especially those marketed to children. While these supermarkets did eventually remove these costumes, it still shows that the prevalence of stigma concerning mental illness can be promoted through consumerism and cultural events. Moreover, it could be said that other Halloween costumes resemble figures to be feared such as supernatural beings. Therefore, this could imply an association between Halloween figures and mental illness, causing mentally ill people to be feared also.

The Media

According to the National Confidential Inquiry into Suicide and Homicide by People with Mental Illness (NCISH), over the ten-year period between 2003 and 2013, there were 346 reported homicides committed by individuals with a history of schizophrenia. This accounted for six per cent of the total reported homicides within the research sample of England and Wales (Centre for Mental Health and Safety, 2015). It is important to note that these statistics cannot account for the motivations behind these homicides, as a history of schizophrenia does not necessarily convey causation. Despite this, the way in which the media depicts schizophrenia and other similar mental illness does not seem to correspond with the statistics.

The media is a source of information for the public, especially when its audiences have no prior knowledge or experience with the subject or group in question. That being said, the media immensely influences public opinion and as a result can enhance the stigma surrounding mental illness (Happer and Philo, 2013; Corrigan et al, 2011). There are numerous studies into the portrayal of mental illness in the media. In particular, a study on the impact of the Hungerford massacre, conducted by Appleby and Wessely (1988), found that even though the homicide perpetrator's mental state was unknown, there was a significant increase in those who believed he was mentally ill. These findings were strengthened when tests conducted six months later found no increase, suggesting that the change in attitude may have been linked to media representations. Stigma and reducing its impact has been an issue of concern in recent years, and this developed as a result of these studies. Further research shows that in the UK, there has been a decline in negative articles published about mental illness from 1992 to 2008, including a significant increase in articles that indicate explanations of mental illnesses. In addition, the results showed that articles depicting mental illnesses such as depression, decreased in their negativity, whereas for articles depicting mental illnesses such as schizophrenia, the framing remained negative (Goulden et al, 2011). News media is supposed to be a legitimate source of information for the public, therefore, when newspapers depict mentally ill individuals as excessively violent despite statistics saying otherwise, it can be very problematic.

Aforementioned, statistics have shown that homicides committed by those with mental illnesses are particularly rare. Despite this, entertainment media, such as films and television programmes often depict the mentally ill, specifically those with psychotic disorders, as "psycho-killers" who engage in random, motiveless, unprovoked attacks, which generates fear in their audiences (Van Velsen, 2010). In an experiment, Wahl (1995, cited in Harper, 2009) showed a group of students a film, which featured a violent mentally distressed character, while a control group watched a similar film on murder but did not include mental distress. Subsequently, both groups completed a questionnaire, which assessed the attitudes towards mental illness. Wahl (1995) found that those who watched the film portraying a mentally ill character responded with harsher attitudes about mental illness than the control group (cited in Harper, 2009). This shows the stigmatising effect of entertainment media, particularly because not only do films and television programmes often misrepresent mental illness but they also tend to depict mental illness in extreme forms. The tendency to equate multiple personalities with schizophrenia is just one example of the argued effects of media portrayals on perceptions of mental illness (Duckworth et al, 2003). Thus, the audiences who have no prior experience with mental illness may accept the portrayed behaviours and symptoms as commonly occurring within that mental illness.

Mental Health Professionals

The issue of stigma in regards to mental illness is often associated with the media and the lack of education amongst individuals. However, scholars argue that mental health professionals, those deemed to have both knowledge and experience with mentally ill individuals, can also stigmatise them (Üçok, 2008). Rosenhan's (1973) well-known study that highlighted the flaws in the psychiatric diagnostic system also revealed the stigmatising attitudes and behaviours displayed by mental health professionals. The study involved pseudopatients, who pretended to exhibit schizophrenic symptoms, and were consequently admitted to psychiatric wards. Following their admittance to the hospital, the pseudopatients behaved "normally" while conducting their covert participant observations. Within the context of the psychiatric ward, the pseudopatients noted that their behaviours were interpreted as an aspect of their assumed pathology. For example, the pseudopatients were required to take extensive notes for the purpose of the study, but one physician misattributed this to memory problems, assuming that the patient would not remember his medical advice. Additionally, Rosenhan (1973) observed instances of powerlessness and depersonalisation in the patients, which included the physical abuse of patients for initiating verbal contact with the staff, restriction of movement and lack of privacy. The pseudopatients reported that feelings of depersonalisation were so apparent that they felt invisible. This invisibility was illustrated with the experience of a nurse who had unbuttoned her blouse to adjust her undergarments. The pseudopatient contended that this was not an act of seduction but rather; the nurse did not acknowledge the patients' presence. For these reasons, one can argue that the mistreatment of mentally ill patients in psychiatric wards can be considered an underlying factor that affects their stigmatisation.

Moreover, Rosenhan (1973) discusses the concept of the 'stickiness of psychiatric labels' whereby once an individual has been diagnosed as mentally ill, there is nothing they can do to overcome this label. In his study, seven out of the eight pseudopatients were discharged with the diagnosis, schizophrenia in remission, despite exhibiting "normal" behaviours once on the ward. The application of the "in remission" label implies that although the individual does not exhibit the schizophrenic symptoms, there is no certainty that the individual has completely recovered. According to labelling theory, there can be a negative impact of labelling on self-efficacy and self-esteem (Scheff, 1966). In addition, the negative label can develop into a master status that supersedes all other identity categories (Becker, 1963). Thus, affiliating the individual with the mental illness and its stigma indefinitely.

Furthermore, Wahl and Aroesty-Cohen (2010) reviewed published studies relating to the attitudes of mental health professionals towards mentally ill individuals. Of these nineteen studies, the review revealed positive attitudes in general. However, there was evidence of negative attitudes amongst mental health professionals, which included negative descriptors of the mentally ill, such as, unpredictable, weird, threatening and dangerous. This suggests that there are mental health professionals who share the often negative public belief of mentally ill individuals, despite often working in close proximity with them. The implications of mental health professionals holding these negative beliefs tends to develop into stigma, which can cause individuals to experience discrimination due to their mental illness. A cross-sectional survey investigating whether those with schizophrenia experience discrimination when using health care services stated that, while mental health professionals believe that their assistance reduces stigma, the data from this survey did not support this. Approximately forty per cent of the participants reported feeling disrespected by mental health professionals and approximately sixty per cent reported experiencing avoidance by those who were aware of their schizophrenic diagnosis (Harangozo et al,

2014). From this study, Harangozo et al found 'high level[s] of experienced stigma, discrimination and self-stigmatisation' (2014: 364), which suggests that mental health professionals seem to play a role in the stigmatisation of mentally ill individuals, rather than reducing this stigma. Therefore, it can be argued that this can contribute to mentally ill individuals avoiding mental health professionals, and as a result, not seeking the treatment they need.

In conclusion, this essay has explored the factors that underpin the stigmatisation of those with mental illness by discussing the key areas, the history and societal context, the media and mental health professionals pertaining to schizophrenia. Considering the history and societal context of mental illness was important to understand the foundations of the stigma prevalent in contemporary Western society. The way in which asylums were placed away from populated areas arguably contributed to the fear of the mentally ill especially those who have had no prior experience with them. This combined with the negative terms such as "insane" and "crazy" and in some cases; the fact that mentally ill patients are depicted as Halloween characters also reinforces their stigmatisation. Moreover, the media, both entertainment and news, are widely cited as a contributors for the depictions of mental ill individuals, specifically schizophrenics, as dangerous and unpredictable, which insights fear amongst their audiences. Further, those responsible for treating the mentally ill still tend to possess negative beliefs akin to those depicted in the media. While society seems to be focusing on recognising and reducing the stigma amongst mentally ill individuals, it is in my opinion that more focus needs to be paid to the media and mental health professionals. That being said, it may be difficult to tackle the negative depictions of mentally ill individuals already portrayed by the media. Therefore, paying particular attention to mental health professionals would be ideal as they have experience with their patients and their negative stereotypes or discrimination would directly affect their patients.

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Using key theories about the rise and spread of the Rwandan genocide, explain how the genocide might have been prevented.

Rebecca Langham

In this essay, I will cite the key theories which arguably gave rise to, and helped spread, the Rwandan genocide. I will begin by drawing on the huge influence of colonialism which arguably set in motion a destructive ethnic divide between the Tutsi and Hutu groups. Following on from this, I will explore how the segregation created by European colonists was further reinforced by extremist media propaganda, authorised by the Hutu dominated government. This will lead into a discussion surrounding the ways in which, throughout the civil war period, a Rwandan government was able to implement plans in preparation for an upcoming genocide. The role of the United Nations during this phase will be discussed; this organisation arguably failed to respond to the clear early warning signs that a potential genocide was looming. I will then draw attention to the role of the western media, which, through its misreporting, arguably disempowered Rwandan civilians and prevented them from receiving the necessary humanitarian response. While bringing to light these key theories, I will also outline how, at each stage, there was significant potential for the genocide to have been prevented. I will reflect on Stanton's (1998) 'stages of genocide', to further emphasise how intervention at each juncture could have obstructed the next phase of genocide from taking form. Firstly, I will begin by outlining the 'genocide' concept.

In response to the enactment of the 1948 United Nations Convention, the criminal act of genocide is categorised as the physical or mental harm inflicted 'with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group' (Henham and Behrens, 2007: 76). As will become evident, the 1994 Rwandan massacre constitutes a clear case of genocide, through the unfathomable acts that were inflicted on the Tutsi minority by a majority Hutu group. This saw the murder of around 800,000 Tutsi people, as well as moderate Hutus, in the space of just 100 days, emphasising the clear intentions of the Hutus to eliminate the 'opposing' group. It is important to note, however, that, unlike the characteristics that arguably constitute genocide, the Tutsis and the Hutus, in theory, fail to make up two distinct races or ethnic groups. It must be recognised that the ethnic diversity that existed between them was in fact a social construct, imposed on them by the Germans and later by the Belgian colonisers (Campbell, 2013). The Tutsis, thought of by their 19th century German colonists as biologically different and inherently more European than their Hutu counterparts, were treated as the elite castes. In the early part of the 20th century, when the Belgians eventually took over this leading role, the ethnic stratification between the two groups was further reinforced, seeing preferential treatment awarded to Tutsis with regard to educational and employment roles (Grunfeld and Huijboom, 2007). This divide was later reaffirmed in the 1933 issuing of separate ethnic identity cards for the two groups. This is just one element which demonstrates the ways in which the legacy of the European colonisers arguably gave rise to, and helped spread, the 1994 genocide.

As Cohen (2007) notes, 'the ethnic dimension of the Rwandan genocide was a result of a century of ethnic division, exacerbated by colonialism' (2007: 10). Taking this into account, it could be argued that the genocide would simply not have occurred had Rwanda been exempt from colonial ruling. Although it cannot be disputed that colonialism is a fundamental part of history, it could be argued that, in the Rwanda case, it imposed hatred

and difference between the two groups. This helped to motivate previously law-abiding citizens to actively participate in the 1994 genocide. Far from living harmoniously with one another prior to colonial ruling, there is evidence, albeit minimal, to suggest that violence was a commonality amongst the two groups (Grunfeld and Huijboom, 2007). This suggests, therefore, that with the dismissal of colonial rule, which in some respects created ethnic difference between the two groups, the genocide could have ultimately been avoided. Despite this, it is important to note that at this stage the 'classification' phase of genocide was set into motion, whereby groups actively become segregated into 'us and them' typologies (Stanton, 1998). As mentioned, an additional legacy of the Europeans was the enforcement of identification cards, which outlined whether an individual was a Tutsi or Hutu. Originally implemented as a technique by the colonisers to exclude the undesirable Hutus from authoritative roles, they later allowed the genocidaires to identify those they believed to be in need of extermination (Caplan and Torpey, 2001). It could be suggested, then, that the repeal of the ID cards could have been a key preventative measure, as it would have been extremely difficult to distinguish between a Hutu and a Tutsi individual. Individuals may have therefore been unwilling to take part in the killings, for fear that they would be slaughtering their own 'kind'. Inevitably, it could be argued that the failure to abolish these cards in the early stages ultimately allowed the 'symbolisation' phase of genocide to take form (Stanton, 1998). During this stage, certain groups or individuals become physically marked out as different.

Rwanda was officially regarded as an independent country in 1962. However, this was arguably the period that saw the roles of the Hutus and Tutsis systematically reversed: the Tutsis came to be regarded as inferior and the Hutus were the superiors. This was reinforced by the election of a Hutu president, Gregoire Kayibanda, whose norms and values were very much rooted in 'Hutu nationalism' (Melvern, 2000: 19). Under his reign, the violence committed against Tutsi groups was extensive, to the point that hundreds of thousands fled to neighbouring countries. The important role played by these refugees will later be explored, as they arguably contributed to the rising up, as well as the diffusing, of the 1994 genocide. Although violence was said to have largely decreased within the country following the 1973 election of 'moderate' president Juvenal Habyarimina, his new regime was still very much concerned with preserving Hutu dominance (Kroslak, 2007: 280). Under his governance, hate propaganda became authorised, which very much coerced the community to later kill their Tutsi neighbours. The mass media became a key facilitator that gave rise to, and helped spread, the Rwandan genocide. For example, from the early 1990s, Rwandan newspaper 'Kangura' persistently published stories depicting the systematic threat posed by 'foreign' Tutsi and moderate Hutu groups (Thompson, 2007: 279). Coinciding with the strong nature of the Rwandan state at the time, arguably inherited from the German and Belgium colonists, it is no surprise that many individuals internalised these ideological views.

Through governmental authorised broadcasts, Rwandan Radio stations persistently portrayed Tutsis as 'cockroaches' in need of extermination (Kramer, 2007: 52). Not only was this extremist propaganda publicised in the months prior to genocide, but it also played a facilitating role in legitimating the violence for the perpetrators throughout the genocide. In doing so, the stage was clearly set for the next step: the 'dehumanisation' element. This ensures that the condemned group is seen as anything other than human, making it easier for the condemners to inflict sub-human acts on their opponents (Stanton, 1998). It could be argued that at this point, structures should have been enforced to prevent 'dehumanising' propaganda of this velocity from being publicly voiced. As noted by Totten (2013), the United States government had insider intelligence that hate media was

being widely circulated around Rwanda and possessed the powers to jam the radio stations. However, they failed to implement this strategy, as they felt that doing so would be an ultimate violation of Rwanda's 'freedom of expression' (2013: 20). Through, in part, the failure of the U.S. to act, a large proportion of Rwanda's population was fundamentally brainwashed, leading them to adopt the view that the extermination of Tutsis and moderate Hutus was necessary.

It is important to identify the conflict situation preceding the genocide, which helped to fuel the 1994 atrocities. Tutsis had previously fled Rwanda under Kayibanda's rule and decided to invade in 1990. They combined to form a rebel army, known as the Rwandan Patriotic Front, leading to a three-year civil war against the Rwandan Hutu military (Totten and Parsons, 2013). Although it cannot be refuted that this invasion had progressive intentions for the Tutsi people, it perhaps needs to be acknowledged that it became the catalyst for the Hutu government to begin preparations for an upcoming genocide. Most significantly, extremist military groups such as the *interahamwe* were being formulated and organised. France played a prominent role here, as its government helped to arm these extremist groups, whilst French troops provided them with training in how best to kill their opponents (African Rights, 1994). The *interahamwe* carried out a large proportion of the atrocities during the 1994 genocide, a fact which supports the view that French intervention was a contributory factor. Attention should also be drawn to financial establishments, which, through this civil war period, helped to fuel the recruitment of individuals into these killing squads. This is inextricably linked to the economic downturn that Rwanda experienced in 1989, which itself occurred as a consequence of worldwide drops in coffee prices. Throughout this crisis, the International Monetary Fund was fundamentally called on to financially support Rwanda, as well as give advice as to how to reduce the country's chances of unsustainable inflation (Totten and Parsons, 2013). Through a structural adjustment program, this financial establishment destabilised the economy, making Rwanda wholly neo-liberalised. Although this was supposed to help the country, Rothe (2009) notes that this ultimately fuelled unemployment, meaning that participation in the *interahamwe* military became an attractable option for many young, out-of-work males (20). It could be argued, then, that had the IMF refrained from destabilising the economy in the first place, individuals would have been less likely to participate in these Hutu extremist groups.

It could be argued that at this point the 'organisation' phase of genocide was put into motion, whereby militias are 'trained and armed' (Stanton, 1998). Branching off from this, however, it perhaps needs to be considered that the French training and arming of Rwandan troops was only made possible through the assistance of World Bank loans. This financial establishment failed to recognise that loans were largely being used for the purchase of machetes, instead of the intended purpose, which was to improve the condition of the economy (Melvern, 2006). If the World Bank had, in fact, made greater efforts to recognise that they were funding the purchase of illicit goods, it could be argued that the potential for genocide could have been diffused. The failure to recognise this was catastrophic: machetes became the main method of killing used throughout the genocide. In the three years prior to the 1994 atrocities, many lives, mostly Tutsi, were lost. Had western countries responded promptly to those killings, the upcoming genocide might have been prevented. It is thought that those that took part in, as well as organised, the civil war killings began to recognise that they could carry out violence without any real consequences (Totten and Parsons, 2013). It could be argued, then, that an international response was needed to demonstrate that violence of this kind would not be tolerated. This may have discouraged individuals from participating in the later genocide. The civil war

situation was said to have come to a halt in 1993 with the presidential signing of the Arusha Peace Agreement. This would oversee a sharing of power between the Hutu led government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (Nsia-Pepra, 2014). It is important to note that the United Nations was called on to ensure that this peace agreement was adhered to, and was expected to assign an international force to Rwanda to guarantee the ultimate security of the country. Due to a number of failings on part of the U.N., the 1994 genocide unfolded in its very presence.

The United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) was assigned to the country in 1993 to ensure that the RPF and Hutu government were adhering to the peacekeeping agreement. In the pre-genocide stages, the force received intelligence informing them of possible conflict. Commander General Dallaire, the leader of the UNAMIR mission, was informed that *interahamwe* groups were being trained for genocide and that hidden arms caches across the country were in place (Totten and Bartrop, 2008). It could be argued, then, that at this stage the U.N. had an opportunity to instruct UNAMIR to respond. However, due to the 'peacekeeping' guidelines set out within UNAMIR's mandate, troops on the ground were largely prohibited by the U.N. from using force, and were prevented from searching for weapons (Grunfeld and Huijboom, 2007). Had the U.N. broadened the original mandate to allow soldiers to use forceful action, the genocidaires may have been overthrown. Another preventative measure, when receiving this intelligence, could have been for the U.N. to assign more troops to Rwanda. 2,500 UNAMIR troops were already in the country, though they were under-equipped and untrained to deal with high levels of violence (Cameron, 2013). These failings meant that on 4th April 1994, moments after president Habyarima's plane was shot down, the genocide began. This constitutes the most destructive step in the genocidal phase: 'extermination' (Stanton, 1998).

In the initial aftermath of the plane crash, countries such as France and the U.S. sent in large military reinforcements to ensure that their own citizens were evacuated (Oppong, 2008). It could be argued that had these international forces combined with UNAMIR troops on the ground in Rwanda efforts could have been made to overthrow the perpetrators, as well as rescue Rwandan citizens. Attention should also be drawn to the role of the Belgians once the violence unfolded. Within the first few days of genocide ten Belgian UNAMIR troops were slaughtered by the *interahamwe* (Twagilimana, 2007). This is perhaps the catalyst that led to Belgium's ultimate withdrawal from the UNAMIR mission. It could be argued, however, that had the remaining troops stayed, the genocide could have been prevented, or lessened in severity. Due to their skills and expertise, the Belgians posed the greatest threat to Hutu genocidaires, which explains the fact that their killing was planned by the militia months in advance (Grunfeld and Huijboom, 2007). Perpetrators may have been completely warned off, therefore, if Belgium had decided to stand its ground after its ten troops were killed. At this point, it is important to acknowledge that the genocide reached its conclusion due to the overthrowing of the government by the RPF (Lango, 2014). This indicates that forcefulness and indeed willingness of strong states would have irrefutably drawn a close to the genocide. Despite this, UNAMIR were advised by the U.N. to abandon the mission at the peak of the atrocities, leaving a mere force of just 270 to deal with the devastation (Hehir, 2013).

This essay began with the definition of genocide, at outlined in the 1948 United Nations Convention. It is noteworthy that international communities refused to identify it as such until much of the violence was over. The Western media helped to reinforce this by misrepresenting the situation as a 'tribal war' rather than acknowledging it to be genocide (Cohen, 2007). Had the Rwandan case been reported for what it actually was, a

humanitarian response would almost certainly have been initiated. In the midst of this, however, it has been questioned whether strong states merely denied what was happening in order to provide a justification for their unwillingness to become involved. For example, it is believed that American president Bill Clinton was reluctant to send in reinforcements due to the fact that eighteen U.S. peacekeeping troops had recently been killed in Somalia when trying to rescue civilians (Lehmann, 1999). This arguably allowed the genocide to spread, whilst many of the perpetrators were able to flee to neighbouring countries. Furthermore, Melvern (2000) notes that one month into the genocide, the RPF called upon the U.N. to establish an international criminal tribunal in order to condemn those who took part in the genocide. However, this was not enforced until the genocide had largely reached a close (2000: 228). It could be said that, had this tribunal been swiftly implemented, many of those that took part in the killings would have been removed from the situation at a relatively early stage. Although the genocide was already underway, there was a clear missed opportunity by the U.N. to disempower the genocidaires, which may have prevented the continuation of the genocide.

In conclusion, it seems clear that the 1994 Rwandan genocide was largely, if not necessarily entirely, preventable. Rwanda's harsh colonial history meant that the 'classification' phase of genocide, creating 'us versus them' typologies, was set into motion in the early stages. Although colonialism would have been difficult to prevent in and of itself, it could be argued that the ethnic ID cards, which facilitated the 'symbolisation' phase of genocide, could have been revoked when the country received its independence. Furthermore, if the U.S. had acted on its powers to block extremist media propaganda, the 'dehumanisation' of the Tutsi population would have been significantly less extensive. The 'organisational' phase of genocide took form when international states trained and armed the Hutu militia. This, in turn, might have been prevented if the World Bank had prohibited 'illegitimate' loaning and the IMF had not destabilised the economy, causing the recruitment of unemployed males into the militia squads. Although at the 'extermination' stage it would have been difficult to prevent the already ensuing genocide, a strengthened UNAMIR force with a broadened mandate would have irrefutably helped to overpower and remove a large majority of perpetrators. As has thereby been established, the 1994 genocide portrays a clear example of missed opportunities and international failings from the onset. However, in recognising the steps that arguably gave rise to the Rwanda case, and in light of the international community's regret following the identification of these failures, other countries can perhaps benefit from knowing when and how to effectively intervene, so that genocide can be diffused early on and prevented altogether.

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What does Du Bois mean by the term 'double consciousness'? How useful is this term for thinking about race/ethnicity today?

Margaret Lewitt

W.E.B. Du Bois was an American sociologist and social reformer working from the late 19th to the mid-20th century. Du Bois was the first African-American to earn a PhD from Harvard University and he is often thought to have been one of the most important African-American social and political activists of the 20th century. Du Bois' 1903 publication *The Souls Of Black Folk* is still, more than a century later, widely regarded as a relevant and important study of the issue of race and the way it affects individuals. Du Bois discusses the notion of double consciousness: a term he coined in a bid to explain and describe the "strange experience" (2007: 7) of being black in America at the turn of the 20th century. This essay will analyse what Du Bois meant by the term and will attempt to demonstrate the continued utility and importance of the term for contemporary society, especially in relation to thinking about race and ethnicity.

Throughout history there have been many different conceptions and understandings of race. The term can be defined as "a category of people who share biologically transmitted traits that members of society deem socially significant" (Macionis and Plummer, 2012: 350). Crucially however, these perceived differences, which are regularly used to categorise and classify individuals, are superficial. Scientifically speaking there is simply one race: the human race. In recent decades scientists and anthropologists have shown that there is actually more genetic variety within a supposed racial group than between different races. Thus the term 'race' is increasingly accompanied by inverted commas as a result of the understanding that this categorization of individuals has no valid biological basis: phenotypical differences such as skin colour and hair texture do not correlate with differences in genetic makeup (Scott and Marshall, 2009). Early scientific understandings of race were often profoundly racist and damaging in their suggestion, for example, that different races had differently structured skulls, with Caucasians being regarded as both more intelligent and also more moral than those of other so-called inferior races (Macionis and Plummer, 2012).

However, despite the fact that race has been shown not to exist as anything more than a social construct, racism and racial prejudice do have very tangible consequences. As Armstrong and Ng (2005) explain, the social and political construction of race has produced actual divisions amongst people. Du Bois' notion of double consciousness can still be seen to be relevant since we still live in a largely racialized society.

Du Bois saw many social and political changes occur in his own lifetime. He was born just five years after the Emancipation Proclamation and was part of the first generation of African-Americans to grow up free rather than enslaved. However, as Du Bois would go on to write, it quickly became apparent that political declarations of the supposed freedom of black Americans was insufficient to achieve and guarantee that freedom.

The Souls Of Black Folk was written 40 years after Abraham Lincoln had legally freed slaves and more than 30 years after the US Constitution had been amended to offer freed slaves full rights of citizenship, including the right to vote. However Du Bois states that black Americans were still facing prejudice despite supposed political equality: that at the turn of the 20th century it still felt like a 'problem' (Du Bois, 2007: 7) to be black in America. Du

Bois introduced the term double consciousness in an attempt to further explain this 'strange experience' (2007: 7). He describes how, as a child, it dawned upon him suddenly that he was 'different from the others' (2007: 8). Despite his fundamental human similarities with the other children in his New England schoolhouse, he realised that he was in a sense shut out from their world by 'a vast veil' (Du Bois, 2007: 8).

Du Bois expanded on this experience, noting that, as a black American, he could not achieve true self-consciousness, but rather was able to see himself only "through the revelation of the other world" (2007: 8). This is what double consciousness is for Du Bois: this notion of looking at and measuring one's sense of self through the eyes of white others. Du Bois effectively summarised what he, as a black American, meant by double consciousness, by stating that "one ever feels his twoness, – an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings" (2007: 8). It was this very feeling of twoness that Du Bois highlighted through his notion of double consciousness, especially the fact that these two identities seemed to him, writing at the turn of the century, so irreconcilable. Indeed Du Bois goes on to refer to his two senses of self (an American and a Negro) as being "two warring ideals in one dark body" (2007: 8). This description by Du Bois of his experience of double consciousness effectively highlights the extent to which he saw his identity as a black man and his identity as an American as incompatible: to be American was not to be black.

Importantly, despite this ongoing strife, Du Bois did not want to shed either identity: he was proud of both aspects of his self; of each of his consciousnesses. He explained that although he wanted to attain self-consciousness and to merge his 'double self into a better and truer [single] self' (2007: 9), he crucially did not want to lose either his Negro or his American self. Du Bois does not want to have to give up either aspect of his self, he simply wants "to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an America... without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face" (Du Bois, 2007: 9). Du Bois wants it to be possible to be both: he wants to be both a Negro and an American, he simply does not want there to be such a conflictive tension between the two. He wants his identity as a black American to be validated and unified rather than being forced to "ever feel his twoness" (Du Bois, 2007: 8).

Du Bois' idea of double consciousness and his wish for it to be possible to be both a Negro and an American is still very topical for modern society, and the term double consciousness can be useful in thinking about race/ethnicity today. Despite a scientific understanding and acknowledgment that there is only one biological race, with race being socially constructed, racial assumptions continue to foster very real social effects and there remains ongoing racial discrimination. Indeed one could argue that the modern understanding of race as socially and politically, rather than biologically, constructed provides the possibility to excuse and disguise racial discrimination. This can be illustrated in part in the way that the 'Black Lives Matter' movement became appropriated by white individuals claiming instead that 'All Lives Matter' (for example Bry, 2015). This illustrates well what Du Bois meant by his term double consciousness and the struggle black Americans face to be recognised, with their very existence becoming problematized. The claim that simply all lives matter denies the discrimination and racism black individuals face, and dismisses Du Bois' key point in his notion of double consciousness: that he did not want to have to 'bleach his Negro soul' (Du Bois, 2007: 9) in order to become American, because to do so would be to lose half of his identity. The appropriation of the 'Black Lives Matter' movement can be understood as an attempt to erase the existence of people of colour and the institutionalised racism they

experience (Cullors et al, 2012) which again can be linked to Du Bois' notion of the veil which acts as a cultural barrier to shut people of colour out from the wider world.

Racism today is often regarded as being more subtle and less overt than it was during Du Bois' time. However, this can have negative consequences as it can make racism harder to perceive and thus challenge. As Shaw (2004) mentions in his article discussing double consciousness and African-American patriotism post 9/11, at certain points in history, double consciousness and this notion of two incompatible identities is felt more or less strongly. More than a century on from when Du Bois wrote *Of Our Spiritual Strivings*, society is considerably different. However, as contemporary scholars argue, this does not necessarily mean that Du Bois' notion of double consciousness is no longer relevant. The term is still useful in understanding and analysing issues surrounding race and ethnicity in contemporary society. Du Bois was clear that legal equality was not sufficient: he was angry that, unlike white citizens, black individuals were still not widely seen as being full American citizens and that this was having devastating results for African-Americans who were being denied the possibility to achieve their full potential. Shaw states that while the atrocities of 9/11 caused some African-Americans to become less ambivalent and more patriotic towards America, choosing (often for the first time) to see themselves as "full-fledged American[s]" (Shaw, 2004: 21) this does not and cannot negate the way in which race still impacts on black Americans' lives and the extent to which "black double consciousness is still salient" (2004: 25).

Du Bois explains that double consciousness forces him to see himself in the way in which others perceive him and that people did not see him simply as American as they did with a white individual. This caused Du Bois to claim that he was unable to achieve true self-consciousness. Similarly, the continued importance of double consciousness for modern society can be illustrated in the way in which, to this day, white Americans are referred to simply as Americans, while black Americans are so often referred to as such, as if their American identity must first be prefaced by their otherness; their blackness. The sense of twoness Du Bois described can thus be seen to still be apparent. For example Barack Obama is not seen simply as an American president, but rather he is a black, African-American president, in a way in which his predecessors were never perceived as being white presidents: they had the luxury of merely being American presidents. Their identity as white Americans was and is unitary in a way in which black Americans weren't at the time of Du Bois' writing and still aren't today.

A further way in which Du Bois' term double consciousness can be useful for thinking about race and ethnicity today is in regards to black stereotypes presented in mainstream media, especially for African-American men. Du Bois noted that double consciousness was problematic because of the difficulty it posed for individuals attempting to gain true self-consciousness, especially for black Americans who had never experienced being perceived as anything other than a 'problem' (2007: 7). This problematic sense of self experienced by black individuals can be usefully related to stereotyped images of black individuals. Mainstream media images of African-American men tend to be very limited and will typically play on stereotypes of black men as being athletes, criminals, or on welfare. Such limited portrayal is problematic as it confines and shapes the aspirations of young black men, thereby preserving these stereotypes (Welch, 2007, Cushion et al, 2011 and The Opportunity Agenda, 2011). Black men are ultimately underrepresented in media, especially as business experts and users of luxury items. Yet they are overrepresented in negative associations of crime, unemployment and poverty (The Opportunity Agenda, 2011). These distorted media stereotypes of African-Americans effectively create barriers

(not dissimilar to Du Bois' notion of the veil) which limit and hinder the advancement of black men in society. By stereotyping and distorting their achievements, rather than providing accurate representations, the media furthers these cultural barriers and divisions. This in turn is likely to lead to an increased sense of double consciousness amongst black individuals whose twoness is highlighted and compounded by media stereotypes, which they must either reject or conform to. This lack of positive and diverse media representation of African-Americans can contribute to low self-esteem and an increased sense of double consciousness. This shaping, by the (too often white) media, of black individuals' perceptions of themselves further prevents them from attaining true self-consciousness as they struggle to unite their own identity with an anti-black external sentiment.

Double consciousness can be especially useful when thinking about race/ethnicity in relation to immigration. Immigrants often describe feeling that they are "living between two worlds, struggling between two identities that at times seem to be mutually exclusive" (Upegui-Hernandez, 2009: 129). Such an expression clearly corresponds to Du Bois' notion of double consciousness and his experience of a multiplicity of selves, or "two unreconciled strivings" (2007: 8). The sense of twoness which immigrants so often feel demonstrates that double consciousness has continuing relevance in relation to culture and ethnicity. Immigrants arrive in, for example, America with their own language, culture, value system and religion and they typically want to preserve and maintain these. However, at the same time they wish to embrace American culture. Thus an immigrant is likely to experience double consciousness and a sense of conflict between their two identities: that of an American and that of a citizen of their home country. This double consciousness and the tension between the immigrant's two identities and cultures can only be heightened when those in positions of power make openly racist and derogatory remarks about immigrants, thereby making it harder for them to reconcile and unify their immigrant identity with their American identity. Academic work on immigration continually illustrates the ongoing relevance of Du Bois' notion of double consciousness and its importance in capturing their dual identity and the struggle they face in trying to reconcile their 'dual vision' (Falicov, 2002: 8) and assimilate to a new country and culture without having to deny their old identity.

Although race relations in America have undergone considerably change since Du Bois was writing, his claim that 'the freedman has not yet found freedom in his promised land' (2007: 10) can still be seen to be the case today, more than a hundred years on. Now that slavery and segregation have been legally abolished, however, it has arguably become a harder fight; it is no longer clear what the next step to true emancipation from double consciousness must be. Du Bois discussed African-Americans' pursuit of "freedom and self-actualisation in the United States" (Blum, 2007: 80). These ideals are still very much being sought today. Despite alleged equality in law, recent upsurges in civil rights movements across America demonstrate that double consciousness is still something black individuals in America must struggle with.

More than a century on, there is still tension between the concept of American-ness and non-white heritage and culture. This leaves people of colour in America in conflict between their two identities, and despite this essay continuing Du Bois' focus on America, the same applies to many European countries where black individuals are made to feel like a problem and must attempt to reconcile two identities, or two apparently contrasting senses of self. Continued racial inequalities in contemporary society make it difficult for black Americans to reconcile their black identity with their American identity. These

categories are still too often seen as mutually exclusive, leading individuals to feel conflicted and torn between their two identities. This feeling of unreconciled twoness is what Du Bois referred to as double consciousness, illustrating that the term remains useful and relevant for discussing race and ethnicity today.

In conclusion Du Bois' powerful description of double consciousness illustrates well his experience of being a black American at the turn of the 20th century and the struggles he faced while attempting to reconcile the two different aspects of his identity: his two consciousnesses. As this essay has hopefully demonstrated, Du Bois' notion of double consciousness can, and I believe should, still be understood as useful in thinking about race and ethnicity in contemporary society. Although many people would like to think that we now live in a post-racial society, such a belief denies and negates the struggles and discrimination people of colour face daily, especially as they often, like Du Bois, have to reconcile a conflictive and disjointed sense of self in order to try and attain true self-consciousness. Despite the fact that Du Bois was writing over a century ago, sadly society remains sufficiently unchanged and unequal that his discussion of double consciousness and the sense of twoness black individuals face, is still of utmost relevance and importance today and I believe that it will be for the foreseeable future.

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What does Du Bois mean by the term 'double consciousness'? How useful is this term for thinking about race/ethnicity today?

Michelle Ndegwa

This essay will explain W. E. B. Du Bois' concept of "double consciousness" and will determine the usefulness of the term when thinking about race in America, because the social construction of race manages to 'lie so deep in the heart of American society' (Goldstein and Thacker, 2007: xx). The beginning of the essay addresses the fact that race has no biological significance but, because of racism, it is still an important concept; the essay then leads onto the discussion of Du Bois' work. The remainder of the essay will present how the concept of double consciousness is useful when looking at race in America with the underlining message that Du Bois' ideas are still able to explain the lived black experience. As Bulmer and Solomos suggest: 'In claiming that race is an ontological category, I don't mean to say that we should begin treating it as such, but that we must begin acknowledging the fact that race has been "real" for a long time', and it is for this reason that the idea of double consciousness is useful when looking at the experiences of black men in American society (1999: 32).

It was Carl Linnaeus that began the first of numerous '"scientific" efforts to classify the human population by breaking it into various races' (Kivisto and Croll, 2012: 6). Linnaeus believed that physical differences not only grouped races together, but were actually 'deeply interconnected with differences in temperament, intelligence and moral worthiness' (Kivisto and Croll, 2012: 6). However, Troy Duster reveals that forms of 'science of race' offered to give biological racial differences amongst people have all been 'debunked as empirically false' (Kivisto and Croll, 2012: 18). Consideration must be given to the fact that, even though there is an apparent 'consensus that these earlier efforts to create a science of race turned out to be instances of pseudo-science' (Kivisto and Croll, 2012: 18), it is still the case that 'race, or racialized identities have as much… salience as they ever had' especially in America, where racism is still a problem (Bulmer and Solomos, 1999: 8).

Therefore, it is important to note that 'racism has nothing to do with the existence of objective biological "races"' (Bailibar and Wallerstein, 1991: 37); it has been established that there is no scientific evidence of different races, yet that does not mean the idea of race is not still prevalent in society. As Goldstein and Thacker (2007: xvii) conclude, race 'is a powerful myth'. Linda Martin Alcoff, (cited in Bulmer and Solomos, 1999: 8) explains that 'race is a slippery concept that serves as a means for converting contingent attributes, such as skin colour, into essential bases for identities'. However, in presenting race as such, she denies the fact that it is also a lived experience. In fact, Bulmer and Solomos (1999: 32) suggest that 'refusing the reality of racial categories as elements within our current social ontology only exacerbates racism, because it helps to conceal the myriad effects that racializing practices have had and continue to have on social life'.

The Souls of Black Folk by Du Bois is considered to 'show the strange meaning of being black here at the dawning of the Twentieth Century'; Du Bois poses the question 'Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house?' to reveal the complexity of being both Black and American (Du Bois, 1903: 1). Du Bois mentions an incident from his past, in which a white girl refused to exchange visiting cards with him, to which it then

dawned on him that he was 'different from the others… shut out from their world by a vast veil' (1903: 2). Du Bois mentions the concept of the veil as the acknowledgement of some sort of barrier stopping black people from gaining the same opportunities and access in life as their white counterparts as he admits, 'the worlds I longed for, and all their dazzling opportunities, were theirs, not mine' (Du Bois, 1903: 2). Frantz Fanon, in his book *Black Skin, White Masks* written in 1952, supports Du Bois' concept of the veil (which makes immersing one's Black self into the world of the Whites difficult), through Fanon's awareness of the fact that 'the white world, the only honourable one, barred me from all participation' (Fanon et al., 2008: 86). Stuart Hall suggests that the awareness of life behind the veil coupled with the concept of 'double consciousness' is what Du Bois characterises as 'the black experience'; through the experience of isola0074ion Du Bois felt from his white peers, he managed to expand the sense of separateness into a 'fully fledged philosophy' of the realities of identifying as both Black and American (Hall, 2003).

Du Bois' concept of double consciousness is a response to the question of 'how does it feel to be a problem?', as the concept can be seen as the general characteristics of the Negro experience (Gooding-Williams, 2009: 67). The fact that Du Bois (1903: 3) writes that 'one ever feels his twoness, –an American, a Negro: two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body' epitomises the struggle of the 'American Negro' in developing his sense of self and reality, with the statement also portraying the idea that a black individual is faced with two identities. The American Negro does not possess what Du Bois (1903: 2) defines as 'true self-consciousness' and is thus left with 'seeing oneself through the revelation of the other world' along with 'always looking at one's self through the eyes of others' and also 'measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in an amused contempt and pity', which is what Du Bois describes as the peculiar sensation of double consciousness. The feeling of 'seeing oneself from the perspective of the other, or white, world' is in actual fact through experience through a perspective that is 'conditioned and qualified by the racially prejudiced disclosure of Negro life' that happens to represent the 'revelation of the other world' (Gooding-Williams, 2009: 80).

The reality of seeing oneself 'through the revelation of the other world' suggests that black people have to 'adopt a white gaze, distinct from a black conception of the self' (Goldstein and Thacker, 2007: 50). The fact that Fanon also mentions that 'a man was expected to behave like a man. I was expected to behave like a black man –or at least like a nigger' (Fanon et al., 2008: 86) is reminiscent of Du Bois' notion of double consciousness, as Fanon is aware of the reality that he is different from others, as he is not just considered a man, but is seen as a black man, and thus expected to behave as such. One way of 'understanding double consciousness is that blacks must see themselves and judge themselves as whites see them', therefore double consciousness is a way of describing the 'internalization of racist systems of representation' (Glenn, 2009: 85). It is in this way that the experience of being black does not allow the opportunity to develop one's own self-consciousness or self-concept, as how one is viewed by the whites also has to shape the American Negro's sense of self. Du Bois' notion of the black experience entails the 'feeling of being denied the normative status of membership in American society', and it is for this reason that being black is a problem (Gooding-Williams, 2009: 81).

The 'United States, believe that race does mean something' and 'collectively believe, and behave' as if it does, and so by taking into account the impact of racial categories being maintained and perpetuated within society, double consciousness can be seen as a useful concept in order to understand the impact of race on an individual (Goldstein and Thacker,

2007: xvii). The fact that race is 'defined in terms of power relations, with racial ideologies serving as a rationale for particular groups to achieve domination over other groups' creates discrimination, and so to understand the complexity of the black experience the notion of double consciousness is relevant when looking at race (Kivisto and Croll, 2012: 10). In the fatal shooting of teenager Trayvon Martin by George Zimmerman in 2012, the Fox News host Geraldo Rivera stated that Trayvon Martin's hoodie was just as much responsible for his death as Zimmerman (Fung, 2012). He considered it '"common sense" for minorities to avoid wearing hoodies' and claimed to be 'reminding minority parents of the risk that comes with being a kid of color in America'; the reminder of the risk that Rivera mentions is the fact that 'black youngsters' and their parents should be aware of the fact that by wearing a hoodie, people will perceive them as a 'menace' and treat them as such (Fung, 2012).

It is in this way that Rivera's views reveal the naivety of assuming that black individuals are not subject to looking at themselves through the eyes of others, as he believes if Trayvon Martin 'didn't have that hoodie on, that nutty neighborhood watch guy wouldn't have responded in that violent and aggressive way' (Fung, 2012). As NBC News describes, the case of Trayvon Martin being assumed as a threat with the 'sense that this child was naïve in the way he conducted himself (by wearing a hoodie)', reiterates Du Bois' point of the black experience being about seeing oneself in the way that white people do in order to avoid any potential danger (Minchillo, 2012). It is in this way that a black man is 'being dissected under white eyes, the only real eyes' is highlighted, and is what members of the black community should always be aware of (Fanon *et al.*, 2008: 87).

The category of race is still undeniably important, as it seems to determine the way in which individuals are treated in society; race is an indication that an individual is 'different from the others' and for this reason the concept of double consciousness is still relevant when looking at America today (Du Bois, 1903: 2). As Bulmer and Solomos (1999: 8) note, 'race remains at the level of everyday experience and social representation' and is therefore the reason why Du Bois' work can still be considered useful. An article notes that 'white "hipsters" also wear hoodies', yet in the eyes of many Americans, these 'youth aren't seen as potential threats because they don't carry the burdens of being born poor and black' (Minchillo, 2012). Michael Skolnik, the editor in chief of the website 'GlobalGrind', acknowledged that 'he would never have met the same fate as Trayvon Martin because he is white' and he will never look out of place or suspicious regardless of the clothes he wears, with Skolnik's explanation being 'because of one thing and one thing only. The color of my skin' (Minchillo, 2012). Goldstein and Thacker (2007: 215) note that race has 'become a reality that cannot be dismissed', evidenced by the fact that 'African American males cannot conduct themselves in the same way that young white males can' (Minchillo, 2012). The fact that African Americans are seen to be different from their White counterparts links to Du Bois' (1903: 3) idea that 'one ever feels his twoness, –an American, a Negro'; and because of this, an African American is therefore treated differently in America. In reality, the problem that black people face in America is not due to their 'external styles of dress' but 'the racist internal mindsets' that are still prominent in the United States (Minchillo, 2012).

Due to the fact that double consciousness is an 'internalization of dominant views of oneself and a critical awareness of the structure of racism', it is useful when looking at race in America (Glenn, 2009: 85). Race being 'a potent political and social category around which individuals and groups organise their identity and construct politics' is the way that the Black Lives Matter movement can be understood (Bulmer and Solomos, 1999: 8). The

creators of the movement describe it as an 'ideological and political intervention in a world where Black lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise' (Black Lives Matter, 2015). It is therefore clear that 'most Americans nevertheless continue to think, speak, and act as if "race" were the basis of meaningful taxonomy' resulting in the existing movement concerned with the mistreatment of black lives in America (Goldstein and Thacker, 2007: xvi). Du Bois (1903: 2) believes that the 'Negro is... born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world', which can be understood as having 'an ability to recognise the presence of racism (Glenn, 2009: 85).

The prevalence of racism is the way that double consciousness can be considered as useful when looking at black lives in America, as if racism ended, people would not discriminate others based on their differences, which would mean accepting Black people as being the same, making the concept of double consciousness irrelevant. The fact is, race is still significant as the Black Lives Matter (2015) website explains that 'when you drop "Black" from the equation of whose lives matter, and then fail to acknowledge it came from somewhere, you further a legacy of erasing Black lives' which is why replacing 'Black' with 'All' Lives matter is problematic, as it ignores the fact that it is Black lives in particular that are subject to the 'virulent anti-Black racism' that permeates American society. Du Bois' work and concept of double consciousness is therefore still relevant when looking at race in America as, evidently, it is still not possible 'for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows' (Du Bois, 1903: 3).

Consideration must also be given to the fact that race also tends to either open or shut down job prospects and career possibilities (Bulmer and Solomos, 1999: 31). It is in this way that being a black individual can mean that some opportunities are not available, but instead are meant for white people, mirroring the time when Du Bois (1903: 2) realised that 'dazzling opportunities, were theirs, not mine'. Sociologist Devah Pager researched the effect that race had on hiring policies and she found that 'stereotypes had a powerful effect on job possibilities' (King, 2015). It is unfortunately still the case that 'black skin will stand for certain meanings,' and 'white skin will stand for other meanings' within society (Goldstein and Thacker, 2007: xvii). The fact that Du Bois (1903: 3) writes that one 'simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American... without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face' still happens to be relevant even within the twenty-first century, shows how Du Bois' work is still very useful in order to understand race today in America. Gilroy (2013) considers the fact that America is not a post-racial society, as racism has still proven to be 'durable and potent'. It is for this reason that America cannot be a post-racial society until 'injustice is no longer color-coded' which only then would deny the usefulness of the concept of double consciousness (Iluo, 2015).

In conclusion, the concept of double consciousness is a way to understand the lived experience of being a black man in America. It is a term that accounts for the reality of racism still being prevalent in American society, which results in individuals having to identify with being Black and American, as the idea of one's racial category is seen to impact their life. The distinctions between races results in one forever feeling his twoness, and it is only until racism and the categorisation of people in society come to an end can a concept such as double consciousness potentially fade away.

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Using key theories about the rise and spread of the Rwandan genocide, explain how the genocide might have been prevented

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The Rwandan genocide which took place in 1994 was carried out by the majority Hutu population, aided by extremist militias and Rwandan Government Forces (RGF), and led to the death of an estimated 500,000 to 1,000,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu. Although the genocide is usually viewed as a rather primitive outburst of violence, fuelled by hatred and carried out with clubs and machetes, witnesses and academics who analysed the events point out that there was a fairly high level of organisation involved.

This essay will look at some of the arguments put forward by Melvern (2000; 2014), Prunier (1999), Chossudovsky (2003), Stanton (2004), the commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), Romeo Dallaire (2004) and others. These accounts support the idea that the genocide was premeditated and show that there were many early signs regarding what was about to unfold. This paper will also argue that there were various turning points in the lead up to the genocide and that specific actions taken at those points might have prevented the massacre.

See no evil

There were many early tell-tale signs that the Hutu leadership was preparing for the extermination of Tutsi, signs which were consistently ignored by the UN Security Council (UNSC) and UN member states. Between 1992 and January 1994, UNAMIR gathered intelligence from multiple sources proving that the Akazu - President Habyarimana's close circle – with help from the Rwandan army, the Gendarmerie and the Interahamwe, was planning a genocide against the minority population, while also planning attacks on UNAMIR Belgian troops (Melvern, 2000). The Belgian ambassador in Kigali, the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Summary, Arbitrary, and Extrajudicial Executions, several human rights groups and others warned that the massacres against the Tutsi had already begun and constituted genocide under the Geneva Convention (Stanton, 2004).

On the 10th of January 1994, Major-General Roméo Dallaire received information regarding the planned genocide against the Tutsi from the 'chief trainer of the Interahamwe' (Dallaire, 2004: 142). The informant, Jean-Pierre, claimed that the Interahamwe ordered its members to make lists of all Tutsis in various regions which, he feared, was to enable the militia to exterminate them once the command was given. He also told Dallaire's team that the Rwandan Government Forces (RGF) were training the Interahamwe in their army bases and 'had recently transferred four large shipments of AK47s, ammunition and grenades […] stored in four separate arms caches in Kigali' (Dallaire, 2004: 143). Jean-Pierre described how the Rwandan army was involved in creating 'highly efficient death squads that, when turned loose on the population, could kill a thousand Tutsis in Kigali within twenty minutes of receiving the order' (Dallaire, 2004: 142). He also warned Dallaire of a plan by the Akazu and supported by the RGF and Gendarmerie to kill Belgian peacekeepers, a move seeking to pressure the UN into a complete withdrawal of UNAMIR (Dallaire, 2004; Melvern, 2000).

The next morning, Dallaire sent the now famous 'Genocide Fax' (Willard, 2014) to the New York UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO), informing them about the

Hutu plans to exterminate the Tutsi and that he intended to investigate and seize the weapon caches within the next 36 hours (Dallaire, 1994, cited in Adelman and Suhrke, 1999: xxi). While he advised caution in carrying out the operations, in case the intelligence from Jean-Pierre was a trap, he informed the DPKO that his team will be devising a plan for a weapons raid. The reply from Kofi Annan ordered him to immediately suspend the operations and to share the intelligence with President Habyarimana. Melvern (2000) argues that the rejection of Dallaire's plans was due to the recent events in Somalia, where 23 Pakistani troops and 18 Americans were killed during a weapons raid.

In any case, it would be reasonable to argue that, had UNAMIR been granted permission to seize the weapons, the outcome of the events would have been different. According to multiple informants, including Jean-Pierre, apart from those caches, the Interahamwe were only equipped with traditional weapons, such as machetes and clubs (Dallaire, 2004). A successful weapons raid would have deprived the militia of firepower and sent the Hutu Power conspiracy a message that their plans had been uncovered. In retrospect, Dallaire argues that 'the inside information offered us by Jean-Pierre represented a real chance to pull Rwanda out of the fire' (2004: 147).

Hear no evil

Melvern (2000) describes the creation and activity of Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLMC). RTLMC was used as a platform for inciting racial hatred. The radio station began broadcasting in April 1993, using the infrastructure within the Presidential palace and the expertise of Radio Rwanda, the official government station (Chalk, 1999). President Habyarimana was covertly supporting the anti-Tutsi propaganda, being a major shareholder in the radio station (Melvern, 2000). The other shareholders included members of Habyarimana's Akazu, all of whom came to play key roles in the genocide (Melvern, 2000).

RTLMC broadcasts were very informal, contrasting with the very strict government radio station; this led to its popularity with the largely uneducated Hutu population living in rural areas. Many commentators (Melvern, 2000; Chalk, 1999; Stanton, 2004; Straus, 2007) view RTLMC as an effective weapon which used anti-Tutsi propaganda to prepare the Hutu for the mass killings and to get them involved in the genocide. The station would broadcast names of political opponents, calling for the assassinations of Tutsi elites and civilians, as well as Hutu moderates who stood in the way of the Hutu Power movement. The Interahamwe would follow up on the broadcasts and kill the people mentioned on air, which included Prime-Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana and the President of the Supreme Court, Joseph Kavaruganda, both murdered on the first day of the genocide (Stanton, 2004). The radio also broadcasted programmes seeking to undermine the people's respect for the UN mission, accusing them of supporting the RTF and even crashing Habyarimana's plane, and instigated the Hutu to attack the troops (Dallaire, 2004).

The character of the broadcasts was well known to Dallaire's UNAMIR and to foreign diplomats. While the UN Major General requested permission and assistance in jamming RTLMC and several humanitarian groups supported his arguments regarding the dangerousness of the station, none of the Western powers agreed with Dallaire's proposal to silence the radio. Most Western diplomats in Kigali refused to take the broadcasts seriously, regarding it as 'genuinely silly things said over the station' (Canadian Ambassador Lucie Edwards, cited in Chalk, 1999: 102). The American Ambassador David Rawson claimed that the ambiguous terms of the broadcasts could be understood in

multiple ways, and said the USA supported freedom of speech (Melvern, 2000), although, according to Stanton (2004: 4), under the USA Constitution, incitement to commit genocide is not regarded as 'protected speech'. Dallaire (2004) and Chalk (1999) argue that any of the Western governments would have had the capability to easily jam the RTLMC, which used unsophisticated equipment. Even around the end of the genocide, when in August the UNDPKO requested that the Canadian government assisted with jamming the radio, they refused by saying that UNAMIR's role was of peace-keeping, not enforcing (Chalk, 1999). The radio propaganda had shaped Hutu mentality, creating a climate of fear and hatred which motivated peasants to join the Hutu Power movement and contribute to the mass killings. According to one of the génocidaires:

> I did not believe the Tutsi were coming to kill us...but when the government radio continued to broadcast that they were coming to take our land, were coming to kill the Hutu – when this was repeated over and over – I began to feel some kind of fear (Berkley, 1995, cited in Chalk, 1999: 99).

Straus (2007) reports on research data which shows significant correlations between aggressive anti-Tutsi broadcasts by the RTLMC and increased violence, especially among the militia groups and mostly around Kigali. The polarising programmes established very distinct "us" and "them" groups, limiting the perceived options of Hutu individuals. According to Straus (2007), many Hutu became involved in the genocide out of fear of either an RPF victory or being punished for disobeying the militia. The aim of the RTLMC to radicalise the Hutu and prepare them for the massacres had thus been fulfilled.

As RTLMC broadcasts became inflammatory relatively early before the genocide, UNAMIR and humanitarian organisations correctly interpreted it as one of the factors contributing to the increasing violence against the Tutsi. Several alarms were raised to Western governments and the UNSC, any of whom would have easily been able to jam the radio signal. It is now clear that RTLMC played a pivotal role in creating fear and radicalising the Hutu, as well as planning and coordinating attacks by the militias and spreading lies about the genocide (Straus, 2007; Stanton, 2004). It can be argued, then, that if the broadcasting had been stopped at any point, it could have prevented the genocide altogether or it might have at least slowed down the killing. According to Broadbent (1995), Major-General Roméo Dallaire has declared that "if he had been equipped with proper jamming devices, many lives might have been spared" (cited in Chalk, 1999: 101).

Speak no evil

One of the major factors which led to inaction on behalf of the international community was that, since the outbreak of violence at the beginning of the genocide and throughout the events over the next 100 days, the media failed to report accurately on the situation in Rwanda, describing it as 'a failed central African nation-state with a centuries-old history of tribal warfare and deep distrust of outside intervention' (New York Times, 1994). This provided UNSC members with the opportunity to deny that what was happening was indeed a genocide, which, according to the Geneva 1948 Genocide Convention and several countries' national constitutions, would have warranted immediate action to stop the violence. Instead, UN member states took advantage of the existing ambiguity and, labelling it as an ongoing civil war, denied their responsibility (Cohen, 2001).

According to Kuperman (2001), both the UK and the USA failed for at least three weeks to acknowledge that the mass killings taking place in Rwanda constituted acts of genocide.

Even after the organised massacres following the death of President Habyarimana, the UNSC and the rest of the international community were dancing around the issue, resisting the facts reported by several sources (Melvern, 2014). Stanton (2004) argues that the US Defence Intelligence Agency intercepting radio transmissions warned the US Government that genocide was taking place as of the 7th of April 1994, but the warnings were ignored by the State Department. He explains that the killing of 18 Army Rangers in Somalia in 1993 caused the Clinton administration to avoid involvement in another African conflict, distrusting the UN peacekeeping operations. In order to reduce cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957), the US and other UNSC members refused to call the genocide by its name, ignoring the early signs, as well as the reports coming through once the massacres began.

Before the start of the genocide, Dallaire and other UNAMIR representatives, as well as the Belgian Ambassador, made repeated requests to the UNSC, the DPKO and their respective governments to extend UNAMIR's mandate, deploy reinforcements and supply them with ammunition and resources in order to prevent mass killings of civilians (Dallaire, 2004). Every request was rejected by the UNSC, most vehemently by the US and UK who were worried about the expenses. As Dallaire cynically put it, 'Rwanda was too small, too poor and too black' (cited in Melvern, 2014: 2). Stanton (2004) argues that groupthink prevented the other UN members from labelling the Rwandan situation as a genocide and from proposing intervention plans, instead choosing to align themselves with the UNSC rhetoric.

When during the first days of the genocide Dallaire asked again for an extended UNAMIR mandate, enabling his force to take action and stop the killings, the UNSC refused and instead reduced it to 270 troops (Dallaire, 2004). That the UN and its members had the personnel and resources to intervene in Rwanda is clear. On the 10th of April, just three days after the start of the genocide, 1000 heavily armed troops were sent into Kigali by France and Belgium, in order to rescue their own citizens (Dallaire, 2004). Stanton (2004) adds that other 1550 US, French and Belgian troops were stationed in the region. The 450 UNAMIR volunteers remaining in Rwanda managed to save over 25,000 people with barely any ammunition and with direct orders not to engage the perpetrators (Dallaire, 2004), Taking this into account, it would not be far-fetched to argue that even just bringing UNAMIR to its agreed size of 2500 troops and allowing them to actively participate in rescuing victims and stopping the massacres could have prevented the genocide or at least saved tens of thousands of people. Had UNSC and the other members recognised the first signs of the Rwandan genocide, the massacres could have been prevented:

> If UNAMIR had been reinforced several months before the outbreak of the violence, as Belgium's government urged at the time, genocide might have been averted (Kuperman 2001: 97).

Melvern (2014) argues that the media could have played an important role in preventing the genocide or at least curbing the violence by reporting on the status quo and pressuring UN members to acknowledge the massacres as genocide. She suggests that sending out a clear message and acknowledging the severity of the crisis could have prevented the West from using techniques of neutralisation (Sykes and Matza, 1957) in order to deny their responsibility. Stanton (2004) argues that any intervention from UNAMIR or the international community which clearly condemned the genocide could have persuaded many Hutu civilians to stop participating in the killing.

Do no evil?

Perhaps a longer, more complicated line of argument would be looking at the economic and political situation in Rwanda from the days of the Belgian colonial rule until right before genocide started. The country's recent history is littered with moments when a different course of action could have changed the relationship between the Hutu and the Tutsi for the better, potentially preventing the genocide. Although the outcomes of these changes are much more difficult to predict, it is worth looking at how colonisation by the Belgians and neocolonial practices by the Bretton Woods Institutions have repeatedly failed Rwanda and pushed it into the direction of an ethnic genocide.

Belgian colonists favoured the Tutsi minority as the "bearers of civilization", enabling them to occupy privileged positions in politics, administration and education. Through a divide-and-conquer strategy, they played on existing dynastic conflicts to establish territorial control (Chossudovsky, 2003). Essentially constructing a racial hierarchy based on myths about the origins of Tutsi, so-called 'negres evolues', the Belgians obtained the support of the minority while the Hutu regarded them as allies of the colonisers. This racial, or rather, ethnical, differentiation was legitimised by the 1933-1934 census in which Rwandans were put into one of the groups and required to carry IDs with their ethnicity printed on them (Kolin, 2008). These externally enforced socio-ethnic divisions have left an imprint still perceivable in contemporary Rwandan society (also see Fanon, 1963).

Following decolonisation, the 1959 political revolution saw the Hutu overturning the social order and Tutsi domination with the support of the Belgian authorities (Kolin, 2008). After the revolution leading up to the 1994 Rwandan genocide, the power struggle between the Hutu majority and the Tutsi minority continued, claiming the lives of thousands of people. The state's inability to mediate the ongoing conflict would become a contributing factor in the genocide in which an estimated 500,000 to 1,000,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu were killed.

Increased international pressure during the Habyariama regime in the 1980s pushed his government to introduce a multi-party democratic system (Chossudovsky, 2014; Kolin, 2008). However, just as the violence and conflicts seemed to de-escalate, in October 1990 the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a Tutsi-led rebel group, invaded Rwanda from the North, advancing 60 km from the border with Uganda (Prunier, 1999). Hutu retaliation following this incursion killed almost 350 Tutsi and burned their homes, despite none of them being part of or connected to the RPF (Prunier, 1999). According to Kolin (2008), these initial "trial" killings served to accustom Hutu peasants to the slaughter of Tutsi, normalising this type of violence ahead of the 1994 genocide. These events and the local authorities' endorsement of ethnic violence granted even more support to the Hutu power ideology, which would come to mobilise Hutu civilians into killing Tutsi during the genocide.

At the same time, several new parties entered the Rwandan political scene after Habyarimana's introduction of a multi-party system. Notably, the Coalition for the Defence of the Republic (CDR), a Hutu extremist party, was criticising his government for being too moderate and favouring the RPF and the Tutsi (Kolin, 2008). Although the CDR was denied representation in the Rwandan Parliament, it enjoyed public support, and its youth wing gave birth to the militia group Impuzamugambi, similar to the ruling party's Interahamwe, both of which would come to lead the massacres during the genocide (Kolin, 2008).

Regarding Rwanda's economy, Toussaint (2014) argues that the policies imposed by the Bretton Woods Institutions, i.e. the IMF and World Bank (WB), have contributed to the Rwandan genocide. During the Belgian colonial rule, Rwanda's agriculture was almost exclusively based on coffee, tea and tin (Kolin, 2008). After the independence, this tradition was continued, not without pressure from international financial institutions, rendering the country dependent on exports to the West (Chossudovsky, 2003). These neocolonial practices pushed Rwanda into a peripheral position within global economics.

The collapse of the coffee market at the end of the 1980s, followed by the collapse of tea prices, led Rwanda into an economic crisis. As over 70% of agriculture was based on these products, the country was not producing enough foodstuff to sustain the growing population and, when exports halved between 1987 and 1991, it could not afford to import it anymore (Chossudovsky, 2003). By this point, Rwanda was dealing with poverty, famine, major debt, as well as increasing violence between the Hutu and the Tutsi. The former blamed the Tutsi for the social, economic and political problems, as often happens before genocidal acts take place. According to Toussaint (2014), the IMF and WB granted major loans to the country but did not ensure that the money was invested as agreed, enabling Habyarimana's government to embezzle large sums which, as shown by Chossudovsky (2003), were later used to purchase military capabilities.

Had the Belgians not imposed ethnical differentiation through the IDs, or at least had they removed them prior to granting Rwanda's independence, perhaps the tensions between the two groups would have been alleviated. It certainly would have made the identification and extermination of Tutsis much harder during the genocide. Had Belgium assisted Rwanda into creating a coalition government from the beginning of the decolonisation process, instead of enabling a power shift from the Tutsi to the Hutu, maybe they would have learned to live and govern together. Had the RPF attacks and the early government-sanctioned killings been condemned, it could have sent a message that the international community is paying close attention to Rwanda's development and will not tolerate such violence. Had the negotiations for the Arusha Accords started earlier, perhaps they would have had a chance to reach a conclusion. Had the democratisation measures been closely tailored to the needs and abilities of Rwanda, they could have actually been successful. Had the Bretton Woods institutions focused the economic reforms into creating sustainable growth in Rwanda, rather than causing it to become dependent on exporting coffee, tea and tin and importing the basic necessities, maybe the country would have achieved economic prosperity, which in turn could have improved the relationship between the Hutu and the Tutsi. Unfortunately, Rwanda was repeatedly failed, first by its colonisers and then by international institutions imposing neocolonial measures, which is likely to have created the preconditions that made genocide possible.

Conclusions

To conclude, while it may be difficult to establish whether the Belgian colonial rule and the Bretton Woods neo-colonial project directly caused the events during the Rwandan genocide, it can be argued that the steps mentioned above would have improved the relationship between the Tutsi and the Hutu, which, in turn, could have prevented the violence. However, the analysis of the moments closer to the genocide conclusively shows that certain actions by the UN and the international community as a whole would have prevented the bloodshed.

The UN had the opportunity to intervene to prevent the upcoming genocide by seizing weapons which would have greatly reduced the military capabilities of the perpetrators. The hate-inducing RTLMC could have been stopped from broadcasting inflammatory and false stories about the events taking place in Rwanda. The UNSC could have extended UNAMIR's mandate to protect the civilians targeted over the 100 days in which over half a million people were slaughtered. However, lack of political will from the members of the SC prevented any initiatives from even being considered, leaving the Tutsi to fend for themselves, in one of the biggest failures the UN Blue Berets.

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What kinds of social and political changes did the Black Power movement promote? Would these changes have stopped the discrimination now being seen against African Americans in criminal justice and education?

Ilham Nur

The Black Power Movement is arguably one of the most misjudged organisations in the history of the United States. Popularised by Stokely Carmichael, the term 'black power' can be described as the unification of the black community in order to achieve power and "force those representatives to speak to their needs" [Barbour, 196: 66]. In contrast to Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), this suggests that the movement sought to liberate the black community through self-determination, Black Nationalism, and active resistance of authority through presenting different philosophies. In this essay I will be focusing upon the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) who deviated from peaceful ideology of the civil rights movement, as well as the socialist philosophies of The Black Panther Party. I will examine the way they upheld the socio-political philosophies of Nation of Islam Muslim minister, Malcolm X. I will also discuss to what extent their social and political changes had an impact upon contemporary U.S society.

Whilst it was clear that the Civil Rights Movement (1954-1968) had achieved socio-political successes in the mid-sixties, social changes had been very limited in altering the living conditions of the black community. The social frustrations in African American inner city communities were still present in which they were alienated and regionally contained. The social disorganisation of urban inner city areas has also resulted in the forming of a collective psychology [Clark, 1967: 63-82] whereby they have lost hope in granting adequate living conditions. The 1965 riot in Watts, Los Angeles, and the 1967 riots in Newark, New Jersey and Detroit, Michigan [Allen, 1970: 128-129] whereby a large population of young black males looted, fought and were killed, reinforced their anger and spatial alienation in impoverished inner cities. Chairman of SNCC, Stokley Carmichael, argues that this crisis occurred because there was no African American organisation prior to the black power movement in which voiced the growing militancy and frustrations of black youths [Barbour, 1968: 63]. Rather, the Civil Rights Movement was outdated with the needs of the younger generation and adjusted to an opinion, which benefited white liberals and the black middle class. Moreover, President Lyndon B. Johnson's 1964 'War on Poverty' [Bauman, 2008: 82] policy, which attempted to improve poverty and unemployment, had no impact on the black community. Also, the Moynihan Report [Patterson, 2010] issued in 1965 and matriarchal structure emphasised the threat of the black family and regarded it as a consequence of cultural discrimination. Although the poverty line reduced to 32.2% [The Crisis, 2006] in 1969, this did not prevent crime rates rising. According to Clarke, this resulted in high rates of crime which should be viewed as a 'symptom of an infectious disease' [Clark, 1967: 81], since it was conditions of the decaying society which led them to criminality. This suggests that in order to possess an average standard of living and education, the black community had to assimilate into white regions. Corresponding to Marxist-Leninist ideology and the influences of Mao, Castro and Guevara, the Black Panther Party sought to establish socialist ideas through utilising the slogan "All power to the people" [Foundation H, 2014: xi], which required the global emancipation of

the working class who they believe could overthrow the capitalist system. One social reform they enforced was the 'Ten Point Programme' [Marable, 2007: 109], enlisted by co-founders Bobby Seale and Huey P Newton which was a set of guiding principles, which listed the requirements of building the power of the black community. As much as they stressed grass root activism they recognised that "the day- to-day needs of the people must be addressed" [Williams, 2014: 190]. In the midst of the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968, of one of the factors it ordered was the formation of 'breakfast for school children' programmes [Williams, 2014: 189-190]-. One of the leading school programmes in the history of the United States, provided thousands of impoverished children free breakfast meals and believed it was a crucial part for children to concentrate during academic learning. It also became a platform to raise consciousness against the importance of poverty, family disorganisation and environmental inequality.

An additional problem in the black community was the shortage of public health. Although Martin Luther King's pivotal "I have a Dream" (Holland, 2009) speech in Washington stressed that discrimination in health care was one of their main concerns in challenging, the movement often disregarded the bearing effect of this problem. The high rate of venereal diseases in urban inner cities which was "six times greater than the city rate" [Clark, 1967: 76-81] shows the disproportionality of public health in relation to race and class. The expensive cost of the treatments was not the sole cause of numerous blacks not attending regular medical examination; rather the discrimination of hospitals discouraged them to be medically examined since the white middle class in the cities were favoured. Interweaving the values of The Bill of Rights and Declaration of Independence [Lazerow, 2006: 69], they therefore ordered "free health care for all blacks" [Marable, 2007: 109] and basic human rights. One of the most pivotal contributions of the Panthers was the creation of the "sickle cell anaemia foundation" [Schwartz, 2007: 178] whereby they sought to treat sickle cell anaemia, a common illness suffered by a large percentage of blacks. By health care disregarding this illness and the non-availability of treatments stresses the United States white hegemonic structure.

Contrasting to King's policy of racial integration, the black power movement highlighted the notion of Black Nationalism- which encouraged self-determination and black solidarity by refusing to economically integrate with the white society. However, Black Nationalism [Van Deburg, 1996] was not a new economic philosophy, but was influenced by pan Africanist Marcus Garvey and his creation of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) [Ogbar, 2005, 133-135] which enforced black liberation and provided mass employment and skills for African American's in the early 1920's. Similarly, Carmichael articulates that "political and economic power is what black people have to have" [Joseph, 2006: 344] in order to maintain power and elevate through separation. This was one of the leading purposes as to why the SNCC dismissed the participation of whites in the organisation as they contended that they will continuously be entwined with the white power structure. This encouraged the black community to "control their own economy, their own politics, and control their own society" [Goldman, 1979: 78] in order to strengthen black solidarity.

This was demonstrated by the independent Detroit organisation League of Revolutionary Black Workers [Van Deburg, 1996: 188] which used Marxist-Leninist principles in order to advance in political power as a result of the 1967 Detroit riots. The Black Power movement also pressed for black communities to support black businesses, and the rejection of the American Dream which they recognised, did not apply to them. However, the black nationalist vision spewed criticisms as the white society perceived this as "reverse racism"

[Ogbar, 2005,1 42], whilst King and the National Association of the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) argued that this was a "menace to peace and prosperity"[Cody, 2013: 278] which should not be supported by the black community.

In relation to the modern socio-economic structure of the United States, the Black Power movement has offered socio-economic changes, which have provided advantages for the black community. By the Black Panther Party instilling the free breakfast programme, it influenced the establishment in public schools by 1975, which greatly supported deprived families. Funding for sickle cell anaemia also helped hospitals in aiding black patients. However, it was evident that environmental segregation of the black community is still a burden. It is recognised that African American's are the dominant race group living in urban inner city areas with poor housing, and contamination. In 2014, the Flint water crisis in Michigan, whereby a dominant African American urban community were victims of lead poisoning, became a national emergency. Approximately "12,000 children" [Fox, 2016] have been exposed to the water contamination and have gravely affected their health. This highlights the government's disregard upon the health and safety of the black community in which their lives are not important in comparison to the white suburban society. Moreover, the high rate of crime in Chicago has been overlooked by the US government. By black youths describing the city as 'Chiraq' [Daly, 2014] seeing as the rise of gang violence passed the murder rate in the Iraq War by 2010, illustrates the continuous problem of racial marginalisation. In connection to Black Nationalism, this ideology has weakened seeing as black solidarity eradicated. The constant lack of opportunity of the black community in the economic mainstream and the society reinforcing individualism has resulted in criminal activity as an alternative method towards prosperity. Thus, the discrimination of the criminal justice system is evident in terms of the police targeting the black society due to blackness being synonymous with crime and poverty.

Nevertheless, one of the most crucial offerings of the militant movement was instilling black pride and consciousness in order to restore cultural identity. The black power movement was criticised for possessing a patriarchal structure, however Carmichael enforcing the slogan "black is beautiful" [Barnett, 2004: 9] helped to attack the stereotypical portrayals of black women in popular culture. The rise of Afro-American culture was also emphasised by the Black Panther Party, whereby female members stressed the politics of beauty by wearing their natural hair into an afro which symbolised rebellion and the rejection of white values. According to Jeffrey Ogbar, the rise of black popular culture [2005, 23] was a pedagogical tool in helping to educate the black community upon black power philosophies by advocating self-love and black pride. Demonstrated in the 1968 Summer Olympics, African American athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos raised global awareness when receiving their gold and bronze medals. By wearing human rights badges and having on a single black glove with their hands raised in the air symbolizing the black power salute. Being terminated from the competition as a consequence has impacted racial politics, seeing as it educated young blacks in understanding the importance of black politics. Moreover, legendary funk singer James Brown's motto "Say it loud, I'm black and proud" [2005, 112] furthered black consciousness towards the black audience. Thus, the black community eradicated the term "negro and utilised black" [Collins, 2006, 100] as their political identity in order to restore solidarity.

Furthermore, the role of education is important to examine, since it has been perceived as the key to success for the African American community to rise in society. According to Williamson, [2003] one of the main concerns of the movement was the young generation

whereby the 'Higher Education Act of 1965' [2003:56], which aimed to strengthen academic resources, did not improve the academic learning of black students. In the earlier years of the Civil Rights Movement, the SNCC used sit-ins as a tool for desegregation, where white students seated with black students in lunch counters. However, following the achievement of Brown V Board of Education of Topeka in 1954 [2003, 12] which ended the segregation of public schools; it seemed that integration was still causing de facto segregation. Freedom Schools [Williams, 2015: 95] in Mississippi established by CORE, NAACP and SNCC in which temporarily aimed to teach black history were attacked by white mobs and stresses the continuing racial tensions. Furthermore, the case of James Meredith in 1966, who became the first African American to enter the University of Mississippi, received racist counterattack by urging black males to register in voting as they feared the continuous oppression. By establishing "the march against fear"[Tibbs, 2011: xv] in the same year, he was shot and wounded by a white sniper in order to prevent his public condemnation. As a result, this fuelled growing militancy as Stokley Carmichael presented the notion of Black Power, and marked revolutionary change.

Although, the policy of affirmative action of 1964 [Goldberg, Griffey, 2010], which offered minorities an advantage in granting a place in college was legislated in order to enforce integration, it was greatly condemned for inferring the inferiority of minorities. Many black students including Native Americans and Latino's believed they were not deserving of the position along with the curriculum being too advanced. This caused the increase of college dropout and enrolling into college seeing as it "doubled since the mid 1970's" [Familyfacts.org]. However, the question that arises is how did the movement encourage the black community that education was the key to success when they were surrounded by racial inequality? In the perspective of the Black Panther Party, they believed that educating black students of their history is one method of instilling consciousness, and therefore utilised afro-centric notions in order to teach black history without the influence of the Eurocentric narrative. By 1969, nationalist "liberation schools" [Cleaver, 2001: 47], were established in Oakland, which offered an adequate level of education for hundreds of deprived black children. Newton argues that this was established since public schools did not provide black students with adequate teaching and they were "forced to search for jobs that don't exist" [In Powers, 2016] whilst desiring the lives of the privileged. This was a crucial adjustment as the party emphasised that self-knowledge was a threat to the white power structure and helps in celebrating their historical roots and decolonising one's mind. Accordingly, they lectured and tutored black adults upon Maths and English in order to improve literacy rates, as well as educate them upon their socio-economic issues to enforce liberation. This was an effective programme since it unified the black community and restored hope in intensifying their opportunities.

In relation to modern education the subject of inequality in education has not greatly transformed. According to a recent report "approximately half of young black men in Chicago are out of employment" (Elejalde-Ruiz, 2016] and education with college "dropout tripling" [familyfactors.org, 2016] by 2010. Although cultural diversity improved, it could be reasoned that the nature of education today is enforced by Eurocentric teachings whereby it formulates to determine the white man's problems and their achievements. The white washing of academia and black history being academically limited solidifies the problem of losing cultural identity in which the movement attempted to strengthen. Affirmative action is also still an issue since African American's are being "mismatched" [Sander, 2012] to universities which do not provide their real interests. By black males focusing upon receiving a sports scholarship in order to enter college instead of their academic scores emphasises the limited opportunity and are more likely to drop out.

Perhaps it can also be contended that essentialist notions against the black community has also revived whereby affirmative action infers that there is something genetically wrong with the black individual in which they cannot possibly achieve the same academic qualities as white students.

During the late seventies, the criminal justice system has overtly targeted the African American community evident in racial disparity of imprisonment. By approximately "8.7% of black males being imprisoned in 1974 whilst only 1.4%" [Bonczar, 2006] of white males served time, shows the racial targeting of black individuals. Consequently, Malcolm X expressed his militant advocacy of self-defence, by stating that "the day of non-violent resistance is over" [Whitaker, 2014: 105]; seeing as the civil rights peaceful movement failed to overturn this injustice. This notion was soon grasped by the Black Panther Party. Their active resistance towards militaristic oppression was seen through institutional racism and police brutality against the black community. Therefore, the Panthers began "policing the police" [Bloom, 2013:45] whereby they patrolled dominantly in black neighborhoods, by recruiting working class black youths and inspected the police to protect blacks from harassment. The constant regulation against young blacks fuelled their admiration for the Panthers who actively protected their interests. Whilst the Civil Rights Movement focused upon condemning institutional racism, the black power movement sought to highlight law enforcement as an agent of oppression and that the black community was being exploited by the capitalist system.

The most notable strategy to reinforce their rebellious nature was the Panther's militant uniform. This consisted of a "black beret, black leather jacket, light blue shirt and black shoes" [Cleaver, 2001: 88] which symbolised their revolutionary philosophy. By the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) director J Edgar Hoover labeling the revolutionary organisation as "the number one threat to the internal security of the United States" [Abu-Jamal, 2004:118] illustrates the extent of their impact as they posed fear upon white America. By the mid 1970's "43% of blacks under the age of twenty one had great respect for the Black Panther Party"- [Bloom; 2013: 2] and in consequence established the organisation in sixty-eight U.S cities such as Cleveland, Baltimore and New Orleans. This is important because, triggered by the assassination of Malcom X in 1965, Muslim and Christian black youths inherited the revolutionary state of mind and determined to challenge white hegemony, and thus joined the socialist organisation since they supported his legacy. By employing the Mulford Act (1967), which defended the right of a legal resident to carry a loaded weapon, they used this legality as a means of enforcing resistance.

Minister of education, Eldridge Cleaver who joined the Oakland based organisation in 1967 granted a more radical means of defence by urging shootouts against law enforcement. Describing himself as an "Ofay watcher" [1969: 88], he believed that the black community were victims of colonisation, not just disenfranchised citizens and thus enforced liberation. However, the death of Black Panther Party's Chicago chairman, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, who were assassinated by the Chicago police department whilst asleep, caused public outrage and solidified the organisation rather than destabilising it. The harassment of the state against the rise of Black Power organisations grew in the late sixties and was exemplified in the involvement of COINTELPRO [Joseph, 2006: 187], an illegitimate counter intelligence programme funded by the FBI which aimed to destabilise black power organisations. More so, they too covertly targeted Carmichael in order to neutralise the organisation as they believed it to pose a threat to national security. Contrasting, to the NAACP, CORE and the Urban League, this violent method was strategic in order for the

organisation to be taken seriously [Jeffries; 2006:189].

Regarding contemporary challenges, the constant rebellion did not prevent the discrimination against African Americans, in the criminal justice system. The emergence of the "War on Drugs" [Alexander, 2010: 48], generated by the crack-cocaine epidemic during Ronald Reagan's Republican administration in the early 1980's, has caused deep grievances for the black community. The sensationalism of street crime due to the influence of the media and the neo-liberal policy of "tough on crime" [Stuntz, 2011: 238] has resulted in the scapegoating of young black males. The creation of private prisons as a result of privatisation granted monetary benefits for the capitalist system; the core issue the Black Panther Party attempted to disempower. According to Michelle Alexander, the Criminal Justice System has become "the new Jim Crow" [Alexander: 2010], whereby the mass incarceration of young black males was a systematic strategy by which becoming a felon resulted to stripping away their rights. Paradoxically, discrimination has somewhat become lawful seeing as the discrimination of housing, the right to vote and employment became a burden for various black individuals.

Besides, police brutality has been a contemporary concern in which has affected the morale of the black community. The emergence of the "Black Lives Matter Movement" [Swaine, 2016], which challenged the "anti-black" [Joseph, 2006:173] attitude of law enforcement by the murders of young black males and females who were killed erroneously by white police officers. This demonstrates the paradox of democracy whereby blacks are systematically oppressed and continuously denied of their rights and freedom. Perhaps it could be reasoned that the systematic structure of America was purposefully implemented in order to prevent the black community from rising in fear of a black America.

Overall, it is apparent that the Black Power Movement was motivated through the continuous socio-economic and political inequalities against the black community. Their militant advocacy, challenging democratic liberation and restoring cultural identity through education has marked revolutionary change. Arguably, the greatest change was the 'ten point programme' seeing as it influenced the US government to provide free breakfast in schools, which supported underprivileged families. Yet, the cost outweighs the benefit since the inter-generational effect of poverty, lack of opportunity, damaging effect of affirmative action and racial disparities in the criminal justice system are still unresolved contemporary matters. Perhaps, if black individuals were authorised to patrol their neighborhood in present society may we see a difference in incarceration rates. Although political symbolism has been marked since President Obama was the first black U.S president, this does not erase the continuous racial prejudice against the black community; instead the post-racial US society is swamped by colour-blindness.

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Frederick Douglass famously said that slavery was part of a set of crimes that 'would disgrace a nation of savages'. Was this crime remedied by the treatment of African Americans in society, education and the criminal justice system in the 20th and 21st centuries?

Daniel Roberts

Slavery in the United States ended with the emancipation of African-Americans in 1863. It was a monstrous crime contradicting all that American society stood for; denying freedom, justice and equality to blacks like Frederick Douglass, an escaped slave and famous voice in the abolitionist movement. Thus, Independence Day is nothing but 'a thin veil to cover […] crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages' (Douglass, 1852: 7). Emancipation does not mean African-Americans have been treated fairly by whites in society and its institutions in the 20th and 21st centuries. It is an important question to investigate because it exposes the 'schizophrenic' nature of the US: it has never truly resolved its contrasting self-images (Cleaver, 1968: 77-79). Therefore, after briefly deliberating Frederick Douglass' speech (1852) for some background, the three main themes of the question will be covered, conferring the 20th and 21st century treatment of African-Americans in each to conclude on whether it has remedied the set of crimes slavery involved. Despite space constraints, this essay will provide some understanding of an immense American issue.

According to Douglass (1852), African-Americans cannot celebrate July Fourth because it represents white independence. While they celebrated 'their' great day, blacks were whipped, murdered, raped, and sold like livestock, denied their humanity, let alone an education (Douglass, 1852). The crime of slavery was a social institution many Americans participated in without question, supported by Congress 'in its most horrible and revolting form' (Douglass, 1852: 8). Mirroring 20th and 21st century criminal justice disproportionalities, of 72 listed crimes in Virginia, African-Americans faced death for every-one, but whites were only executed for two (Douglass, 1852: 6). The church overlooked the precepts of goodwill, love, and brotherhood of man, sanctifying black slavery as 'ordained of God' (Douglass, 1852: 9-10). Additionally, during slavery- and after emancipation- Americans maintained various grotesque double-standards, for example, whilst subjugating blacks at home they condemned the global slave-trade (Douglass, 1852: 7). Thus, slavery is not only a black issue but a white one; whites were the slave-drivers, and to remedy such crimes they should treat African-Americans properly, without half-measures or double-standards. The question is whether this has been achieved in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Heavily influenced by the next themes, African-Americans with a quality education, something denied during slavery, can gain knowledge and skills equalling whites, contributing to the genuine integration of all Americans and possibly remedying slavery. Part of the wider social segregation during Jim-Crow conferred later, education segregation involved building separate schools for blacks and whites until the 1960s. Segregation was supported by government policy after the US Supreme Court Plessy v. Ferguson ruling in 1896 (King, 1995: 18). African-American Homer Plessy made the case that his removal from a white train carriage violated the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments of the constitution, the latter stipulating equal treatment for all citizens (King, 1995: 18). The

court ruled that racial segregation did not violate the constitution, making 'separate but equal' the rule: the highest US court justified violently imposed segregation of public places, facilities, and employment (King, 1995: 18; Higginbotham, 2013). In the early twentieth century there were no general remedies for slavery, instead African-Americans were treated as second-class citizens, denied the right to vote and 'compete with whites', thus enforcing their inferiority (Higginbotham, 2013: 85; 88-90).

White Americans wanted to 'control black schooling' with the philosophy it should 'prepare them for a life of subservience', akin to slavery (Chafe et al, 2001: 152). Accordingly, white children took buses to school, had superior materials and facilities: the Beaufort County (South Carolina) census of 1910 shows the state spent $40.68 on each white student and a paltry $5.95 on African-Americans, a common funding gap throughout the US where virtually all schools were segregated (Chafe et al, 2001: 153; Street, 2005). Despite slightly positive progress in rulings like the Gaines decision of 1938 whereby the Supreme Court decided against the refusal of Missouri State University to admit a black student, there were few changes even slightly remedying slavery, until the Brown decision of 1954 overrode Plessy (King, 1995: 18-19). Using evidence from an experiment showing black children preferred to play with white dolls because they believed they were more beautiful than black ones – signifying the damage segregation inflicts on self-image – the Supreme Court ruled that 'legal race separation was inherently unequal and therefore unconstitutional in public education', calling for desegregation, a turning-point toward possible remediation (Higginbotham, 2013: 28; Street, 2005: 1; Chafe et al, 2001: 154-155).

Nevertheless, despite acknowledging the issue, Brown did not confront white supremacist ideology, so overt 'educational apartheid' continued until the Civil Rights Act of 1964, hard-won by activists (King, 1995: 19; Street, 2005: 1-2). Reflecting Brown's lack of enforcement, initial moves were carried out grudgingly by federal authorities rather than in goodwill: at Harvard in 1954 only 1.6% of freshman students were black, increasing to just 1.9% by 1964 (King, 1995: 19; Clotfelter, 2004: 148). The most restitutive progress occurred in the late 60s-70s: from 1968 to 1972 the numbers of black students at all-black schools fell from 78% to 25%, and millions of children were 'bused' to other schools to mix with other races, alongside large increases in African-American university enrolment in the 60s-70s, all following Supreme Court rulings like Green v. County School Board of New Kent in 1968 (Street, 2005: 24-27; Pinkney, 1990: 101-102, 138-140). However, the positive educational treatment of blacks was short-lived: in the 1986 Riddick v. School Board of the City of Norfolk decision, the Virginia Supreme Court permitted a 'unitary' school area to end desegregation plans, and from 1988-2001 blacks at majority non-white schools increased and busing decreased (Street, 2005: 27-30, 33). Therefore, there were promising trends in educational developments over the 60s-70s, moving towards reparation for the crime of slavery, but this constructive treatment was repealed in its infancy; despite the removal of overt school segregation there were no concrete remedies as the twentieth century closed.

These counteractive movements continued in the twenty-first century, as the treatment of black Americans in education is still permeated by the 'racial paradigm' 'of white superiority/black inferiority' (Higginbotham, 2013: 19). African-Americans are disproportionately 'tracked' into lower-level classes with poorly-qualified teachers, leading to their underrepresentation in mathematics and social sciences for instance, whilst whites are often placed in accelerated and honours classes on higher education and career paths, pushing blacks into a lower social position: it is arguably a 'secret apartheid', a covert version of the first-half of the twentieth century (Higginbotham, 2013: 147-149; Street,

2005: 84). This is analogous to slavery, certainly no remedy: the white master gets all the attention and acknowledgment whilst the black slave receives nothing for his toils. Furthermore, money raised from local property taxation – based on the value of local real-estate – is used to fund local schools, so the poorest areas,- which happen to be where more blacks live, are the ones suffering most in US education today, akin to twentieth century conditions (Higginbotham, 2013: 150-151). Thus, in 2004, it was found Illinois spent $1,352 more on students in richer, whiter, areas than those in poorer minority ones (Street, 2005: 53-57). Additionally, segregation continues: in 2000, 37.4% of black students in the US went to schools that were 90-100% non-white, and in Illinois black children were forty-times more likely to go to the 'worst […] academic watch schools' (Street, 2005: 13-16, 52). As blacks are still discriminated against, education has provided no remedy for slavery in the twenty-first century: most African-Americans are worse-off from the start, kept at a permanent distance from whites, lacking funding for equal learning facilities. Additionally, as they live in poorer areas, they have more boundaries to overcome than whites, including the criminal justice and social problems deliberated shortly (Higginbotham, 2013; Street, 2005: 4-6).

The US criminal justice system is a powerful institution, reputedly designed to give Americans equal treatment under the law. It is closely connected to the treatment of blacks in education, which leaves many massively disadvantaged and therefore more likely to commit crime (Unnever, 2011). Police brutality falling disproportionately on African-Americans is a serious problem in the system (Higginbotham, 2013; Pinkney, 1990). For instance, among countless incidents, a white police officer shot Patrick Mason, a five-year-old boy holding a toy gun in 1983, and in November 2014 twelve-year-old Tamir Rice was hastily killed by police after drawing a pellet gun: in both cases the officers were cleared in court despite evidence indicting them (Pinkney, 1990: IX; Pinsky, 1983; Laughland and Swaine, 2015). Not much suggests police were prosecuted for killing unarmed blacks in 'riots' and so on in the first-half of the twentieth century either (Pinkney, 1990; Samson, 2016b). Additionally, many Police officers until the 70s turned a blind eye to white crimes against blacks – lynching under Jim-Crow for example – highlighting undeniable inequalities (Pinkney, 1990: 71-73; Samson, 2016b). Relatively equivalent to the 1970s-1990s, twenty-first century statistics show 'black males are killed by police at a rate six times that of white males', a huge and obvious racial disparity victimising numerous African-Americans (Higginbotham, 2013: 156-157). This treatment is linked to twentieth century racial stereotypes which still exist: for instance the idea blacks are naturally more violent was supported by 52.8% of respondents in a 1990 survey in Chicago, a belief leading police to profile African-Americans and be excessively brutal towards them (Higginbotham, 2013: 156). Nonetheless, blacks are partially compensated in the twenty-first century when police officers are prosecuted for unnecessary brutality, such as Officer Michael Slager's trial for murdering unarmed African-American Walter Scott in 2015 (Associated Press in Charleston, 2015). Yet, as long as racism remains in the system and police escape proper indictment for brutality, slightly fairer treatment on rare occasions is certainly no apology for slavery.

The system punished African-Americans disproportionately in the twentieth century and continues to do so today. They are more likely to be executed, often with questionable evidence, as with Jim-Crow lynching, and the execution of Troy Davis in 2011 for murdering a white police officer, despite proof of innocence (Higginbotham, 2013: 15-16; Pinkney, 1990: 79). They face harsher penalties than whites for similar crimes: to illustrate, in Florida in 2004 a court imprisoned African-American Richard Thomas for possessing drug paraphernalia containing cocaine residue, whilst sending white Tim Carter to rehab

for the same crime (Higginbotham, 2013: 156). Blacks are more frequently convicted, have higher bail costs and are stopped and searched more than whites (Higginbotham, 2013; Unnever and Gabbidon, 2011). Additionally, analogous to education tracking and returning to stereotypes treating blacks as threats, whilst whites get detention, African-Americans could be suspended as punishment for the same misdemeanour, and their schools are thirty-two times more likely to call the police on them (Higginbotham, 2013: 156; Unnever and Gabbidon, 2011: 80-92). Therefore schools fail, perhaps purposefully, to uplift African-Americans, leading many to commit crimes and face unequal punishment for them (Unnever and Gabbidon, 2011).

The war on drugs from the 80s led to mass incarceration in the criminal justice system, again falling unevenly on African-Americans (Alexander, 2012: 15-16). It was part of the Republican plan to be harsher on blacks to obtain southern votes rather than making efforts to remedy slavery, as Nixon's chief-of-staff HR Haldeman said: '[T]he whole problem is really [...] blacks. The key is to devise a system that recognises this whilst not appearing to' and the war on drugs was the perfect means of doing just that (Alexander, 2012: 16). Slavery and Jim-Crow were 'peculiar institutions' maintaining African-Americans' exclusion from society, whilst simultaneously exploiting them. However, as overt racist treatment became socially unacceptable following civil rights movements, mass incarceration maintained it secretly (Wacquant, 2000). Consequently, the prison population rose from 300,000 to 2 million in thirty years, half of the increases from 1985-2000 for drug convictions (Alexander, 2012: 11-12). The criminal justice system imposes longer prison sentences for more crimes than before, and like the abovementioned examples, punishes blacks disproportionately, a fact emphasised by twenty-first-century statistics: African-Americans are incarcerated at five-times the white rate, and more blacks- 2.4 million- are 'under correctional control...than were enslaved in 1850' (Higginbotham, 2013: 157; Alexander, 2012: 9).

Once in the criminal justice system, they are labelled a 'felon', 'the new N-word', legalising discrimination against them in employment, housing, and public benefits like food stamps, also removing their right to vote and forcing them to pay their litigation fees, taking up to 100% of their earnings if they manage to get hired (Alexander, 2012: 10-22). As a result, they become largely racially defined as second-class citizens for life, subordinated as they were under slavery and Jim-Crow (Alexander, 2012: 10-22). They are trapped in a 'carceral continuum', too poor and discriminated against to survive independently, and, worsened by their already disadvantaged background and underfunded education, they end up in and out of prison (Wacquant, 2000; Alexander, 2012). The system attempts to mask such racial bias by criminalising whites in the same way, but this 'equality' is evidently deceptive. Despite some successful African-Americans today – there were a few during slavery too – and the fact that blacks can now testify in court, such 'remedies' are a weak façade: mass incarceration imposed by the criminal justice system in both centuries constitutes another form of social exclusion (Alexander, 2012). Blacks are crushed and depressed by the US criminal justice system, its complete refusal to compensate for slavery violating the fourteenth amendment.

Society is the linking factor in this essay: the criminal justice and education systems are social institutions, so their treatment of African-Americans originates in wider US society, making a full remedy unlikely. Elaborating on racial stereotypes influencing criminal justice, blacks are often 'depicted as criminals on news programs', a view reflected by their mass incarceration and the war on drugs (Unnever and Gabbidon, 2011: 88-91). This treatment originates in ideas developed during slavery, depicting blacks as 'menacing' and

'highly sexed': today's 'prevailing cultural belief' in the 'dangerous black crack offender' stereotype provides no restitution either (Unnever and Gabbidon, 2011: 91-94). In both centuries this 'racial paradigm' of superiority/inferiority has been used to justify the carceral continuum's subordination of African-Americans (Higginbotham, 2013: 19; Wacquant, 2000; Pinkney, 1990: 78-79). Yet, in the 1960s, views on blacks changed, especially among young whites: horrified by their elder's treatment of African-Americans and experiencing white guilt for the crime of slavery, they participated in the civil rights movement alongside blacks to compensate, drawing positive attention to the cause (Cleaver, 1968: 70-77; 83-84). Black athletes' protests in the 1968 Mexico Olympics were supported by white athletes, improving their treatment in American sport – which hired more African-Americans (Edwards, 1969: 103-104; 108-110). Furthermore, one survey in 1970 showed 86% of respondents would accept an African-American boss at work; in the Harris survey of 1963-1978, whites acknowledged discrimination, but it generally continued (Pinkney, 1990: 58-63). In the 70s and 80s Arthur Jensen falsely blamed black inequality on their 'lesser' intelligence, not white oppression (Pinkney, 1990: 7-16). Additionally, in Obama's presidency racist treatment lingers: in 2010 a Wisconsin gentlemen's club installed a 'No Negroes Allowed' sign (Higginbotham, 2013: 142). Despite some great leaps in the 60s-70s, such remedies are diluted by those maintaining black social inequality and denying white responsibility for supporting the race paradigm.

The Jim-Crow segregation discussed under education was a small part of a social institution. Embodying the racial paradigm, blacks and whites had their own buses, toilets, churches, hotels, jobs and so forth; blacks were given low quality facilities, denied the right to be called 'Mr' or 'Mrs', and could be murdered by white lynch-mobs (Samson, 2016a; Chafe et al, 2001: XXX). Hence, segregation imposed another system of domination almost as unfair as enslavement, degrading blacks to enforce white superiority instead of compensating for slavery by equal treatment (Higginbotham, 2013: 90). It even reached Washington D.C: from 1910 into the 50s 'congress was a powerful promoter, and then protector, of segregated race relations', the likes of President Woodrow Wilson imposing it on government offices (King, 1995: 27; Higginbotham, 2013: 92). In the twenty-first century, Jim-Crow segregation no longer exists, so there has been huge progress towards equality, some recompense for slavery: for instance, after white Congresswoman Gabrielle Gifford's was shot, she 'received expressions of concern from a black President', an impossible idea thirty years ago (Higginbotham, 2013: 32).

Residential segregation occurred throughout the US in the twentieth century, mainly in the 'black-belts' or 'ghettos' which African-Americans were forced to live in by 'formal and informal […] controls' (Drake and Clayton, 1993: 174-175). This system was imposed by whites holding the view African-Americans were undesirable, similar to the reasoning behind mass incarceration (Drake and Clayton, 1993: 174-175; Alexander, 2012). Whites wanted to keep their districts white, against blacks looking for better places to live, by 1925 using 'restrictive covenants', agreements made between property owners and recognised by the law-courts, whereby they refused to sell or rent to African-Americans, thus keeping the blacks in the black-belt (Drake and Clayton, 1993: 178-180). By the 1930s real-estate covenants covered three-quarters of domestic property in Chicago, leaving the black-belt massively overcrowded; squashed in at 90,000 people per square-mile, only 20,000 in adjacent white areas (Drake and Clayton, 1993: 184; 204). Ghettos were places of extreme poverty, uncleanliness, poor facilities, police brutality and crime, so blacks had a death rate twice that of whites, and tuberculosis rates five-times the white average (Drake and Clayton, 1993: 201-207). This is similar to the ghettos of the 70s, where tuberculosis was four-times the white rate (Pinkney, 1990: 73-74). If blacks managed to buy or rent

outside the belt, it was acceptable to charge them extortionate rates well above white ones (Drake and Clayton, 1993: 184-185). Despite the Mayor of Chicago acknowledging the black housing plight in a 1944 conference, and The Times illustrating the awful conditions, no action was taken by society (Drake and Clayton, 1993: 208-213). Furthermore, African-Americans looking for new homes after hurricane Katrina in 2005 were charged higher rents than whites, and the still ongoing government 'housing choice voucher program', providing rent subsidies for impoverished people, essentially reinforces segregation because black voucher-holders commonly end up in poorer areas than white, as in Mobile, Alabama (Higginbotham, 2013: 165; Park, 2015). Residence determines education and employment opportunities, so, again, blacks have been injured most in both centuries, as no reparations were made for the enslavement of their ancestors (Higginbotham, 2013: 165-166).

The economy is another social institution revealing the way African-Americans are treated. As with education funding for instance, blacks are disadvantaged, many remaining poor due to discriminatory practices in employment. Alongside segregation, early twentieth-century blacks were 'excluded from access to mainstream financial institutions', and despite paying taxes they lacked 'the benefits of civic improvements', hence the impoverished black-belt conditions (Chafe et al, 2001: 2-3, 89). Furthermore, blacks were relegated to dangerous and low-paying jobs, and their businesses were refused credit, creating an uphill battle few could win (Chafe et al, 2001: 205-207). Thus, analogous to the 'carceral continuum' deliberated earlier, the economy also isolates and exploits blacks (Wacquant, 2000). The 1964 Civil Rights Act forbade such discrimination, but disparities continued: in the 1990s the average white had 'twelve times as much median net-worth as blacks' and, from 1990-91, high-income blacks had mortgages turned down more often than low-income whites, which unmistakeably constitutes biased treatment (King, 1995: 206 and Oliver and Shapiro, 1995: 86, 137). The twenty-first century gap is also huge; the average net-worth of whites is ten-times that of blacks, who have 17% higher poverty rates (Higginbotham, 2013: 32-33; 153). Additionally, poor blacks are '34% more likely than whites with similar credit histories' to be targeted by predatory 'Subprime loans' with severe late-payment penalties (Higginbotham, 2013: 166- 168). Evidently these banks are institutionally racist; the fact such unfair economic practices are allowed to continue is no restitution for slavery (Higginbotham, 2013: 166-168).

Affirmative action involves 'strategies […] to enhance employment, educational, or business opportunities for groups…who have suffered discrimination', beginning with President Kennedy's 1961 Executive-Order 10925 for racial equality in employment, augmented by President Johnson's introduction of racial quotas, and supported by the 2003 Grutter v. Bollinger Supreme Court ruling (Kellough, 2006: 3, 7; Street, 2005: 30). Its stated aim is to provide 'compensatory justice' by giving African-Americans more opportunities, which looks promising, but questions have been raised (Kellough, 2006: 21; 76-78). Some argue giving African-Americans 'equality of opportunity' by 'preferential treatment' does reimburse them for disadvantages (Smelser, 2010: 128-129). Others claim preference is not the same as equal opportunity but another form of discrimination, which may lead blacks to believe they have not truly 'made it' by their own individual abilities, just being admitted to a university or hired by a company resentful at having to meet racial quotas (Smelser, 2010: 127-131). African-Americans want to be recognised and integrated as equals, not victimised and given the condescending sympathy-vote as though they cannot succeed by themselves, the latter hardly compensating for slavery (Kellough, 2006: 84-88 and Smelser, 2010: 127-131). Therefore, affirmative action might explain increases in twentieth century black university enrolment and other contributions to the burgeoning

African-American middle-class; but these statistics ignore the vast social disparities between whites and blacks in both centuries, far outweighing any remedial treatment for slavery this policy provides (Kellough, 2006: 90-91; 139).

In conclusion, whites recognised the African-American plight and participated in the black power movement. Affirmative action has increased black opportunities, and blatant segregation has been dismantled. However, these remedies are only partial, many weakened by the turn of the century after the impressive but unfinished progress of the 60s-70s. Although the treatment of African-Americans in both centuries differs in many respects, it involves forms of segregation in education, housing and criminal justice, disproportionate funding for education, police brutality, inconsistent punishments, the influence of negative racial stereotypes and the race paradigm, denial of responsibility for slavery and inequality, huge racialized economic disparities, and unfair economic practices, harming the descendants of slaves rather than providing restitution for them. Clearly, the remedial treatments are completely outweighed by their incompleteness in the face of the incredible inequality blacks have suffered and still endure, such treatment itself enough 'to disgrace a nation of savages' (Douglass, 1852: 7). US society is founded on a contradiction, 'the promise of equality and its systematic denial', race being 'the unsolved American dilemma' (Oliver and Shapiro, 1995: 193). Although the battle to remedy the crime of slavery has been mostly lost so far, there is hope in that the war still rages.

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Critically assess the term 'male gaze'

Madalina Radu

Turn the TV on. On the large screen the new Dior Homme perfume commercial is streaming, featuring Robert Pattinson as the dominant figure of the commercial. He sits on the roof top of a skyscraper in New York city as if he owns the world, walks in the middle of a room full of women dressed up for cabaret wearing an elegant suit, and steals the heart of a beautiful woman who lets herself be guided by Pattinson, always walking behind him. For the ordinary spectator, this commercial unveils the world of the rich and of love, but for a sociologically shaped eye we can observe that the way the camera portrays the woman is a pure representation of the man's perspective of woman; of the 'male gaze' on the objectified female body (Mulvey, 1989:19). This essay will introduce the reader into the origins of the notion of 'male gaze' and give examples of the broad context in which the gaze operates, by using relevant readings, and at the same time, offering an assessment of the term 'male gaze' (Mulvey, 1989:19).

'To gaze implies more than to look at – it signifies a *psychological* relation of power, in which the gazer is superior to the object of the gaze' (Schroeder, 1998:21).
In the 'Las Meninas' chapter in his book 'The Order of Things', Foucault (1970) presents how the presence of a male painter and his gaze redefine the surrounding. He throws a particular light on the models and the paintings he makes, he creates what Foucault (1970:9) saw as 'the relation of language to painting [as] an infinite relation'; where words lose power in front of the visual, as if words can never encompass the plenitude and completeness of the eye, of what we see. Similarly, in 'Seeing and Knowing' (1973), the gaze is something surrounded by silence, that everyone is aware of, as it exists in the air, you can feel it, but not touch it (Foucault, 1973). The gaze is detected by sense and it immediately catches attention:

> It is not that words are imperfect, or that, when confronted by the visible, they prove insuperably inadequate. Neither can be reduced to the others' terms: it is in vain that we say what we see; what we see never resides in what we say (Foucault, 1970:9).

What Foucault suggests in a subtle way is power in the way we look. The painter would dominate the atmosphere with his gaze by implying the psychological nature of the gaze acknowledged in Schroeder's (1998) definition of the gaze. Most of the times, the way power operates is not through an individual, but in subtler ways, such as processes or phenomena which enable a relationship in which individuals are enrolled many times without any knowledge of it (Foucault, 1977). Many institutions make use of power, such as schools, hospitals, parents on children, and above all, the state (Foucault, 1977):

> The disciplinary modality of power has [not] replaced all the others, […] it has infiltrated the others, sometimes undermining them, but serving as an intermediary between them, linking them together, extending them and above all making it possible to bring the effects of power to the most minute and distant elements. It assured an infinitesimal distribution of the power relations (Foucault, 1977:216).

The power relations Foucault emphasises are very visible in the widely known film industry; an industry which Laura Mulvey noticed, was shaped around the 'male gaze'

(Mulvey, 1989:19). Building on the image of the woman that is projected by the film industry, Mulvey (1989) uses psychoanalytic theory to uncover how the film industry has been unconsciously modelled by an incipient form of the current society. Mulvey (1989:16) talks about how the mainstream cinema satisfies the needs of the public. One of the most common ways is by using 'schopophilia (pleasure in looking)'. What Mulvey (1989) means by schopophilia is that, in the same way that individuals feel pleasure by looking at their own bodies, being looked at, also produces pleasure. She later took schopophilia as a tendency of regarding other individuals, or the representatives of the other sex, women in particular, as objects which can be controlled through a special way of looking at them, by gazing at them (Mulvey, 1989):

> In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its fantasy onto the female figure, which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote to-be-look-at-ness (Mulvey, 1989:19).

What is interesting is the way that Mulvey (1989) perceived the mainstream cinema as producing material in the absence of the preferences of the public, but still sticking to their supposed expectations and fantasies. There is a strong gender imbalance, in which the male is presented as active and dominant, and the women as passive and shaped by the taste of men. At the same time, women have been displayed for two different audiences: the production team and the expected audience (Mulvey, 1989).

The way that Mulvey approaches the film industry sends us to Lacan, who looked at the gaze as something that would raise the interest of the spectators. Lacan's way of looking at the gaze highlights the way in which it modifies the reality and the way we see things (McGowan, 2007). It makes us see the world through symbols, and the gaze is ultimately part of our daily experience, and taken for granted. We take reality as it is, and do not question what we see (McGowan, 2007). Therefore, the cinema is nothing more than a distorted way of seeing reality, and we gaze at those utopian man-made visual productions. The film industry fuels the society with sources of enjoyment that the spectators gaze at, unconsciously giving power to the cinema, transcending the connotative and denotative meanings of what is outlined, as Barthes had noticed (McGowan, 2007). While men would gaze at the young, beautiful, and restless Angelia Jolie in 'Mr. and Mrs. Smith', women would gaze at the so called perfect spy Mr. Bond. However, at a closer look, even if Mr. Bond is clearly leading the narrative of the movie, in 'Mr. and Mrs Smith', Brad Pitt is the leading male character and in the centre of the camera for a significant part of the movie, compared to the female character.

Looking back throughout the history of humanity, trying to locate the historical period when the male gaze gained so much power onto the female body, we observe that the evolution of the society and the ways the man and woman are looked at have not changed radically, except from the classical age when, if a body was ill, the focus would be on the illness that has spread through the body, not on the body itself. Thus, with the modern age when illness started to be seen as an integral part of the body, a fundamentally different way of visualising the male and female body took shape. Whilst men would be portrayed in statues similar to the gracious and rational Roman Empire philosophers, and orators, the women would embrace passive postures. A relevant example of women looking passive would be the nudes of the artist Rubens. If the condition for males to be in the loop of

science and research was to be either criminals or prisoners, any woman can become an interest for research as long as she is pregnant, where she becomes just the carrier of a new life which is the actual interest for science.

Sturken and Cartwright (2001) reinforced the fact that looking is embedded with social meaning and relations of power, making a return to Foucault and his notion of power. Looking is not only a way of understanding the world we are living in, but it hides other purposes such as communication and influence, on us and ours on others (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001). The culture that has been created and is constantly being reshaped acts as a powerful manipulator. The things we see can take different meanings in different societies and settings (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001).

Thinking about social and political settings in which the gaze can manifest, for example, Hooks (1992) talks about, how for her, the gaze has always embraced a political direction, from early childhood when she would be punished for the way she would look at the adults; as her way of looking was confrontational and would make the adults feel uncomfortable; that was when she realized how much power the gaze holds. Hooks (1992) also talks, related to the political nature of the gaze, how staring would be prohibited to the slaves, given the power relations between the land owners and the slaves. This is how Hooks (1992) makes a connection with Foucault and his notion of power, that can be reproduced under many ways and it is repressive. Thus, she realised that the consequence of the fact that the black workers had prohibited the right to gaze, was a constant and persistent desire to gaze, the willingness to use the gaze to manipulate. As such, especially for colonised territories: 'the gaze has been and is a site of resistance for colonized black people globally' (hooks, 1992:116).

A new term introduced by Sturken and Cartwright (2011:12) is that of 'representation'. What they mean by representation is that everything build around us is based on languages and meaning. Together, they are a very powerful tool in creating a socially and politically desired representation to which society's members would gaze at. Images can be both an ideology and a contribution to the power relationship between people and institutions, as also between genders. Seeing encompasses active listening and feeling to make our way into a world increasingly focused on the visual. We are spectators on a daily basis; everything happening in front of us is a spectacle we attend to without realising. (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001).

Returning to Hooks (1992), and her ideas about the gaze, which also involve the issue of representation introduced by Sturken and Cartwright (2011), Hooks talks about how the mass media and how the American public consciously and highly aware, decided to engage with television, although it was obvious that the mass media would reproduce white supremacy. The reaction of the black minority was to create the black cinema, which they further used to carry their fight for political equality; using the persuasive nature of the mass media, and at the same time being criticised for creating the black cinema only because the white cinema had failed to represent the black minority in an appropriate manner that would not draw attention on the majority (Hooks, 1992:116).

Psychoanalysis is very helpful in understanding how our unconscious ongoing processes affect the way we look, the way we gaze, because we are built as individuals on two levels: conscious and unconscious. Another important notion is that of 'interpellation' and how this can be regarded as a process through which individuals come to see themselves as part of certain groups, and borrow the ways of looking of the dominant group (Sturken and

Cartwright, 2001). Bringing to the attention the feminist epistemology, we acknowledged that the society's dominant groups ways of seeing, are the widely accepted ones. Questioning them is difficult. Thus, we return to Foucault and his notion of 'social hegemonies' (Foucault, 1978:93), through which he suggested that social phenomena are deeply regulated.

Adopting a feminist perspective, this has roots in the historical process through which the woman has been built as the second sex, as the other, and the man has been built as dominant and hegemonic (Beauvoir). For example, we can use mapping, and the European and American continents. If we select two countries in Europe such as France and Italy, what we are thinking of is big cities such as Paris and Rome, bohemian places, full of elegant, with good taste, romantic women. Similarly, by choosing Manhattan we immediately think of this city as a place where rich people live, and by rich we are implying high consumerism and investments in looks. These elegant beautiful women would be subject to the male gaze. They would be objectified in the eyes of the men, which feel entitled to gaze at their bodies.

Our perception of the things we see is influenced by our previous knowledge and beliefs. For example, the way we regard fire and the meaning we associate with fire has changed, compared to how we used to look at it in the Middle Age (Berger, 1972). Some things we see cannot be explained in words that are good enough. We are actively seeing when looking at the thing surrounding us, and we immediately associate ourselves in relation to them, to the current version of ourselves (Berger, 1972). The fact that we are visible to others, as well, becomes obvious when our looks meet the look of the others (Berger, 1972). For instance, Berger (1972) regarded photography as a way of seeing, of constructing the visible in a certain way:

> But there is also another sense in which seeing comes before words. It is seeing which establishes our place in the surrounding world; we explain that world with words, but words can never undo the fact that we are surrounded by it. The relation between what we see and what we know is never settled (Berger, 1972:7).

In Berger's (1972) perspective, photos and images in general, are stronger in sending certain messages than literature, with the visual aspect of images making a significant contribution in this direction. Furthermore, Berger (1972:16) talks about 'mystification' and the way we should think more about the past through images by having a clear understanding of the present, as the way we regard the past in these new times is very different and new compared to other times inhuman history. Using a Marxist perspective, Berger (1972) emphasizes how images can be used politically to create or deny a reality. For example, in the political campaigns, we acknowledge the person through posters, TV show appearances, where the visual can act at its best.

Another way to look at the gaze that focuses on leisure and consumerism has been highlighted by Urry and Larsen (2011). They emphasize how the things that we see in our free time amaze us and awake in us things that cannot be put into words well enough; 'we gaze at what we encounter' (Urry and Larsen, 2011). But what we see is not natural; it is the product of social phenomena and systematic organisation. This gaze draws attention of the fact that we are socially taught to look at things in a certain way; because we are socially constructed beings, our eyes and perception of things is the same. For example, the Hollywood production Pearl Harbour stands out for putting on a screen an historical moment of humanity. We are amazed of the bravery of the pilots and the love story that

was taking shape under war. But what we do not immediately acknowledge is what Donna Haraway called the 'bird eye view' (1991:189), subtly integrating Freud's 'scopic drive' as well. The planes in the film not only allow us to see everything from above, a view from nowhere but over everything we want to see, but it also fulfils the need to spy. Using the bird eye view, we can see the objectified, powerless and passive woman on the ground watching how the brave men would go to war.

Our education, social class, and other things that define us and our personality, create filters through which we see the world. As such, gazing is not helping or making us to see the world in a clearer way, but it categorises and reorders the world (Urry and Larsen, 2011). Furthermore, gazing at a particular object does not involve only seeing, but other practices as well, such as comparisons, associations, personal and outside experiences of the world (Urry and Larsen, 2011). Urry and Larsen (2011:17) talk about something very specific, which is that the gaze occurs between what they called the 'gazer' and the 'gazee' under given social circumstances.

Since the 1970', a series of strategies to counteract the female body for the consumption of men have been noticed. One of these has a representative, Anna Mendieta, who used her art work to create a new representation of the female body that rejects the spectator's gaze on her body (Rosenthal, 2013). In regards to Mulvey and her notion of male gaze, a weakness of Mulvey's initial work was the fact that it did not allow the idea of enjoyment for the female public- an initial purely masochistic perspective (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001). Mulvey has also been criticized for the way objectification has been portrayed in the book, suggesting heterosexuality, and leaves no place for other sexual orientation (Nixon, 1996). Others have debated the versatility of the gender roles, as not being fixed yet, but only used with certain purposes by certain groups.

One of the most powerful arguments in the 1990s was that the looking practices have nothing to do with gender and biology, but that any individual can performed a look such as 'a man', or 'a woman', through the process of identification (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001:133).

The way contemporary marketing strategies have undertaken the issue of the gaze varies. While some choose women with explicit messages to be delivered to the male spectators, others choose the men as the object of pleasure for the female sex. The big challenge for the film industry has been the creation of the so called 'ideal spectator' and the identification of a way in which certain contexts can have multiple interpretations (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001:135).

In conclusion, the male gaze is a controversial sociological concept, which encompasses a series of perspectives. At its core, it supports Foucault's notion of power and how widely, and under how many shapes this power is dispersed. One aspect in which Foucault is relevant, concerns the power relationships that have seemed to work towards the delimitation of the space between the scene and the spectators, which is between the look-at-ness and the ones looking at (Nixon, 1996). Secondly, Foucault has been influential in thinking about the ways of seeing as a tool to shape the mass media commercials (Nixon, 1996). Nevertheless, the male gaze is deeply embedded in the society, and despite the feminist moves to overthrow the male domination in society, the mass media still portrays an objectified female body, subject to the inevitable male gaze.

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Trafficking of children and young people is a global problem. Discuss the causes of trafficking children and the problems of control

Alice Sherlock

Human trafficking is a global problem. There are many different forms, such as sex trafficking and forced labour, but this essay will focus on child trafficking. Trafficking of children involves recruitment and displacement of a child for the purpose of severe exploitation. Unlike adult trafficking, force, deception, and coercion does not need to be demonstrated in child trafficking. There are a range of causes of child trafficking, all of which have been widely discussed, and generally fall into three broad categories; economic causes, political causes, and social causes of child trafficking. This essay will discuss all three categories of causes, and emphasises that all causes are interconnected, and in most child trafficking cases, one main cause can not be concluded. Additionally, this essay will discuss some of the problems of controlling child trafficking, such as identifying trafficked children, controlling migration, and controlling prosecution of traffickers.

The first category of causes to be discussed is economic causes of child trafficking. This category of causes focus on the idea that the origin country's economy, particularly in an unstable or developing country, directly causes child trafficking. There are many reports that indicate origin countries of child victims of trafficking are countries with a developing economy, and destination countries for trafficked children are those countries with a developed economy. For example, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2016) reports that the main origin countries for trafficked children are countries in Africa and Asia, whereas the main destination countries for trafficked children are European countries. This clearly highlights how economies in origin countries can trigger child trafficking, and how an economy in a country that is developed can attract trafficked victims. Further, a developing economy has certain characteristics, and it may be these characteristics that are the catalyst for trafficking. For example, a developing economy may have a lack of educational opportunities and employment opportunities. First, lack of education can lead to illiteracy, increasing vulnerability of a child, and second, a lack of opportunities in origin countries triggers young people to find education and employment opportunities abroad. They may seek a 'better' life elsewhere, and fall victim to trafficking in the process. Third, the lack of economic opportunities in origin countries could also cause traffickers to become involved in the trafficking process in the first place. Becoming a trafficker can be extremely lucrative (the International Labour Organisation (2016) estimates that forced labour, alone, generates $150 billion in illegal profits), and this could attract ordinary people into the illegal business of trafficking. Therefore, it is evident that a developing economy can trigger children falling victim to trafficking, and can even be the reason why traffickers are drawn into the business.

A separate economic cause of child trafficking is natural disasters. Natural disasters trigger economic instability, create national problems, and states of emergencies. They also increase vulnerability of individuals, particularly children, and facilitate separation of families, which can allow traffickers to use the opportunity to traffic children unnoticed. The 2010 earthquake in Haiti displaced many communities, and separated many children from their parents. UNICEF reported that many children disappeared from hospitals immediately following the earthquake, with increased fear that these missing children had

become victims of trafficking (Addley, 2010). Other natural disasters, such as the Pakistan flooding in 2014, and the Nepal earthquake in 2015, also left many children displaced and vulnerable to child trafficking. UNICEF reported that 245 children had been intercepted by authorities who were in the process of being trafficked, during the immediate two weeks following the 2015 Nepal earthquake (Bolton, 2015), which therefore provides some evidence for natural disasters causing child trafficking. There a wide range of economic causes of child trafficking, but they are all linked and interconnected. Developing countries are prone to natural disasters, and natural disasters can further undermine economic opportunities in a country, so it can be concluded that most economic causes of child trafficking are interconnected, with no single economic cause of child trafficking.

The next category of causes of child trafficking refers to political causes. Whilst this is a separate category of cause, it is undoubtedly linked to economic causes of child trafficking, since economic opportunities available in a country can depend heavily on governments and political agenda. Political causes of child trafficking specifically refer to government policies and consequences of governments or states. One major political cause of child trafficking is a corrupt government. For example, many reports indicate a huge surge in child and women trafficking following the illegal seizure of government power by Andry Rajoelina in Madagascar in 2009. His ousting of the former president led Madagascar into turmoil, since other nations reduced foreign aid, and the United Nations imposed heavy sanctions on the country (Congressional Research Service, 2012). The lack of foreign aid and heavy sanctions on the country led to a shortage of employment opportunities, forcing young people to seek better opportunities abroad, increasing their risk of being trafficked. In addition, following the decrease in employment opportunities, Rajoelina never made child trafficking a priority in his government and continuously failed to address the problem throughout his illegal rule (United States Department of State, 2011). Whilst the surface cause of trafficking here is perhaps an economic issue, due to the lack of employment opportunities and overall unstable economy, the root cause is a political one. Without the seizure of power by Rajoelina, foreign aid would not have been cut, meaning employment opportunities would not have lowered, and children would not be looking for work oversees. This political example strongly implements the increase of child trafficking in Madagascar following the seizure of power as a political cause, and provides support for a cause of child trafficking being corrupt governments and political agendas. It also demonstrates how economic and political causes of child trafficking are interconnected, since Rajoelina's corrupt government led to a decrease in economic opportunities.

In addition, political instability can lead to the creation of wars, which in turn can cause child trafficking. Wars lead to a number of instabilities in a country, and cause considerable social upheaval for the population. Families can be displaced, governments can be seized, and the overall country can be destabilized. Wölte (2004) argues that during times of war, children are particularly targeted for sexual slavery and to perform domestic tasks, usually for rebel forces. Further, children are targeted for the purpose of selling. She notes that the abduction of children for the purpose of on-sale can provide an important income source for those involved with wars, normally rebel forces. For example, she mentions child selling for profit during the long war in Afghanistan, when many Afghan children were abducted by rebel forces, and sold to neighbouring Pakistan, suggesting the cause of trafficking in this case to be the presence of war. Further, during war situations, the trafficking of children can be more lucrative, and perhaps less noticed, than the smuggling of drugs and illegal substances, leading traffickers to engage in child trafficking rather than drug trafficking. Due to government instability during war times, attention is not directed towards trafficking, allowing traffickers to take advantage of the situation. Thus, it is easy

to conclude that most war situations facilitate, if not cause, child trafficking, due to the general attention directed away from trafficking, and the lucrative business that is child trafficking.

Finally, child trafficking can be caused by social problems. Social causes of child trafficking generally focus on issues of gender inequality, the social practice of sexual tourism, and the internet. Gender inequality can be seen at the centre of child trafficking, as women and children are consistently seen as vulnerable and inferior to their male counterparts. Their position as a second-class citizen is evident in many countries, and results in women and children having restricted access to education, employment, and healthcare. Lack of education and employment leads to further vulnerability, and can push children into the hands of traffickers, with the hopes of a better life. The Global Report of Trafficking in Persons (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2014) indicates the highest number of children trafficked are from Bangladesh and Sub-Sahara Africa. The Gender Inequality Index (GII) is used by the United Nations in their annual human development report as a measure of gender inequality across the world. Scores range from zero to one, with zero indicating males and females enjoy complete equality across a variety of economic prospects, whereas one indicates males and females are extremely unequal across opportunities. Results on the GII indicate Bangladesh has one of the highest GII scores across the world, at 0.530, as does Zimbabwe, a Sub-Sahara African country, which has a GII of 0.504. This is compared to countries such as Norway, who have a GII score of 0.067 (United Nations Development Program, 2015: 224-227). Whilst the United Nations report does not indicate causation of child trafficking from high GII scores or gender inequality, it does provide a useful tool in understanding *how* gender inequality is linked to child trafficking, and informs understanding of how social problems can cause child trafficking.

The social practice of sexual tourism has also been linked as a cause of trafficking. Countries such as the Netherlands, Czech Republic, and Thailand are hotspots around the world for sexual employment opportunities and sexual tourism, and this creates opportunities for traffickers to exploit children for the demand of sexual employment. The demand for sexual tourism fuels the trafficking industry even more, so as long as there are paying customers, children are still at risk of being trafficked into these countries. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2012) estimates that every 6 in 10 women and children trafficked victims are trafficked for the demands of sexual exploitation. This suggests that the demand for sexual tourism is so high, that more than half of all trafficked women and children are for these demands. Further, Walters & Davis (2011) suggest that it is the increase in internet use that fuels foreign visits for sex, thus leading to increases in trafficked victims. They demonstrate that potential sexual tourists can easily access pornographic images online, and can engage with others who have previously enjoyed sexual tourism. It is these, they note, that facilitates sexual tourists in making their travel plans, which ultimately creates more sexual tourism work opportunities for traffickers to traffic children to fill. Thus, the social practice of sexual tourism and the use of the internet are clearly involved in the process of child trafficking. Therefore, it is evident that these social problems- gender inequality, sexual tourism, and the internet- can cause increases in child trafficking. The social problem of gender inequality is also interconnected with economic causes of child trafficking, since child vulnerability and lack of opportunities, can fuel increases in women and children seeking economic prospects abroad.

Next, this essay will turn to problems of controlling child trafficking. There are many problems associated with the trafficking of children, particularly involving controlling trafficking. This essay will discuss problems such as identifying trafficked children,

controlling migration, prosecution of traffickers, and the problem of distinguishing between child trafficking and child labour. All these problems allow trafficking to continue in existence, and create problems for governments and law enforcers in controlling trafficking.

The first problem associated with child trafficking is the identification of trafficked children. Firstly, trafficking of persons is largely a hidden crime, which makes it especially difficult to concretely understand the scale of trafficking, and the number of victims involved. Additionally, many victims do not self-identify as victims, and do not want to believe they have been duped into trafficking (Peters, 2015). This creates problems in identifying trafficked children, since if they themselves do not identify as a victim of trafficking, it can be difficult for others to identify it too. This feeds into the notion that many victims of trafficking are under the complete control of their trafficker, probably due to fear induced by the trafficker.

Second, migration is particularly problematic when considering trafficking. First, it is difficult to distinguish victims of forced migration and free migration, particularly during pre-trafficking. That is, the definition of trafficking clearly posits that trafficking involves the movement and displacement of individuals. Therefore, in origin countries, trafficking has not yet taken place, but they *will* go on to be victims of trafficking. This creates many problems for border control agencies, since a crime has not yet been committed, and proving that trafficking *will* take place is difficult, so detaining a potentially trafficked child and their trafficker may not be possible, since no crime would have been committed yet.

Another issue in the control of migration, and perhaps even a cause of trafficking, can be seen in Europe. Open borders exist across the continent, where European Union citizens are able to travel freely, sometimes without passports and visas, which certainly facilitates trafficking. Momigliano (2015) notes that this type of system allows traffickers to move freely in the mostly borderless area just as non-traffickers can too. She argues that this type of continent increasingly facilitates trafficking, and allows traffickers to commit this crime much more easily and frequently than if individual European nations had stricter border controls. The idea that open borders increase the number of victims trafficked into the UK is echoed by the British National Party, and is at the core of their manifesto. They would like to close UK borders and leave the European Union completely (British National Party, 2014), thus hoping to divert traffickers and migrants. Thus, this example in the European Union clearly demonstrates how illegal trafficking can be seen as legal migration and how it is difficult to distinguish between free and forced migration, and how borderless countries can facilitate traffickers in trafficking children.

A third problem surrounding the control of child trafficking across the globe has to do with prosecution. Child traffickers often belong to international crime organisations, are often mobile, and difficult to locate, and this increases the difficulty of prosecution. Further, trafficking often involving many countries, from origin country, to transit countries, to destination country; and countries may not conclude prosecution priority relies with them. In addition, prosecution can be difficult if victims become attached to their traffickers, and do not self-identify as a victim of trafficking. This is referred to as 'Stockholm Syndrome' (Bejerot, 1974), a psychological condition where hostages or victims express empathy and have positive attitudes towards their traffickers. The Anti-Human Trafficking Manual for Criminal Justice Practitioners (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2009) suggests that many victims will experience Stockholm Syndrome, and recommends that all victims of trafficking receive extensive counselling, and are not to be returned to any relationships

where it is suspected that the person who was involved in the trafficking of the victim. Thus, it is evident that prosecution of traffickers is difficult, due to the high mobility of traffickers, the lack of co-operation and communication between countries, and the possibly of an attachment between victim and trafficker.

Finally, it is difficult to distinguish between child trafficking and child labour. Whilst in some cases, children are trafficked for forced labour, it does not account for all cases, and there are many instances where child labour is mistaken for child trafficking. Child exploitation does not equal child trafficking. Around the world, there are millions of children who are employed, sometimes as a live-in worker for a family, or in other employment. Dottridge and Jordan (2012) imply many assume it is these types of employment where children have been trafficked. However, that is absolutely not the case, and as Dottridge and Jordan note, many children go voluntarily to work, maintain contact with their family, and receive food, clothing, and sometimes even an education. Further, child trafficking is deliberately exploitative, whereas child labour is not. In some cases, child labour may be exploitative due to poverty or a lack of education, but this may not be deliberate. Thus, there are clear differences between child trafficking and child labour, and understanding these differences will help correctly identify trafficked children and control the trafficking of children.

To conclude, there are many causes of child trafficking, which generally fall into the three broad categories of economic causes, political causes, and social causes. Economic causes refer to a developing economy and natural disasters causing child trafficking, whereas political causes refer to corrupt governments, and the presence and aftermath of wars, causing child trafficking. Finally, social causes of child trafficking suggest it is gender inequality, the social practice of sexual tourism, and the internet, that causes child trafficking. However, it is especially important to note that not one of these causes, or categories of causes, cause child trafficking in all cases, since many of the causes are interconnected with one another. For example, corrupt governments may lead to economic instability, and the internet certainly facilitates sexual tourism visits, so the causes identified in this essay should be used in conjunction with each other and not isolated from one another. Finally, the essay examined problems of controlling trafficking, such as the difficulty of identifying trafficked children, and how borderless continents, such as Europe, make it difficult to control migration and trafficking. Prosecution of traffickers is a continuing problem of control, since traffickers are mobile, and victims may be in complete control of the trafficker, leading to a lack of evidence for prosecution. Finally, mistaking child labour for child trafficking can affect accurate identification of child trafficking victims, so more discussion on how to distinguish between these is encouraged. These problems still occur frequently around the globe, and hinder control and prevention of all forms of trafficking.

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What does Du Bois mean by the term 'double consciousness'? How useful is this term for thinking about race/ethnicity today?

Emma Woonton

If there is any concept that defines or identifies W.E.B Du Bois, it his memorable concept 'double-consciousness,' introduced in his most famous work *The Souls of Black Folk,* (1903). His notion 'double consciousness' famously characterized the quintessential experience of black people in the United States, who were caught between their self-definition as an American, but also as an individual of African heritage. As an African American himself, his 'double consciousness' is intimately tied to his personal life and thus, illuminates this legacy of racism and the repercussions it had on the lives and experiences of black people in the United States. It is in this respect, Edles and Appelrouth (2010: 327) argued that the work of Du Bois, brings to the canon a "clearness of vision" regarding issues of race. Fast-forwarding to the twenty first century, it could be argued that the symbolic situation of black people in Britain is relatively the same and they continue to face the dilemma of double consciousness.

The beginnings of scientific ideas of race can be traced to eighteenth-century Europe, when the Swedish naturalist Linnaeus (1707-78) proposed the 'first of numerous "scientific" efforts to classify the human population' (Kvisto & Croll, 2012:6). Specifically, in his *Systema Naturae* (1975) he categorized four apparently readily recognizable geographical varieties that he recognized principally on the four regions of the world and skin colour. Humanity was divided by Linnaeus into the following classifications: *Homo Americanus; Homo Europaeus; Homo Asiaticus* and finally, *Homo Africanus* (Bernasconi, 2001). Linnaeus's classification of the four major races however, went beyond the mere description of differences in physical appearances, rather he went further to assert that "physical differences were deeply interconnected with differences in temperament, intelligence and moral worthiness" (Kvisto & Croll, 2012: 6). For example, the *Homo Europaeus* were descried as "white, confident, muscular and inventive", whereas, the *Homo Africanus* were "described as 'black, self-centered, lazy, slow and relaxed" (Tattersall & Desalle, 2011: 12). In this respect, it could be argued that Linnaeus's classifications of humankind promoted the very idea of superior and inferior races and in effect, indicated a hierarchy of superiority. In other words, Linnaeus assumed that racial differences determined "who was fit for leadership and who was destined to be led" (Kvisto & Croll, 2012: 6). Recognising the four major racial groups that Linnaeus had listed, Blumenbach (1752-1840) concluded that there were, in fact, five racial categories. Rather than reducing race to physical differences, Blumenbach classified five human varieties by the shape of the skull, namely Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American and Malaysian (Jahoda, 2007). In his work, he espoused that the Caucasian race is the "most handsome and becoming," which probably accounted for his view that the Caucasians are esteemed to "have been the primitive colour of mankind" in which other races degenerated (Blumenbach, 2000: 28-31). Blumenbach's classification builds on the work of Linnaeus in the very sense that it provided a scientific explanation for the rise of colonialism and subsequently the imperial domination of the inferior races of the world (Schaefer, 2008). In this respect, race was articulated into a concept that emphasised the biological accounts of racial difference in which physical differences were indicative of an individual's position within a hierarchy of superiority.

Du Bois engaged the question of race through his well-known proposition; "the problem of the Twentieth century is the problem of the color line" (Du Bois [1903] 1989: 13). Du Bois' insight was essentially based on the nineteenth century world in which he experienced and came of age – the American Civil War had been fought; Abraham Lincoln declared in the 'Emancipation Proclamation' that all slaves were free; Ku Klux Klan and other terrorist groups had emerged as had Jim Crowism (Dennis, 2003). Du Bois' concept of the color line exists figuratively as an indication of the racial segregation that occurred in the U.S following the abolition of slavery in 1863. His concept of the color line therefore addressed the historical dimensions of race. For Du Bois, race became central to world history, through the colonization and exploitation of Africa and Africans in the early fifteenth century (Edles and Appelrouth, 2010). Perhaps more importantly however, Du Bois not only draws on the historical dimensions of race but personalised his analysis of the color-line through his proposition: "How does it feel to be a problem?" (Du Bois, [1903] 1989: 3). Hence, in this context lies the understanding that having a black identity in America in the beginning of the twentieth century involved viewing one's self as problematic in society. He speaks from a personal experience from his childhood when a girl in his class at school refused to exchange visiting cards with him. For Du Bois ([1903] 1989: 4) it was this encounter with the young girl refusing to accept his visiting card that "it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others … shut out from their world by a vast veil." Here, Du Bois illuminated the reality of being black in American society through the use of his own biographical experience. He addressed the concept of race as a symbolic and experiential reality in that he acknowledged, "one's sense of race and racial terms comes only from experience, the meaning of being black or white is not inborn but is derived from experience" (Gibson, 1996: xxv). In this respect, Du Bois' assertion proposed a vigorous challenge to Linnaeus' and Blumenbach's scientific efforts to classify humanity on the basis of differences in phenotypical characteristics. Hence, Gibson (1996: xxv) argued that "racial distinctions, insofar as they carry negative or positive meanings, are functions of a social dynamic." What was once thought to be fixed, inherent and correspond to biological reality, the concept of race is in fact a category that society invents and manipulates (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

In *The Souls of Black Folk,* Du Bois' introduced two inter-related concepts that described the quintessential experience of being black in the U.S, namely – 'the veil' and 'double consciousness'. Although Du Bois used the two concepts separately, both the veil and double consciousness reflect the intertwined dimensions of race. The concept of the veil, for Du Bois, was used as a complex metaphor to describe the racial barrier between 'the two "worlds", Black and White, on either side of the color line (Ciccariello-Maher, 2009: 380). He contended that the black American was 'born with a veil' in a world that 'yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world' Du Bois ([1903]/1989: 5). The veil, for Du Bois, separated him from the other world that constitutes his experience of reality. According to Ansell (2013: 59), the veil is a 'lens through which race is lived and racial identities negotiated.' Thus, it connotes this recognition that through the practices of racism and racial segregation, the black American is shut out from their world by a vast veil" (Du Bois [1903] 1989: 4). For instance, the black American is inhibited by the constraints of racism and it is this idea of the veil that structured the opportunities that the black population have access to (Schaefer, 2008). In other words, from living within the veil, the black population understand that oppression is central to the black experience. In turn, the veil prevents the ability for the white American to see the problem of race and the oppression experienced by the black American because they live in a world beyond the veil (Schaefer, 2008). Here, Gibson (1996: xxvii) makes the interesting point that Du Bois can in fact, 'show what is behind the veil, stepping to either

side of it or rising above it, because he knows both sides of the veil.' Thus, Du Bois was introduced to the ideals of the white world through his access to higher education and in effect, could move willingly between both the black and white worlds of the U.S. (Ciccariello-Maher, 2009).

Du Bois' concept of the veil signifies this invisible barrier between the black and white American whereby the white population have very little understanding of the black experience in the U.S. Thus, for Du Bois, the idea of the veil is central in understanding his memorable formulation of his concept double consciousness. For Du Bois ([1903] 1989: 5), "it is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity." In this respect, Du Bois' double consciousness refers to the condition of the black American seeing themselves through and viewing the world from a black perspective and simultaneously, seeing themselves and looking at the world through the gaze of the white supremacist society. Thus, from living within the veil, the black population is obscured in mainstream American society; the black American cannot be seen clearly for who they are beyond their skin colour because the dominant white culture's perspective is obstructed by this not-so-invisible veil. In turn, the black American is perceived by the cultural majority through the lens of racial prejudice.

Du Bois' concept of double consciousness therefore required the individual to be cognizant of this dual self-perception, as both African and American. Du Bois ([1903] 1989: 5) asserted, "one ever feels this twoness, - an American, a Negro: two souls, two thoughts, two reconciled strivings." Here then, it could be argued that black Americans' grasp a better understanding of the white world because of this sense of twoness that is central to the black experience. In other words, double consciousness makes it possible for black Americans to perceive the white world from a different perspective, namely that of an 'outcast and a stranger' (Du Bois [1903] 1989: 4). Interestingly, it would be significant to point out here that Du Bois' double consciousness parallels Simmel's notion of the stranger. In the case of the stranger, Simmel ([1908] 1971: 143) explains that, "the union of closeness and remoteness involved in every human relationship is patterned in a way that … the distance within this relation indicates that one who is close by is remote, but his strangeness indicates that one who is remote is near." The stranger then is an individual who, like the black American, simultaneously exists inside and outside of a group because they possess particular qualities that make them fundamentally different to the dominant group. In this sense, both the stranger and the black American are in a paradoxical position: though they are both geographically near to the group, at the same time, they are also culturally distant to the group (Craib, 1997). It is in this sense that Eldes and Appelrouth (2010: 349-350) argued that both Simmel and Du Bois, "emphasized the sense of otherness that not only inhibits social solidarity, but also prevents the formation of a unified sense of self.

The white American, on the other hand, understand the white world from a single consciousness, for the world that they view from a dominant white perspective is essentially their own white world reflected back upon them. It is here that Du Bois ([1903] 1989: 4) argued that because of their double consciousness, black Americans are "gifted with second-sight." However, not only is the double consciousness a gift for black Americans, it is also a burden for the black American as it reflects having "two warring ideals in one body" (Du Bois, [1903] 1989: 5). Thus, black Americans are forced to maintain one's own perception, whilst enduring the hostile and imposed perceptions of the dominant white culture. For instance, Du Bois struggled "his image of himself as a shining

intellectual and the country's image of him as a man underserving of intellectual resource"(Harriford & Thompson, 2008: 42). Here then, we can draw upon the biographical experience of Du Bois to illuminate this burden of being black in the United States, in which this burden derived from the lack of understanding the dominant white majority have of black Americans as individuals.

Interestingly, Paul Gilroy's recent book, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993) utilized Du Bois' concept of double consciousness to his analysis of the African-diasporic experience, that he termed the Black Atlantic. Gilroy's 'black Atlantic' delineates:

> The desire to transcend both the structures of the nation state and the constraints of ethnicity and national particularity […] the strategic choices forced on black movements and individuals embedded in national and political cultures and nation-states in America, the Carribbean and Europe. (Gilory, 1993:19)

It is this travel experience between Europe and the United States of African populations, namely the Black Atlantic, which contributed to Du Bois' double consciousness. Gilroy (1993: 1) explained that, "the contemporary black English … stand between (at least) two great cultural assemblages." That is to say, the black Atlantic denotes specifically, the formulation of a modern, cultural-political area that is not explicitly, a black British culture, or an African culture, or a black American or Caribbean culture, rather it is "the formation of racial mutation and hybridity" (Dennis, 2003). For Gilroy then, it is this notion of the history of movement and the slave trade that is central to the emergence of modernity and modern ideas of race, namely that of a transnational black identity. Understood in this context, it could therefore be argued that 'racial' identities are not inherently fixed, but in fact, outcomes of wider political, economic and philosophical processes. It is here that Gilroy (1993: 55) expands on Du Bois' double consciousness by arguing that "the time has come for the primal history of modernity to be reconstructed from the slave's point of view." That is to say, history and modernity should be reconsidered and simply not just include the marginal positions of slave that have largely been ignored, but to rewrite history and modernity from these marginal positions.

Furthermore, Du Bois' approach to understanding race interestingly reciprocates Du Bois' in a similar way to the issues of race found in the work of Stuart Hall. In his seminal work, *Policing the Crisis* (1978), Hall et.al explored the moral panic that had emerged in Britain during the early 1970s over the phenomenon of 'mugging.' What was at issue here was that the media, police and judiciary highlighted this supposedly new and frightening form of crime that was largely committed by young black youths. However, it was in fact the label that was applied to the crime, 'mugging', that was new and not the crime itself (Hall et.al, 1978). In this context, black youths were defined almost exclusively as a social problem – they became the primary folk devil in the media and police portrayals of the typical mugger (Muncie, 2015). Again, this very theme of black people as a problem in contemporary society returns us to the question introduced in the very beginning of Du Bois', *The Souls of Black Folks*, 'How does it feel to be a problem?' (Du Bois, [1903] 1989: 3). The moral panic over 'mugging' therefore evoked this negative portrayal of black youths as a threat to society and perhaps more significantly, a "sign that the 'British way of life' is coming apart at the seams" Hall et.al (1978: viii). It was in this context that the racialized nature of the social phenomenon 'mugging' created a rationale for black youths to become the target of increased police surveillance and prosecution (Davis, 2004).

Arguably today, in the context of the disproportionate stop and searches of young black males, new questions surrounding Du Bois' notion of the color-line thrive. Research has shown that compared to their white counterparts, black people in England and Wales were six times more likely to be stopped and searched by the police (Bowling & Phillips, 2007: 944). As illustrated above, Hall et.al demonstrated that black males were subjected to increased police surveillance because they were negatively portrayed as dangerous figures in society. It was this heightened suspicion and stereotypical image of black people being potentially criminal that the police disproportionately targeted the black population in stop and search practices (Bowling & Phillips, 2007). In consequence, relations between ethnic minority communities and the police remain fraught. For this reason, it could be argued that Du Bois' color-line remains a significant problem of the twenty-first century between the police and ethnic minorities.

Further to this point, the reality of double consciousness in contemporary society is arguably submerged in controversies surrounding race and criminality, race and education and race and sports. For instance, David Cameron recently proposed the bold statement: "If you're black, you're more likely to be in a prison cell than studying at a top university" (Ross, 2016). Thus, the media continuously sells images of inner-city black males as criminals, it's in this very sense that double consciousness is manifested in these widespread stereotypical images of black people. In effect, black people live in a society that devalues them as individuals and thus shapes the perceptions they have of themselves and how the rest of society view them. With black and ethnic minorities currently making up a quarter of the prison population in England and Wales, it is arguable that young black males believe that criminality is their only route to success (Ross, 2016). What is interesting however, is that the media continuously juxtaposes images of black youths as violent and threatening with more successful images of black athletes and sporting stars such as Usain Bolt and Mo Farah. In other words, the black body is "coded either as superhuman in the figure of the black athlete or as lass than human in the violent black criminal" (Back, 2007: 111). Again, it is this sense of a dual imagery of the black population which significantly divides black people into the very talented, successful and essentially good black person and conversely, the bad black person that is essentially dangerous and criminal. What is at issue here, is that the modern social world is constituted on forms of racism which are not immediately recognised but are largely present in institutions and ways of seeing. It is in this context that the black population experience difficulty in reconciling their identity as both, black and English.

To conclude, *The Souls of Black Folks* (1903) begins this innovative and insightful discussion, from an African-Americans perspective, of the quintessential experience and struggles of black Americans living in a society that is deeply entrenched with racism. These issues of race and racism were most apparent in Du Bois' famous concepts of 'the veil' and 'double consciousness.' At the beginning of the 21st century, it could still be argued that "race has become a fundamental organizing principle of contemporary social life" (Winant, 1994: 270). As such, Du Bois' double consciousness is most apparent in controversies surrounding blacks and criminality, in that they are frequently viewed by society as representative of a problem, rather than perhaps an individual with a problem that was created by a society deeply entrenched with racism. As such, the black population have extreme difficulty in developing an integrated identity because they are forced to see themselves how the rest of society views them, in which they are generally portrayed in a negative light. Following the 9/11 terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre and subsequent attacks on London and more recently Paris, it could be argued that it is now

young Muslim males who find it difficult to integrate their identity in a society that, by far and large, regard them as a significant problem.

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